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The Shore Counties in 1903







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# THE JERSEY SHORE

*A Social and Economic History  
of the Counties of*

ATLANTIC, CAPE MAY, MONMOUTH AND OCEAN



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MAP FROM GORDON'S GAZETTEER, 1834  
 (Diagonal parallel lines added to non-shore counties)



# THE JERSEY SHORE

*A Social and Economic History  
of the Counties of*  
ATLANTIC, CAPE MAY, MONMOUTH AND OCEAN

By

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VOLUME I

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NEW YORK



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1953



*To*

BEA, BARBARA, AND DICK

EACH OF WHOM HAD A PART  
IN COMPLETING THESE VOLUMES







## Acknowledgments

The last multi-volumed history of the Jersey shore was published fifty years ago. Modern appraisals and new interpretations are now long overdue. Some have already been written, but in large measure these are limited to local situations and do not deal with the region as a whole.

The writer acknowledges his indebtedness to the authors of valuable monographs concerning the historical developments in various portions of the shore area. These publications have been the outcome of impressive amounts of research performed mainly by devoted members of County Historical Societies who scoured their sections for historical information. Theirs was a labor of love. To accomplish their purpose required unflagging zeal in surmounting difficulties to unearth reliable material. For instance, Edwin Salter, the conscientious writer of a *History of Monmouth and Ocean Counties*, deplored in 1890 the "great obstacles in the way of collecting historical information . . . (and) the expensive travelling to collect data." As for Ocean County itself, he declared, little material could be gleaned from reminiscences since "fewer old persons, natives of the County, resided there in proportion to the population than in any other County in the State."

The writer's first interest in regional history stems from the enthusiasm for the subject held by his father, Guy Wilson, for thirty years Town Clerk of Bethel, Vermont. It was brought into focus in a seminar conducted by Professor Arthur Meier Schlesinger of the Harvard Graduate School, under whom the author wrote his doctoral dissertation, published by the Columbia University Press in 1936 under the title, *The Hill Country of Northern New England, 1790-1930*. The writer's particular interest in New Jersey history dates from 1935, the



beginning of his residence in the state. It was furthered by the influence of Dr. Robert Morrison, Assistant Commissioner of Education, who appointed the writer in 1942 chairman of a committee of faculty members from various State Teachers Colleges to prepare an *Outline of New Jersey History*, the second edition of which was published by the Rutgers University Press in 1950 and which is used in different colleges in the state as a text in courses on state history.

The constructive suggestions given the author by Dr. Richard P. McCormick of Rutgers University, President of the State Historical Society and consultant for the *Outline of New Jersey History*, are deeply appreciated. Similarly, the friendly assistance in gathering data given by Miss Dorothy Hammond, Miss Florence Sellers, and Mrs. Phyllis Rintelman of the Glassboro State Teachers College Library, was most helpful, especially the unlimited use the writer had of material in the same Library from the Stewart Collection of New Jerseyana, of which Miss Hammond is curator.

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Vineland Historical Society Library; the late Miss Sybil Jones of the Gloucester County Historical Society Library; Mr. N. R. Ewan, of the Camden County Historical Society and Miss Ethel Kennedy, formerly Librarian of that organization; and staff members of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania Library, of the University of Pennsylvania and of the Wharton School Libraries.

For help in gathering data from newspapers, the writer acknowledges with thanks the assistance of Mr. Malcolm Swan of Asbury Park, who arranged for the author to work in the subject matter files of the *Asbury Park Press*; to Mr. Samuel Ungerleider, who did the same for the *Atlantic City Press*; to the late Mr. Walter Hall, past President of the Salem County Historical Society, for access to Salem County newspapers; and to Miss Helen Cain of Mays Landing, for access to newspapers in the County Building there.

For special aid in procuring answers to particular questions that arose during the writing of the manuscript, the author thanks Dr. Joshua Hilliard of Manahawkin, President of the Ocean County Historical Society; Mr. Paul Cope, of the Hotel Morton, Atlantic City, President of the Atlantic County Historical Society; Mrs. Robert Weatherill, of Woodbury, President of the Gloucester County Historical Society; and Mr. John D. F. Morgan of Haddonfield, President of the Camden County Historical Society; Mr. David Winans, of the Department of Education, Trenton; Mrs. Gladys W. Ellsworth, Chief of Research and Statistics, Department of Conservation and Economic Development; Miss Anne Sullivan, Secretary of the Division of Fish and Game in the same Department; Mrs. Kathryn B. Greywacz, Director of the State Museum and Dr. Dorothy Cross of the same organization; Mr. A. Lee Glover, Secretary of the State Highway Department; and Mr. J. Gurney Sholl of Pitman, Secretary of the Bureau of Migrant Labor.

The author is in debt to Colonel John H. Ahrens of



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Finally, the members of the author's long-suffering family cooperated in the completion of these volumes. Barbara Anne and Richard Chase Wilson aided in making the index. The writer's wife, Beatrice Herberg Wilson, helped revise and typed all of the final draft of the manuscript.

HAROLD FISHER WILSON

The New Jersey State Teachers College  
at Glassboro, December 15, 1952.

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## PROLOGUE

### REGIONAL HISTORY AND THE "GOOD OLD DAYS"

Particular regions in many states have developed distinctive characteristics. The Cape Cod section of Massachusetts, the Long Island appendix to New York, the Eastern Shore of Maryland and Virginia are examples of such areas. The same situation applies to the Jersey shore. "To me," said Walt Whitman in 1879, "it is the seaside region that gives stamp to Jersey."<sup>1</sup>

Contact with the sea conditioned the hinterland as well as the immediate shore front. "Everywhere throughout its broad flatlands," remarked Cornelius Weygandt of the Jersey coastal plain, in 1940, "the light is leavened by the tang of the sea. Oyster boats are tied up to the wharves of its tide creeks and thoroughfares . . . . The men cutting cordwood on the barrens walk with the roll of sailors; the weather vanes sport images of fish even in inland places; the banks of the railroads and country roads have the look of sea beaches."<sup>2</sup>

The influence of the shore continues still further inland. People living in the well-populated Jersey cities find the lure of the ocean strong. A considerable percentage of the residents of the Philadelphia metropolitan area, and to a lesser extent, the New York, make plans every summer for a stay "at the shore." Would-be Izaak Waltons look forward to the days when they can drive down for either a try at surf fishing or at deep-sea fishing in a party-chartered boat. Others, including a sizable proportion of "small fry," journey to the shore to play on the sandy beaches, to jump in the surf or to sail on the bays between the mainland and the coastal islands, or in the winter, perhaps, to go ice-boating on the Shrewsbury River.



"History is the essence of innumerable localities," declared one New Jersey history teacher in 1943.<sup>3</sup> Local and regional history, however, has yet to come unto its own in New Jersey. So many know so little about the place in which they live. This deficiency is as applicable to the people residing in the four shore counties as elsewhere in the state.

Such a situation is nothing new. Lack of knowledge about the whole New Jersey region was evident in its earliest years. William Penn, in 1676, found it necessary to begin a letter to his friends and brethren with the assurance, "That there is such a province as New Jersey, is certain."<sup>4</sup> In the succeeding years, interest in local history remained phlegmatic. In the 19th Century, a Quaker noted in his appealing *Reminiscences of Old Gloucester County*, which once included present-day Atlantic County, that he hoped his writing would awaken the people "to an interest in their local history. . . . Remember," he added, "it is *at home* that true knowledge begins."<sup>5</sup> Similar conditions continued in the 20th Century. One author of a regional history of a section of the Jersey shore felt compelled to urge in 1926 that "local history be inculcated in the minds of children."<sup>6</sup>

Various factors have brought about this lack of knowledge. It was not until recent years that the schools devoted much attention to the study of local and regional New Jersey history. As late as 1932, one South Jersey authority attacked the "pusillanimous attitude" toward local history and bemoaned at that time, "The schools do not teach anything about southern New Jersey except that the Delaware River was named in honor of Lord Delaware."<sup>7</sup> With reference to the shore region, of greater fundamental influence was the fact that a large proportion of people living there all year round were not deeply rooted in the area. Relatively few were even second-generation shore residents.<sup>8</sup> And as for the large number of summer visitors, few stayed long enough to

become curious about learning the influences of the past upon present-day conditions there.

Another cause for the limited understanding of the shore's past has lain in the inadequacy of its published regional and local histories, particularly those written in the 19th Century. Too often, these publications could be rightfully termed, in the words of one New Jersey writer, "horrible examples of inaccuracy, incompetence, and lack of synthesis," the results of efforts of "historian-genealogists" whose interest stemmed no further than "the discovery of family trees in whose spreading branches comfortable perches" might be found.<sup>9</sup>

As in other regions of the state, the Jersey shore has suffered in the past from overdoses of local pride. These, when not tempered by common sense, tended to convert mole-hills into mountain ranges. Three eye-opening quotations illustrate this propensity. One nostalgic comment written in 1879 and published in the *History of Little Egg Harbor Township*, Ocean County, declared, "Many people who were born in Egg Harbor are now living in distant localities and I believe there is many a dweller in those distant regions whose thoughts wander from their adopted homes to Little Egg Harbor . . . , and how oft these migrating thoughts exclaim, 'Egg Harbor! My loved, my native land! Cherished home of my youth! . . . There, my beloved kindred fought the battle of life, there they died, and there they were buried among their fathers and their fathers' fathers!'"<sup>10</sup>

Another example appeared in a history of a Monmouth County area, which boasted in flowery style of the unusual advantages of the locality: "The bathing facilities of Ocean Grove are unsurpassed, if equaled, by any on the New Jersey coast. The gently sloping, sandy beach, the presence of a protecting sandbar at the most desirable distance, the no less important absence of holes and eddies, and the very moderate undertow—all these are the natural advantages of this part of the shore. To them are added



the exceptional and most efficient precautions against accidents of all kinds, furnished by strong life-lines, well-manned relief and patrol boats, the best of bathing masters and guards, and by the fencing of the bathing grounds with strong wire-mesh nets."<sup>11</sup>

This attitude was not limited to certain localities. It emerged also in many a county history. "Whatever may be said of Ocean County," wrote one historian in 1899, "... it can at least be said that it has produced a race of men of whom no section could but be proud. . . . Not that the sons of Ocean County are any different from the men of the Monmouth, Atlantic, or Cape May shore. All are children of the sea. . . . They are a seafaring people, . . . born within the smell of the salt water. They have been a race of wanderers. . . . Of them it has been written,

To cover all this globe 'o ourn, west, east, an' south, an'  
north:

Not one of 'em has crawfished, when once he's set his face,  
For if he died along the way, his son stepp'd in his place—  
Some they hail from Manasquan, an' some from old Cape  
May,

Some look back to Navesink, an' some to Barnegat Bay,  
Mannahawkin, Harrifoot, Absecom. Tuckahoe,—  
But their white sails dot the blue seas wherever the free  
winds blow.

Ev'rywhere you'll find 'em, the wide world is their beat,  
For they were born on the Jersey shore "with the tickle in  
their feet."<sup>12</sup>

Still another county historian succumbed in 1897 to the touch of local pride through verse when he quoted the "Ode to Cape May," which could be "sung to the (then) popular tune, 'Dearest May.'" In contrast to the Ocean County doggerel, this rhyming twanged the heart-strings of those who stayed at home:

Dear land of my nativity!  
And scene of childhood's play,  
I fondly sing my love to thee  
In humble, fervent lay.

Let others roam who have a mind;  
With thee, I'd rather stay,  
For many ties there are that bind  
My heart to thee, Cape May.

(Chorus)

Cape May! Cape May!  
My thoughts to thee will stray  
With fond delight, in memories bright,  
When I am far away.<sup>13</sup>

Not only did local and county histories dwell long on the particular and distinctive virtues of their own immediate areas, but regional accounts followed the same procedure. *The New Jersey Coast in Three Centuries*, for example, put out in 1902 by the same company that is publishing these volumes, declared "The Coast Counties . . . were at an early date the abode of a peculiarly simple and conscientious people. . . . Their sons have ever borne a noble part in every struggle in behalf of liberty. Their seamen, in times of war, have written down deeds of daring which have afforded inspiration to succeeding generations, and in times of peace, they have extended commerce to every clime."<sup>14</sup>

Intermittently, regional complacency has been buffeted by reactions of various commentators, which tended to temper excessive local pride. Most of the blasts emanated from non-native residents or out-of-state visitors. In 1854, for instance, one newcomer described the section bordering on Delaware Bay and on bays between the sea islands and the mainland as "uninviting," with "swamps, swamps, swamps." The territory, he added, "has with us a great fame for sand and mosquitoes" (*sic*).<sup>15</sup> Three decades later, another critic describing portions of the shore region called them "places in which no man ever found anything but burning sun, sand flats, and pine needles, except indeed, gnats and mosquitoes."<sup>16</sup>

The topographical features of the section also became the object of considerable adverse observation. In com-



menting on the southern portion of the region, one writer lamented in 1868, "There are no widespread hills from which you can stretch the eye to . . . diversified scenery. . . . We live upon a flat and of course, it is impossible that there should not be some flat ideas and manners, not to mention morals. It is manifest that like produces like and that man should resemble the qualities of nature around him."<sup>17</sup>

Other observers, however, felt differently about the flatness. In 1940, Cornelius Weygandt described in his intimate picture in *Down Jersey* his feelings as "the road . . . (lifted) gradually up the gravel ridge" not far from the shore. There, he noted, "the oak-covered wastes are a glittering plain, brimfull and spilling over with the sunset. . . . The air is light as that of mountain tops, sweet of the sea and the pines over which it has travelled. . . . The flatness all about widens your view; the far line of the horizon gives you a sense of peace; the suggestion on the air of the sea somewhere beyond, with its waves rolling in mile after mile, . . . sets your thoughts roving to the world's ends."<sup>18</sup>

Another writer who spent his summers at Harvey Cedars on Long Beach Island, Ocean County, also saw little to disturb him in the levelness. In an interview published by a Philadelphia newspaper in 1948, he maintained, "There is a spiritual quality to the flatness of this land. There is no place to look but up into the sky."<sup>19</sup>

The adverse comments failed to arouse the people who had grown to like the region. Most residents refused to be upset by them. Typical was the reaction of an editor of a small newspaper who remarked in 1874, "However much slandered may be certain portions of our State, we believe it has been done through ignorance."<sup>20</sup>

Many members of old shore families, watching with somewhat dubious satisfaction the passage of myriads of visitors bent on summertime pursuits, like to recall the "good old days" when the center of activity was in

the mainland villages rather than on the shore islands, when Absecon was big and Atlantic City was small, and when Freehold was a busy trading village and Asbury Park a mere expanse of sand.

A study of local and regional histories, written in the 19th Century particularly, yields illustrations of this same tendency. In many of them appear frequent references to the good old times of an earlier period. In fact, the same attitude can be observed generation after generation. As Horace Greeley once said, "The illusion that times that were are better than those that are has probably pervaded all ages."<sup>21</sup>

To the eyes of the older people, their childhood, or the childhood of their parents, inevitably becomes the "good old days," despite the fact that questions could be raised concerning the real status of conditions of living in those years. The author of *The Lure of Long Beach*, for example, looked with rose glasses on the halcyon days of the early pioneers: "They had a delightful life, these early settlers. Fish, shell-fish, and game abounded. Virgin forests of fine timber rose on every hand, the land was rich and fertile, and Nature prodigious with her bounties."<sup>22</sup>

Similarly, the writer of a portion of a South Jersey history extolled the earlier years as periods of abundance, when "there was no need for anyone to steal as all had plenty. . . ." From his descriptions, one would think food was to be had without the expenditure of any effort. "The seas and bays teemed with fish at all times of the year . . .; wild waterfowl covered the bays in great flocks in winter, and bred on the meadows, ponds, and marshes in summer; herds of deer could be found at will in the woods; lesser game such as rabbits, quail and partridges were easily shot, trapped, or snared."<sup>23</sup>

This same viewpoint is particularly noticeable in reminiscences of seemingly happier moments of earlier years. In a local history written in 1873, the author said



he visited three old sisters in the town, one ninety-five, one ninety, and the other eighty-five. "They told me," he nostalgically commented, "of the golden times of knitting and spinning; how proud they were of their new homes, spun dresses and the tidy sun-bonnets, . . . of the nicely scrubbed and sanded floors and very little carpeting."<sup>24</sup>

It was in their position toward contemporary "wild youth," however, that observers in each generation longed so heartily for the "good old days" when children seemed better behaved. In 1700, Lewis Morris of Monmouth County wrote to the Bishop of London, "The youth of the whole province are very debauched and very ignorant and Sabbath Day seems to be set apart for rioting and drunkenness. In a word, a general ignorance and immorality runs through the Youth of the whole Province."<sup>25</sup> In later years, most of these same individuals, who had now become sober-minded citizens, were declaring contemporary youth to be lacking in good taste and manners. The three old ladies mentioned in the preceding paragraph spoke about the times of their youth when "children used to grow up so useful and the cry of 'help' was not so common; when the daughters were educated in the kitchen as well as in the schoolroom, but not so much in the parlor; when the sons, if there were not enough to do at home, would work for neighbors, no matter how rich the parents."<sup>26</sup>

Such feelings bring back to mind a verse written a number of years ago:

My grandpa notes the world's worn cogs,  
And says we're going to the dogs.  
His grandad in his house of logs,  
Swore things were going to the dogs;  
His dad among the Flemish bogs  
Vowed things were going to the dogs.  
The caveman in his bearskin togs,  
Said things were going to the dogs.  
But this is what I wish to state,  
Those dogs have had one awful wait.<sup>27</sup>

In modern times, tens of thousands of Americans in New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania have become closely acquainted with the Jersey shore and thousands have gone to live there as year round residents. For the most part, they do not know how the shore came to be what it is today. The history of the region has passed them by, and yet a majority of those interested admit that an understanding of its development would give them a truer feeling for its attractions. It is the hope of the author, whose hobby for years has been Jersey regional history, that these volumes will provide readable, enlightening, and diverting material to those who would like to know more about the story of the Jersey shore.





## PART I

### THE BACKGROUND

Sandy Hook . . . was formerly, and is now (1834), isolated by a channel running from the Shrewsbury River, which was first opened in 1778, closed in 1810, but re-opened in 1830. The beach running northward several miles from Long Branch, invites to a promenade on the hard sand when the tide is low, but the wrecks of vessels . . . oppress the spectators with recollections of the perils of the sea. From the Hook, this beach extends 125 miles to Cape May, varying in width from a half a mile to two miles, but broken in several places by channels communicating with the sea. South of Manasquan it covers a number of bays or salt water lakes, of which Barnegat, Little Egg Harbour, and Great Egg Harbour, are the chief. West of these runs a belt of marsh, . . . intersected by small rivers, with broad and shallow estuaries.

(Description of the Jersey shore, written in 1834.<sup>1</sup>)

Topographical influences have conditioned historical developments from the beginning of time. The story of the Jersey shore is no exception. The social and economic changes that produced present-day situations in this area have been deeply affected by the sea islands and the inlets, the bays and salt marshes, and the coastal plain. The sea itself was, of course, the main conditioning factor. The early mariners who explored the shores and the Indians who journeyed shoreward for the products the sea offered were two groups in the early history of the shore who were so influenced.





## CHAPTER I

### THE TOPOGRAPHICAL FEATURES

The sea had been forbidding to look at. There was little surf. Offshore were no whitecaps on the roll on roll of wind-driven water making toward the beach and into the inlet which had so long threatened to undermine the lighthouse.

(Modern comment concerning the Long Beach portion of the Jersey shore.<sup>2</sup>)

According to the definition the word "shore" signifies the land bordering a large body of water. In these volumes, however, the word is used to include a wider territory. To be sure, it covers the actual area touched by the sea, embracing the sea islands, the inlets with their changing history, and the bay and salt marsh. It also includes the portions of the coastal plain, the life in whose mainland villages constantly affected the shore and in later years was itself influenced by the development of the coast resorts.

#### 1. *The mariner's view of the Jersey shore, 1796.*

From Sandy Hook lighthouse, steer E.S.E. two leagues, S.S.E. three or four leagues, then S.S.W. five leagues which will bring you up with Barnegat which has a shoal bank one league off. When you have passed this gatt, steer S.W. by S., thirteen or fourteen leagues, which will carry you up with Great Egg Harbour, which has a shoal bank one league from the shore that has not more than six feet of water on it.

(Directions for sailing written in 1796.<sup>3</sup>)

To the mariner of the latter 18th Century the Jersey shore presented many a dangerous pitfall. Under these circumstances pilots sailing up and down the coast deemed it wise to procure a publication containing ex-

plicit directions. The above quotation from such a guide warned the navigator of shoals when sailing southward along the coast. When headed in the opposite direction, the mariner was cautioned, "As you near Great Egg Harbour on the Jersey shore, sailing north, use your lead on approaching this shore and come no nearer to it than 10 fathoms; from Great Egg Harbour to the lat. of 40 degrees N., the Jersey shore trends near N.E. and from lat. 40 degrees to the Highlands of Neversink, the land trends nearly north; on all this rout, 10 fathoms water must be kept or near it."

Inlets received special attention. The navigator was told "Between Barnegat and Cape May there are 2 inlets, fit at high water for vessels drawing 12 feet, viz.: Little and Great Egg harbours, but they are only fit to be run for at times when no other port can be made as the navigation is not so safe as other places. . . . In running for Cape May, while steering your S.W. by W. course, you will pass five inlets before you come up with the Cape, viz.: Corsons, Townsend, Herrefot, Turtle Gut and Coolspring, all of which have bars lying off their entrances."

Rounding Sandy Hook was particularly difficult. "When you are full up with the Highlands of Neversink," explained the 1796 guide, "if you see nothing of a pilot, you may stand on, but keep three miles off the bare part of Sandy Hook land till you are up with the southern cedar trees on the Hook, then . . . (draw) near the Hook until you get 9 fathoms water, at which time you will be 2 or  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles from the Hook. On this bank you must edge off and on, in 3 or  $3\frac{1}{2}$  fathoms, for the bank lies rounding as the Hook does."<sup>4</sup>

Similarly, at the southern end of the Jersey shore, Cape May required ingenious sailing proficiency. The pilot was told in 1796 "When abreast of Cool Spring Inlet, if bound around Cape May steer W. by S. . . . Off Cape May lies a shoal called Four Fathoms bank, which



(Courtesy of the New Jersey State Museum)

*Red Valley Indian Site, one and one-half miles southeast of Red Valley, Monmouth County*



in the chart (issued by the government) is laid down bearing S.E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  S., from the pitch of the Cape, but (this) is quite erroneous, as the true bearing is E. by S.  $\frac{1}{2}$  S. and distance 6 leagues. The water sometimes breaks over this shoal which has the appearance of danger to mariners; but there has never been less than 18 feet of water on it, at any season of the year, which renders the passage across quite safe for vessels drawing less water than the depth before mentioned."

The mariner noted a windmill which stood on the shore about two miles northeast of the Cape. At that point were several houses inhabited principally by pilots. If the captain desired a pilot, he was advised to "hoist some signal," according to the 1796 guidebook, "as those who do not are considered not in want of one."<sup>5</sup>

The mariner of the Eighteenth Century sighting the Jersey shore from his ship saw a series of sea islands in the form of barrier sand-bars cut by frequent inlets with outlying treacherous shoals, and at the ends, the projecting sand-spit of Sandy Hook in the north and the distinctive headland of Cape May in the south. The origins of these formations deserve special consideration.

## 2. *The sea islands.*

This land may be known by its appearing broken islands, which, with the Highlands of Neversink to the westward of Sandy Hook, has a singular appearance from any land on that coast.

(Description of Jersey shore, written 1796.<sup>6</sup>)

The area covered in these volumes embraces the coast of the state of New Jersey, extending from the north point of Sandy Hook to the south point of Cape May, a distance of approximately 127 miles. For most of this distance the Atlantic Ocean beats against a low sandy barrier of sea islands curved like a bow. These islands follow the entire length of the shore except in two sections. In Monmouth County, from Long Branch to

Point Pleasant, where certain currents have prevented the forming of barrier beaches, the projecting point of the coastal plain meets the ocean and the mainland has suffered the attacks of the sea. The resulting loss of land has been considerable, even within the memory of living persons. The other section lies at the southern end, the Cape May peninsula headland, where the main shore comes down to the ocean. All the sea inlands are separated from the mainland by what are locally called bays, channels, sounds, and salt marshes.<sup>7</sup>

The sea islands were formed by natural causes in the shallow waters that characterize the continental shelf off the Jersey shore. In the years following the emergence of the coastal plain, the erosional work of the waves was weak. Great combers began to drag on the shallow bottom, and then change form, topple and break at distances of hundreds and often thousands of feet out from the shoreline. As they did this, they washed forward loose bottom material and dropped it just landward of the line of breakers. Gradually, a submarine ridge nearly parallelling the shoreline was built up. Slowly, this feature grew in height until it appeared above sea level as a series of narrow islands. Subsequently, further depositions by waves filled gaps between some of the islands and connected them. By this procedure a long low island, often called an offshore bar, was formed. The quantity of sand used for bar building was augmented by longshore currents which brought deposits from other places. The continuity of the bar depended upon the available supply of materials. Hence, the more remote the location was from that point along the coast from which the longshore currents procured their supply, the more numerous became the tidal inlets.<sup>8</sup>

Occasionally, severe storms cut away the seaward face of the barrier beaches and masses of salt-marsh turf became exposed below high-tide level on the ocean side of the beaches. Since this turf appeared several feet

below its position bordering on the lagoons that lay between the sea islands and the mainland, it seemed at first sight to be an evidence of a subsidence of the coast. Careful analysis, however, indicated that its occurrence on the seaward side of the beaches proved that the beach had itself migrated westward since its formation for a distance of more than its entire width. Thus it began to encroach on the salt marsh. Under the weight of the beach and its sand dunes, the marsh mud and turf had been greatly compressed. Hence, the turf and marsh mud after heavy storms were at times exposed on the oceanward side at a lower level than it had lain originally.<sup>9</sup>

One of the most noticeable features of the Jersey shore is Sandy Hook. Longshore currents tend to avoid the irregularities and sweep across the mouths of bays. Under these conditions, the shore debris is often built out into the water in the form of a narrow embankment. The seaward side of this embankment grows as more debris is deposited on it. Eventually such a deposition rises above water level and forms a spit or bar. It so happened, therefore, as longshore currents crossed the Navesink and Shrewsbury estuaries that a spit became formed north of these bays at the point where Atlantic Highlands reached the ocean.<sup>10</sup>

In most situations the incoming tidal currents are stronger than the outgoing. Hence, the ends of most spits that jut out from headlands, as Sandy Hook projects from Atlantic Highlands, become strongly recurved. As the headland was cut back by waves and currents, the debris became subject to removal and re-deposition. With the aid of shore currents and undertow, this sand shifted along shore until it came to an angle on the coast where the shoreline turned westerly. Gradually debris was built up in the form of a submerged ridge. Eventually this grew above the water surface and projected northward into New York lower bay as a point of sand and gravel called a spit. The shoreward movement of waves



and currents past the projecting point of the spit caused it to grow with a shoreward curve. Thus it became known as a recurved spit or "hook."<sup>11</sup>

The peninsula of Cape May is not a shore feature produced by current action like Sandy Hook. Apparently, its formation is the result of a two-fold influence: an interglacial deposit of which part is of marine origin and a deposit of outwash gravels that were carried down the Delaware River and mixed with the older one.<sup>12</sup>

One of the less well-known sea islands is the southerly portion of Island Beach in Ocean County. Most of this particular area lies south of what was once old Cranberry Inlet. The ten-mile strip south of what is now Seaside Park, eventually became what the National Park Service characterized in 1950 as "the last remaining significant stretch of natural beach and dune land in the northeastern United States." This was the area designated by Cornelius Weygandt in his *Down Jersey* as "The very best of what is left of the sea islands of yesterday." He explained, "Man has encroached less on this tumbled dune-land than on any other part of the sea front of New Jersey. . . . There are fish nets drying in the sun, there the beach plums break into bloom of stabbing white from black twigs . . . , there is as true a heath as any you will find on Long Island, or Nantucket, or Cape Cod. There you may forget that all the coast islands are not as this retreat of loveliness. There the scents of pine and salt marsh, of sand bogs and plum blossom mix with that of the sea. . . ." <sup>13</sup>

### 3. *The story of the inlets.*

The tide fairly raced by the stone pier . . . and past the bulkhead of interlocking steel. . . . Old automobiles, junked for years, had been brought here and thrown into the (Barnegat) inlet to help hold the sand. They had served their purpose. Most of them were buried in the sand, which they held from washing away.

(Description of Barnegat Inlet, February, 1936.<sup>14</sup>)

Most of the offshore bars are not continuous features. They are broken at intervals by transverse channels known as tidal inlets. The effect of the tidal range on these inlets is noteworthy. Where the tidal range is very small, the inlets are far apart. This is true, for instance, along the coast of Texas, where, with a tidal range of but one or two feet, offshore bars extend in an unbroken line for about 100 miles. Along the Jersey coast, however, where the range is from four to five feet, the inlets appear more frequently. Interestingly enough, where the inlets are numerous, the lagoons or bays become much more completely filled with marsh grass, a condition that is noticeable in the southerly half of the Jersey shore. This situation developed because a uniform condition of salinity was maintained, thanks to frequent contacts with the ocean.<sup>15</sup>

Some of the inlets are endowed with a long history, especially those which served the commerce of mainland villages. These include Shrewsbury Inlet, that gave access to both the Navesink and the Shrewsbury Rivers; Cranberry Inlet, that once was a boon to Toms River; Barnegat Inlet, the entry for Waretown and Forked River; Little Egg Harbor Inlet serving Tuckerton; and Great Egg Harbor Inlet, up whose river by that name lay the busy trading center of Mays Landing.<sup>16</sup> Inlets which did not connect with large water areas were of less historical importance, since they did not develop into a link of a main route for coastal trade. In this category are those in the central and southern section of the shore, such as Brigantine, leading into swamp meadows; Absecon, leading into shallow Absecon Bay; Corsons, between Ocean City and Strathmere; Townsends, between Sea Isle City and Avalon; Hereford, between Stone Harbor and North Wildwood.

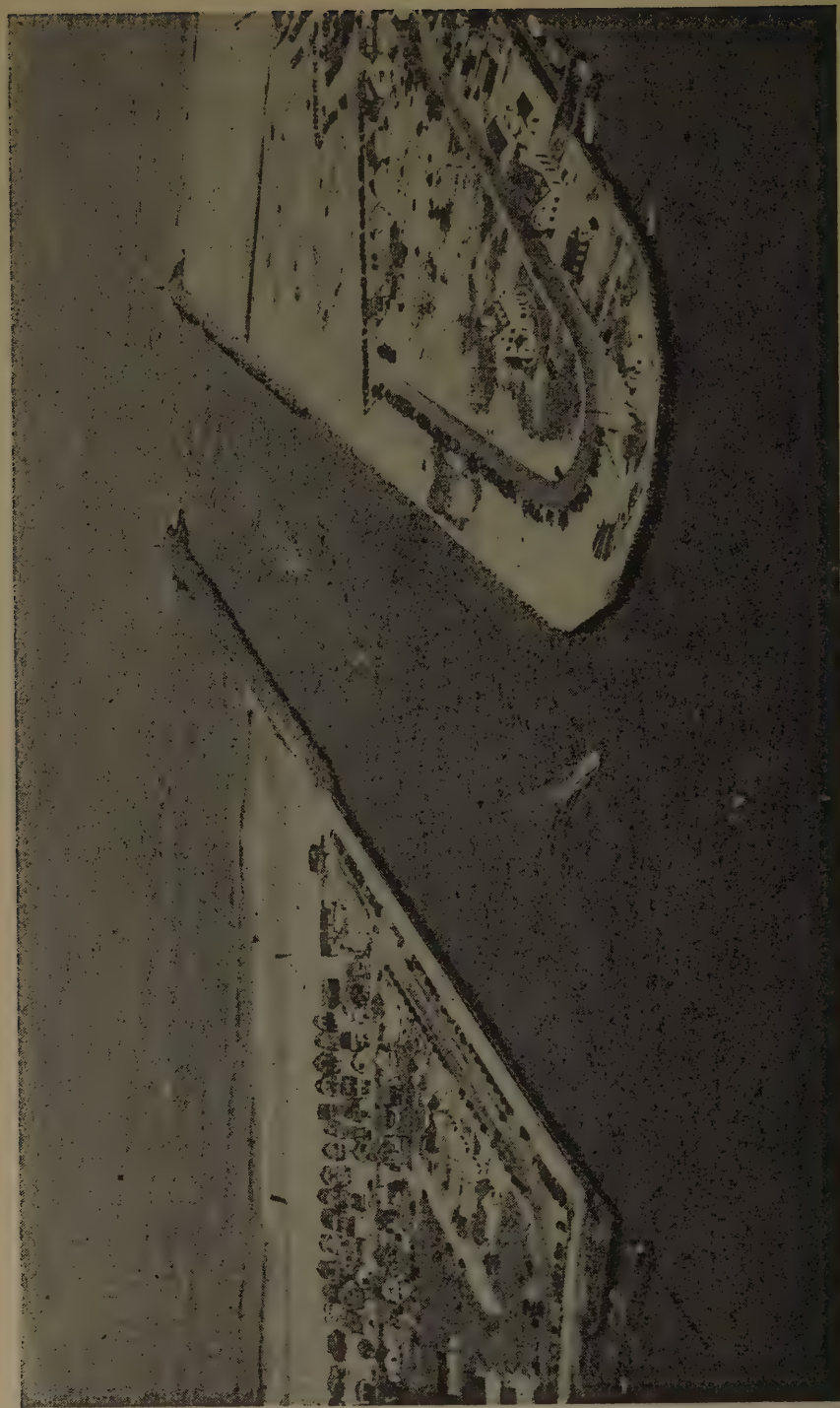
A few inlets that once allowed sea-craft admittance "sanded up" during the years. This category included the renowned Cranberry Inlet, north of Barnegat Inlet, and

Turtle Gut Inlet, south of Wildwood. The former once broke through Island Beach and was used by Toms River navigators for many years. In some cases tides pushing through the inlets built tidal deltas both in the lagoon and on the seaward side, providing an obstacle to navigation in the form of shoals. Because of action of this sort, Turtle Gut Inlet became so shallow by 1914 that after that date it was no longer used by vessels. By 1926, it was filled in by leveling off nearby sand dunes and by driving piles. Later it became the site of a resort real estate development known as Wildwood Crest.<sup>17</sup>

Under the combined action of winds, waves and tidal currents, significant changes occurred from time to time in the location of the more important inlets. Several of these have closed and others have opened since the settlement of the shore. Still others have shifted their position. The stories of Shrewsbury, Barnegat, and Little Egg Harbor Inlets warrant special attention.

Shrewsbury Inlet had an unusual history. Today the passageway to the Navesink and the Shrewsbury Rivers can be found just west of the beginning of Sandy Hook. Previous to 1778, however, Sandy Hook was joined with the highlands of Navesink by a narrow isthmus and the Navesink and the Shrewsbury Rivers opened directly to the ocean on the east through what was known in early history as Shrewsbury Inlet, a three-mile wide passageway north of what is now Sea Bright. In a winter storm, 1777-1778, a passage was broken through the isthmus from Sandy Hook to Navesink Highlands and tidal currents flowing through this channel allowed the waves to build up a sand reef, toward the sea. By 1810, this motion had closed old Shrewsbury Inlet. For two decades, the Navesink and the Shrewsbury Rivers flowed, as they do now, into Sandy Hook Bay. In the winter storm of 1830-1831, however, a second Shrewsbury Inlet was made by a break through the sand reef near what is now Sea Bright. By 1832, a sand isthmus about 50





*Manasquan Inlet in Modern Times*

yards wide formed again connecting Sandy Hook to the mainland at Navesink Highlands. Now the two rivers flowed directly east into the ocean. About 1835, however, a ditch was cut through the sand isthmus by volunteers and the outlet north into Sandy Hook Bay was gradually reopened. This then resulted in the gradual closing of the second Shrewsbury Inlet, although until 1848 both openings were used except at times when a sandbar temporarily choked up the second inlet.

In that year the inlet was finally closed during a winter storm. It had been shifting constantly with tidal and offshore currents. In fact from 1836 to 1848, it moved a mile toward the north, in contrast to the movement southerly of the Barnegat Inlet. From 1848 on, the barrier beach north of Sea Bright was exceptionally narrow, in some places only 50 yards wide. When the first railroad was constructed north from Long Branch to Sandy Hook, it was deemed prudent by the railroad company and by property owners to construct bulk-heads to protect that portion of the barrier beach, and it is in this area to-day that one may see protective stone emplacements.<sup>18</sup> But for modern bulk-heads and jetties there is a strong likelihood that this old Shrewsbury Inlet might have been reopened in the storms of the Twentieth Century. It was evident that the near-hurricane of November 24 and 25, 1950, caused a near-breakthrough at Sea Bright. The latter community was isolated at that time. The Atlantic Ocean pounded over the thin strip of sea island, and hurled its waters into the Shrewsbury River. Coast Guard "ducks" aided in the evacuation of many families living along the beach front.<sup>19</sup>

When the Allaire Iron Works were operating in the first half of the 19th Century, the company's three steamboats took a course from New York Bay outside of Sandy Hook into old Shrewsbury Inlet. Their objective was a landing near what was called the Ocean House. It was frequently recalled that the passage through the Inlet was

highly exciting at the time of certain tides. The steamboats were fitted with double engines. On coming abreast the passageway, they would swing around and rush through as if they were running rapids.<sup>20</sup>

South of the Shrewsbury Inlet, the Shark River and the Manasquan Inlets were not breaks through barrier islands but rather mainland outlets of two rivers. In the Barnegat Bay and Little Egg Harbor sections of the shore, however, three inlets were made through sea island barriers, one of which, Cranberry, later closed. Barnegat Inlet, still open, proved one of the most noteworthy of the Jersey shore. In 1609, this entrance was noted in the log of Henry Hudson's ship, entry for September 2. Going north along the coast it was observed "we came to a great lake of water, as we could judge it to be, being drowned land, which made its rise like islands, which was in length ten leagues. The mouth of the lake had many shoals and the sea breaks upon them as it is cast out of the mouth of it. And from that lake or bay, the land lies north by east, and we had a great stream out of the bay."<sup>21</sup> The "lake," of course, was Barnegat Bay, the "mouth" Barnegat Inlet. The reference to shoals indicated that as early as 1609, sand reefs existed outside the inlet. On these many a ship fought its last fight against the waves. Indeed, Barnegat derived its name from the breakers, the name being a corruption from the Dutch "Barendegat" or Breakers Inlet. Cornelius May, or Mey, as it was sometimes spelled, for whom Cape May was named, gave this name to the location a few years later, and in 1656, the Dutch map-maker, Vanderbonk, corrupted "Barendegat" into "Barndegat." Still later, the "d" was dropped.<sup>22</sup>

The Barnegat passageway presents another instance of an inlet that has shifted its position. The southward drift of sand below Bay Head tended to build up the northern side of the opening and thus push the tidal currents against the southern shore. The inlet, therefore, slowly drifted southward a distance amounting to over



half a mile in fifty years. A lighthouse built on the southerly side in 1834 was destroyed by this movement. It was replaced in 1858, but the new structure was threatened as early as 1886. This was saved from destruction only by the building of expensive protective works.<sup>23</sup>

More than most other passageways, the action of currents tended to keep Barnegat Inlet scooped open. Water from the rivers emptying into the bay sought an outlet through the opening. The water in the bay, also rose and fell with the tide flowing in and out through the inlet.<sup>24</sup> According to an 1889 account, the average rise and fall of tide in Barnegat Bay was one foot, which for its area of seventy-two and one-half square miles, meant a volume of over two million cubic feet of water pushing through the inlet four times daily. In a year, this aggregated more than three times the amount which flowed from the watershed of the Hudson in the same time.<sup>25</sup>

Little Egg Harbor Inlet, near what was later known as Tuckers Beach, off the southern tip of Long Beach Island, affords entrance to Little Egg Harbor and Tuckerton as well as to shallow Great Bay at the mouth of the Mullica River. Local historians recount that in the year 1800 a violent northeast storm broke through Tuckers Beach. A small depression, through a kind of swale covered with red cedar trees between two ridges of sand dunes let in the unusually high sea. This formed a new Little Egg Harbor Inlet, referred to on 19th Century maps as the "New Inlet."<sup>26</sup>

The "Old Inlet," a few miles up the coast, was said to have been more than a mile wide in the 18th Century. After 1800, sand bars began to form across its mouth and it gradually grew more shallow, although it was used by coasting schooners out of Tuckerton and West Creek for a number of years following that date. By 1874, however, the channel was so shallow that men could wade across it at low tide.<sup>27</sup> As the years went by, the hook of the north

point of Tuckers Beach gradually extended clear across the "Old Inlet." In the process, it encircled the sand dunes of what was called Short Beach, and made it, after two centuries of separation, a part of Long Beach Island. Eventually this connection, too, was broken, another illustration of the mutability of inlet formations. On February 4, 1920, during a severe winter storm accompanied by high tides and powerful wind, the sea broke through the "Old Inlet" once more, forming a passageway later known as Beach Haven Inlet. The latter gradually grew wider and Long Beach Township later found it necessary to build jetties on its north point in an effort to stop the erosion of beachlands.<sup>28</sup>

From 1800 on the Little Egg Harbor Inlet at Tuckers Beach slowly developed into a broad passageway about two miles wide. "It is the best inlet on the coast of New Jersey," claimed a county history written in 1882. "Vessels drawing fifteen feet of water pass safely over its bar at high tide. During adverse weather," the account continued, "the surface of the water of Little Egg Harbor, near the new inlet, is thickly dotted with sail-furled hulls of coasting vessels."<sup>29</sup> In 1848, Little Egg Harbor Lighthouse was constructed on what was then Tuckers Beach near the entrance to the inlet. It was discontinued in 1859, but re-established in 1867. It lay twenty-one and a half miles from Barnegat Light and twelve miles from Absecon Light. To the south, the Little Egg Harbor Light was visible twelve nautical miles.

A further illustration of the shifting influences of wind and tide is found in the history of Cranberry Inlet. This passageway was opposite Toms River, cutting through what is now Island Beach approximately ten miles north of Barnegat Inlet. In its heyday, Cranberry was widely used. It afforded a convenient opportunity to get in and out of Barnegat Bay. When it became closed in the 19th Century, a local description written in 1890 observed "Since Barnegat Inlet is at the lower end of the

bay and the distance vessels from the head of the bay have to sail to get out to sea, the need of an outlet nearer the head of the bay is seriously felt."<sup>30</sup>

Cranberry Inlet was open by 1755 for it appears on a map drawn at that date.<sup>31</sup> During the American Revolution the opening was much in use since Toms River was a favorite base for American privateers. In 1778, two hundred British soldiers, in armed whale-boats, used it to attack the blockhouse at Toms River.

The passageway was closed by the effects of a winter storm about the year 1812, although for several years previous it had been filling in with gradually increasing shoals. Definite attempts were later made to dredge a new opening. In 1821, a number of men, many from Toms River, volunteered to help open a new inlet through the sea island. The particular location was nearer the head of Barnegat Bay and north of old Cranberry Inlet. Considerable money was expended in providing equipment for digging. When the tide came in, however, instead of scouring out a deeper passageway, the waters brought up a shoal of sand large enough to close it. Many self-appointed advisers then argued that an attempt at the exact site of the old Cranberry Inlet would prove more successful. This talk continued with increasing insistence until 1847, when a Toms River group hired 250 men to dig out Old Cranberry. After the men had dug for three days, the work was finished July 4th, 1847. Particular pains were taken this time to prevent a recurrence of the earlier unfortunate happening. In fact the water from the ocean was not let in the passageway until it was high tide in the bay. But again inexorable shore currents proved the stronger. Within a few weeks the inlet filled in and Island Beach again became a long peninsula pushing south from Bay Head.<sup>32</sup>

The location of certain inlets was the basis of delimiting boundary lines between counties and also between townships. Two instances of special interest appear on



the Jersey shore. The exact location of a particular inlet as it was in 1710 eventually became the cause for litigation between Old Gloucester and Burlington Counties. The description of the boundary line between the two was made in that year. It stated that the line proceeded from the mouth of the Mullica "to the next inlet on the south side of Little Egg Harbor's most southerly inlet." The eastern and southern half of Old Gloucester County was constituted as Atlantic County in 1837, but it was not until 1885 that the boundary dispute reached the highest court of the State. More than forty witnesses were examined and old deeds and surveys offered in evidence. Burlington County contended that the inlet in the minds of the legislators of 1710 was the present-day Brigantine Inlet. Atlantic County, which inherited Gloucester County's claim, held that when the act describing the boundaries was passed, there was an inlet at approximately the same place as the one which broke through the barrier beach about 1800, or just north of Atlantic County's Island Beach. This, they said, was referred to on the maps of that period as the "New Inlet." They argued that this was near the true location of the old Brigantine Inlet of 1710, which had gradually closed and was entirely dry by 1876.

In support of this point, Atlantic County produced a grant of George III defining the boundaries of Galloway Township, in Atlantic County, which located Brigantine Inlet at that time just south of Marks Island or about 1,050 feet north of what was later the life-saving station on Atlantic County's Island Beach. Moreover, the County was able to show that all the inlets south of Barnegat had gradually moved south since the location of the line in 1710. They cited the case of Absecon Inlet, which from 1737 to 1885 had moved about one and one-half miles southward, and that of the Great Egg Harbor Inlet, which had pushed over three miles south in 200 years. Upon this theory, it was argued, the Brigantine Inlet of

1710 must have been near the south side of the so-called "New Inlet," or just north of the County's Island Beach. The commissioners appointed to hear the case upheld the contention of Atlantic County and this verdict was sustained by the court in 1885.<sup>33</sup> The area in dispute comprised the southern part of the waters of Great Bay, at the mouth of the Mullica, and all of Island Beach, which is today just north of Brigantine Beach and distinct from Ocean County's Island Beach north of Barnegat Inlet.

The second illustration of the influence of an inlet's location in determining boundary lines deals with the present southern boundary of Atlantic City. In fact, this situation was one reason why Ventnor, Margate, and Longport did not become a part of Atlantic City even though today all are on Absecon Island. When Atlantic City was chartered by the legislature in 1854, its territory extended from Absecon Inlet southward as far as what was then called "Dry Inlet," which was later known as Jackson Avenue. At the beginning of the 19th Century, Absecon Island had been cut by this shallow inlet through which, for many years, the tide flowed and ebbed, and as it gradually filled in, it came to be called "Dry Inlet." In 1854, this low-lying area was set as the southern end of Atlantic City. The remaining portion of the island was kept a part of the mainland township of Egg Harbor, from which Ventnor was not detached until 1903, although South Atlantic City, later called Margate, was carved from Egg Harbor Township in 1885 and Longport in 1898.

#### 4. *Bay and salt marsh.*

A series of bays (are) . . . formed by a strip of beach on the east and the main shore on the west, receiving the waters of the ocean through narrow inlets. These bays are separated from one another by encroachments of the salt meadows fringing their shores and by sedgy islands.

Through the channels between these islands one can pass from bay to bay.

(Excerpt from latter 19th Century guidebook.<sup>34</sup>)

The offshore barrier or sea island is completely separated from the mainland by a shallow lagoon, the continuity of which is occasionally interrupted by the mainland itself, especially at certain projecting locations. In the southern part of the Jersey shore, the term "sound" is used to mark these stretches of water and marsh, such as Richardson Sound and Grassy Sound, west of Wildwood; Jenkins Sound, west of Stone Harbor; Great Sound, west of Seven Mile Beach and Avalon; and Townsends Sound, west of the southerly end of Sea Isle City. North of this point, however, the term "bay" becomes used more frequently, such as Ludlams Bay, to the westward of Sea Isle City, Pecks, west of Ocean City, which itself was earlier known as Pecks Beach; Lakes Bay and Absecon Bay, to the west of Ventnor and Atlantic City; Reeds and Little Bays, west of Brigantine; Great Bay, west of Tuckers Beach; Little Egg Harbor Bay, west of Beach Haven; and Sandy Hook Bay, with its accompanying Shrewsbury and Navesink Rivers, the lower reaches of which are in the form of bays, west of Sandy Hook and Sea Bright.

Seemingly these many inlets and bays afforded protection to shipping, increasing the commercial utility of such a shoreline. With reference to small craft, they did. Small canals dredged through the lagoons, connecting one with another, offered protected routes for light coastwise traffic. The intracoastal waterway is an example, although the latter is forced to go out into the unprotected ocean from Sandy Hook to Manasquan Inlet. Owing to the nature of the shore, however, storms frequently produced extremely rough water outside the inlet bar. The approaches to the inlets are shallow, as are the lagoons and channels behind them. Many ships were grounded and



lost on the Jersey shore. Indeed, according to authorities, this type of shore is hardly less dangerous than rocky shores.<sup>35</sup>

The bars off the Jersey shore are nearly straight. They enclosed a much narrower type of lagoon or bay than the long bars off the Carolina shoreline, which developed under the influence of various shore currents from segments meeting at sharp angles and which eventually enclosed broad bodies of water, such as Pamlico Sound.<sup>36</sup> Barnegat Bay, the largest of the Jersey shore lagoons, exemplifies the situation in New Jersey. North of Barnegat Inlet the depth of the Bay scarcely exceeded ten feet anywhere and a considerable area next to the beach was less than five feet. Southward the depth reaches nearly twenty feet near Lovelady Island. The bay is twenty-seven miles long and from one to four miles broad.<sup>37</sup>

Salt meadows form another characteristic of the Jersey shore. The west shore of the barrier beach and the mainland across the bay are usually fringed with them, and in the bays themselves are many "sedgy islands," as noted in the quotation at the beginning of this section. It has been estimated that the salt marshes embrace more than 160,000 acres. Covered with various kinds of grass and reeds, they produced a succession of crops of salt hay and gradually gathered a soil of black earth. This soil increased in thickness around the roots of the grasses, and the grasses each year become higher and closer, even though fully retaining their salty flavor. When cut and stored, these grasses were once used for stock feeding and even hay for horses.<sup>38</sup>

The coastal plain streams emptying into the Atlantic from Sandy Hook to Cape May generally have gradients of from five to six feet to the mile and are bordered in their lower courses by tidal marshes. These marshes are due to the partial submergence of the valleys eroded at a time when the coastal plain stood at a higher level than at present and the streams were in consequence able to

cut their valleys to greater depths. Delaware Bay, the old lower course of the Delaware River, and Raritan Bay, the drowned portion of the Raritan River, are conspicuous examples. Because of this lower stand of the land with reference to sea level, the mouths of all the streams entering the ocean became more or less submerged, their lower course transformed into bays and the tides now



(Courtesy N. J. Council)

### *Lagoon at Ocean City*

extended far inland. Today they reach on up the Delaware to Trenton and up the Raritan above New Brunswick. This same phenomenon applies to the smaller rivers and creeks. On the Rancocas, the tide rises to Mt. Holly; on Raccoon Creek to Swedesboro; on Salem Creek about to Sharptown; on Cohansey Creek to Bridgeton; on Great Egg Harbor River to Mays Landing. The Mullica River is tidal to Batsto and Pleasant Mills; the Wading River, to Harrisville; the Toms River, to the town of that name; the Shrewsbury River, to above Ft. Monmouth; the Navesink River, to the Swimming River above Red Bank.<sup>39</sup>

The submergence of the seaward portion of the coastal

plain gave rise to a popular impression that the coast of New Jersey was subsiding at a rate of two feet a century or a quarter of an inch per year. According to the State Geologist in 1940, however, many facts which were earlier relied upon to sustain this view are now recognized to be susceptible of another interpretation. One authority has expressed the opinion that there has been no change in sea level during the past few thousand years. According to the New Jersey Board of Commerce and Navigation, which studied the problem, the conclusion was reached that the changes in the position of sea and land over a period of 100 years was caused by the erosive action locally of the waves and currents. In some sections the land is lower in respect to tide level than formerly. And yet this may be due to earlier shifts of level or recent variations in high-tide level because of the changes in the shape of bays and the capacity of the inlets. About 30,000 years ago the retreat of the Wisconsin glaciation began. This melting caused the sea level to rise. Whether the rise has been continual or cyclic has not yet been determined. The Jersey shoreline was naturally affected.<sup>40</sup> Certainly, there is no warrant for the old view that the coast of the state is now subsiding at a rate of an inch a year.<sup>41</sup>

There is undeniable evidence of changes in the shoreline of New Jersey, such as buried stumps and buried peat, but the age and cause of these changes are not clear. Some of them may have been caused by compaction rather than by subsidence. On the other hand, it seems logical to suppose that sea level has been gradually rising since glacial time. Such rises of sea level are not measurable. One geologist who made a study of Cape May County in 1935 declared that his investigations tended to show that the sea level has been slowly rising since late glacial time and that the buried stumps and vegetation of the marshes represented various stages of geologic time.<sup>42</sup>

The fact that Indian shell heaps occur on hard gravel



in marshes now covered by water is another indication of a rise in sea level since the times of Indian habitation. The Oyster Creek excavations near Waretown in Ocean County may possibly be taken as an example of a slight rise of sea level, or rather, of a change in the relative level of sea and land. The site is on a knoll of a marsh, and it seems unlikely that such a place would have been chosen by the Indians for a camp site. However, if the sea level had been slightly lower, it might have been a more favorable location.<sup>43</sup>

### 5. *The Coastal Plain.*

Over half of the coastal plain (in New Jersey) . . . is less than one hundred feet above sea level.

(Description by state geologist, 1940.<sup>44</sup>)

Inland from the salt marsh lies the coastal plain of the state, which extends northwesterly to a line from Trenton to a point on the Raritan a short distance below New Brunswick, covering about three-fifths of the State. Its surface is in general a dissected plain that rises gradually from sea level at the coast to nearly 400 feet in northern Monmouth County. At its inner margin where it borders on the Piedmont to the northwest, it includes a broad shallow depression lying less than 100 feet above sea level and extending from Raritan Bay to the Delaware between Trenton and Bordentown. The southwestward continuation of this low belt forms the lower Delaware Valley, the axis of which lies below sea level. Hence the coastal plain of New Jersey descends to sea level on the east, west, and south, and rises barely to 100 feet along the axis of the depression at its northern border.<sup>45</sup>

The ridges or uplands between the lowlands of the coastal plain are termed "cuestas," the Spanish word for slope or grade. The most pronounced of these starts at Atlantic Highlands and traverses the state southwest. It includes such rises as Beacon Hill, Pine Hill, Mount

Holly, Mount Laurel and Woodbury Heights. It was on this rise southeast of Trenton that the site of Fort Dix was chosen. The location provided an extensive flat, well-drained upland of sandy soil not apt to become muddy. It was supplied with excellent artesian water and it lay close to important lines of communication but a suitable distance from any large city.<sup>46</sup>

The surface of the coastal plain extends eastward with the same gentle slope beneath the waters of the Atlantic for about 100 miles. This submerged part of the plain is known as the continental shelf. The moderate elevation of the plain has prevented streams from cutting valleys of any considerable depth. Throughout its greater portion, therefore, the relief is inconsiderable, the streams flowing in open valleys that lie at only slightly lower levels than the broad flat divides. The main divide of the plain between the east and the west, for the most part less than 100 feet above sea level, lies between the waters of the Rancocas Creek and the Mullica River. Northward, the divide rises in Monmouth County to a maximum at Crawford's Hill, one of the Mt. Pleasant Hills, which has an elevation of 391 feet. Hills between Clarksburg and Perinesville reach an elevation of 354 feet and the Navesink Highlands 276 feet. In these three localities there is considerable ground above 200 feet.<sup>47</sup>

In large part, the geologic strata of the coastal plain, whose age is from 120 to 150 million years, are marine formations, clay, sand gravel, and green sand marl, all containing abundant remains of various organisms. During their formation, the waters of the Atlantic Ocean submerged all of the present coastal plain. Repeated oscillations of sea level caused widespread advances and retreats of the shore so that there were great variations in the extent of the Coastal Plain. Since the successive strata all have a gentle inclination to the south-east and away from the old land on which they were deposited, the fertile beds of soil which now crop out along the

inner margin of the Coastal Plain are beneath and are older than those in the central and seaward areas. These belong to the Cretaceous period and those overlying them to the Tertiary.<sup>48</sup>

The Cretaceous strata extend from Atlantic Highlands southwest to the Delaware and along that river to Salem forming a belt ten to twenty-five miles wide. These formations are alternating layers of clay, fine sand, and green sand marl and are known for their fertility. The overlying Tertiary strata, however, are predominantly sand, and are loose and lacking in fertility over wide areas. Where fine silt soils prevail, intensive cultivation produces garden crops, berries, melons, grapes, and other fruits, as around Bridgeton, Millville, Glassboro, and Egg Harbor. Further north, where the land is higher and much of the soil coarse white sand, the region is largely unbroken forest.<sup>49</sup>

These various geological formations left their influence not only on the early white settlers, but on the aborigines. The Cretaceous area and particularly the banks of the streams which cross it, afforded favorable camp and village sites. On the other hand, the great central area of the Coastal Plain was an unbroken wilderness crossed by a few trails leading to the seashore. The Indians periodically gathered to collect supplies of shellfish and other seafoods. That some of these sites were visited repeatedly and occupied for considerable time is shown by the size and thickness of the shell heaps which still exist.

The outcroppings of marl in their best form contain about 6.6 per cent content of potash. A hydrous-silicate of potassium and iron, the green sand marls of Monmouth, Burlington, Camden, Gloucester, and Salem counties were formerly used as fertilizer but were replaced in modern times by concentrated commercial fertilizer. Marl occurs in nearly horizontal beds twenty to twenty-five feet thick, which reach the surface between Delaware Bay



and Atlantic Highlands along a belt about 100 miles long with an average width of two miles. These beds underlie all the coastal plain, but for much of the area at so great a depth as to be inaccessible except by deep borings. Formations of marl are found only eleven feet below the surface in Monmouth County, in Farmingdale and near Red Bank at Phalanx. Well borings at Atlantic City on the other hand, indicate beds of clay, sand and marl from depths of 390 to 1,225 feet below sea level.<sup>50</sup>

The coastal plain contains a considerable water supply. Many of the sandy and gravelly beds are so porous as to have a good capacity for storing water and are so inter-laminated with impervious beds of clay and marl that large quantities of water are held under such pressure as to furnish abundant artesian flow. Well borings indicate that water-bearing beds increase in thickness toward the coast. Ground water supplies, however, are not inexhaustible. Serious over-drafts occur as pumping increases and the diminution of pressure increases the danger of entry of salt water into wells along the sea-coast.<sup>51</sup>

Four counties and part of a fifth comprise the area under investigation: Monmouth, Ocean, the southeasterly portion of Burlington, Atlantic and Cape May counties. Individual physiographic features mark each county. Monmouth County, the most northern, has a double ocean front, with its northern shore washed by Raritan Bay and Sandy Hook Bay, and the eastern, by the Atlantic. It is indented at intervals by ocean inlets or by bay-like mouths of inland streams. The most important rivers are the Navesink and the Shrewsbury, both tidewater streams. Southward lies the Shark River, the lower part of which becomes practically a narrow ocean inlet which three miles inland expands into a considerable body of water. The Manasquan River, on the southern boundary of the county, rises in the inland part of the county and receives many small branches.<sup>52</sup>

Ocean County, south of Monmouth, possesses a longer coast line than that of any other county in the state. It reaches more than forty miles from Manasquan Inlet to Little Egg Harbor Inlet. Its coastline is a long thread of sand known as Island Beach and Long Beach Island, separated by Barnegat Inlet. Between the sea islands and the mainland lie the waters of Barnegat Bay, Manahawkin Bay and Little Egg Harbor. Flowing southeasterly in the northern part of the county is the Metedeconk River which empties expansively into a large body of water just north of Barnegat Bay. The main stream of the county, however, is Toms River, which rises in the northwestern part of the county, close to the Monmouth County line, and flows southwesterly to Barnegat Bay. It, too, expands in its last few miles into harbor-like width. Many other small streams are found in the county. The county is almost triangular in shape, its apex touching on Little Egg Harbor. Its area is the second largest of all the counties, but it is the most sparsely populated of all the twenty-one in the state.<sup>53</sup>

Burlington County is the only one that reaches across the width of the state. It does not truly arrive at the ocean, however, except by the legal fiction which projects a land boundary into adjacent waters. It was in 1890 that Burlington lost a part of its ocean frontage when Little Egg Harbor Township was annexed to Ocean County. However, much of the southern part of Burlington County is more closely tied in its history with the shore than with the section of Burlington County that lies along the Delaware River. Hence, some of the developments in this portion demand inclusion in a study of the history of the shore areas. The main streams in the shore portion are the Wading River and the Mullica River, which forms a large part of the boundary between Burlington and Atlantic counties.

Atlantic County was a part of Old Gloucester County until 1837. At that time it contained four townships, Gal-

loway, Egg Harbor, Weymouth and Hamilton, all subdivided later. The county fronts on the Atlantic Ocean for approximately twenty miles along Brigantine Beach and Absecon Island. Between these two sea islands and the mainland are the southern portion of Great Bay (the mouth of the Mullica River) and the shallow lagoons of Little Bay, Reeds Bay, Absecon Bay, Lakes Bay and Sculls Bay. The county has numerous streams flowing into the Mullica River and Great Bay, and the Great Egg Harbor River courses, southeastwardly through the county. Several smaller streams flow southerly into the Tuckahoe River which separates the county from Cape May County.

Between Delaware Bay and the ocean lies Cape May County. This peninsula is nearly thirty-two miles long and at its greatest width thirteen miles. On the ocean side, paralleling the mainland, is a succession of barrier beaches. On the north was Pecks Beach, now Ocean City; south of this was Ludlams Beach, now Strathmere and Sea Isle City. Following came Seven Mile Beach, now Avalon and Stone Harbor; then Five Mile Beach, now Anglesea and the Wildwoods; then finally Two Mile Beach, now Cold Spring Harbor. Between these and the mainland lie expanses of salt marsh and shallow lagoon, including Great Egg Harbor and Pecks Bay; Ludlams Bay and Townsends Sound; Great Sound and Jenkins Sound; Grassy, Richardson and Jarvis Sounds and Cape May Harbor.

In early times the Indians and their families journeyed to all these shore counties in the summer season. A discussion of their sojourns and an analysis of evidences today of temporary Indian camping locations comprise the major portion of the following chapter.





## CHAPTER II

### THE INDIANS, THE FIRST SHORE VISITORS

There are at least 1,200 (who) . . . come down to the ocean about little Eggbay (Little Egg Harbor) and Sandy Barnegate (Barnegat) and about the South Cape (Cape May) there are two small kings with forty men apiece.

(Excerpt from letter written in the 1640's.<sup>1</sup>)

Long before Verrazano sighted the Jersey shore in 1524 and Hudson sailed north along the sea islands in 1609, the shore had become the mecca for the first summer visitors, the Indians. Their summer encampments, scattered through the four shore counties, have left many evidences of one-time temporary occupation. The musical names they left behind include Manahawkin, Metedeconk, Matawan, Atsion, Absecon, Tuckahoe, Shamong, Manasquan, Squankum, and Mantoloking. The factors that brought them shoreward, the trials used in reaching their objective, highlights of their life at the shore, and a discussion of archeological finds constitute the major portions of this chapter. Only a small percentage of the Indians made the coastal areas their year-round home.

#### 1. *The natives.*

Indians were nomadic, stopping now here and now there. This accounts for finding their flint arrowheads, their shell-heaps, and their bones in so many places . . . , so many that it would have been impossible to have supported so many villages had they all been occupied at the same time.

(Ocean County comment, written in 1899.<sup>2</sup>)

Comparatively few Indians were permanent residents of the actual shore and its immediately contiguous area, and what is known about them is based on fragmentary data. In a letter published in a pamphlet in 1648, an excerpt from which is quoted at the beginning of this chapter, one observer, who lived in what is now New Jersey,

mentioned a number of Indian "kings" located along the Delaware who commanded about 800 men. In addition this same commentator noted two small groups of Indians "about the south cape."<sup>3</sup>

One authority on southern New Jersey declared that no person knew when the Indians first inhabited the area and that no reliable method existed of figuring the actual number of Indians there before the arrival of Europeans. It was his estimate that by 1664 there were less than 2,000 Indian men south of Trenton.<sup>4</sup>

Another authority made a similar calculation of the total number of Indians in southern and central New Jersey in the middle Seventeenth Century. It was his belief that in order to approximate the total Indian population one might "safely multiply the number of bowmen by four." On that basis, using estimates from the 1648 pamphlet, he reckoned there were at that time about 9,000 Indians in those sections of the state and several thousand more in the so-called Minsi country in the northern and northwestern portions.<sup>5</sup>

Whatever may have been the total number of Indians of central and southern New Jersey, it is clear that they were concentrated in the interior. This is revealed by a study of the insert map in the authoritative volume, *The Archaeology of New Jersey*, which locates the Indian sites either surveyed or excavated. Particularly notable are the groups of sites in the Delaware River watershed, especially along the tributary streams including the Maurice and Cohansey Rivers, Stowe, Alloway, Salem, Oldmans, Raccoon, Mantua, Big Timber, Coopers, Pennsauken, Crosswicks, and Rancocas Creeks, with the biggest concentration of sites along the last-named stream and its branches. In northern New Jersey the sites focused on the upper Passaic River and its tributaries: the Saddle, Pompton, Rockaway and Whippany Rivers. In addition many Indian villages were found in the Delaware watershed north of Trenton. These interior locations were the



sources of most of the Indian visitors to the shore, although a considerable percentage came from the Pennsylvania side of the Delaware. In contrast, the comparatively meager number of Indian sites along the shore, as shown by this same insert map, reveals how small a proportion really made these places year-round habitations.<sup>6</sup>

The summer-resorting Indians used tepees but the year-round Indians lived in wigwams. The tepee could be put up and taken down in a matter of minutes and therefore fitted the needs of the summer transients. The wigwam, on the other hand, was more permanent. Poles were placed in two rows two or three feet into the ground. The tops were then bent together. The framework was then covered with mats woven from grass or sedge and then plastered with clay.<sup>7</sup> Others were built also in rectangular form, but with low log walls which were banked with sod. Their arched roofs were covered with a shingling of cedar bark.<sup>8</sup>

By the early Seventeenth Century, there lived in New Jersey three subdivisions of the Lenni-Lenape: the Unamis, or Turtle; the Unalachtigo, or Turkey; and the Minsi, or Wolf. The latter, the most warlike of the three, occupied the most northerly portion of the New Jersey Lenape country. The Unamis and Unalachtigo branches inhabited the country between the Minsi and the seacoast, embracing portions of the Jersey shore area.

The Unamis, whose name in Lenape signified "People-down-the-river," had two council fires: one between what is now Trenton and Crosswicks Creek, the other at present-day Keyport near the mouth of the Raritan. The Raritan Indians were subdivisions of the Unamis and they, in turn, included bands of Navesinks who lived in what was later Monmouth County around the Shrewsbury and Navesink Rivers. The close connection of the Navesinks with the other Raritans is shown by the fact that in 1663, a year prior to the expulsion of the Dutch from New Amsterdam, when the first party of English-

men came to the Monmouth region for the purpose of purchasing land from the chiefs, these Navesinks were requested to meet with the upper Raritans and the English at the Raritan town a few miles up the river from the site of Amboy.<sup>9</sup> Some of the Navesink group probably lived in a small village at Swimming River, two miles southwest of present-day Red Bank. There some Indians stayed through the winter.<sup>10</sup>

Other bands of the Unami numbering approximately 300 lived in scattered groups across the state southeast from what is now Camden. These included the Atsions or Atsionks, whose principal village was near present-day Atsion in Burlington County on the upper Mullica River. They claimed the right to hunt and fish along the Mullica and its tributaries. East of them, and nearer the shore were the Manahawkins. The latter had feuds with the Absegami who lived near Great Egg Harbor and who were members of Unalachtigos.

The boundaries of the Unamis and the Unalachtigos and the Minsi, if actually they had boundaries, were not clearly defined.<sup>11</sup> Legends of clashes between the groups have been handed down. On one occasion, it was stated, a party of Unami Indians, hunting and fishing near the mouth of the Mullica, encountered a hostile band of Minsi who had pushed southward. Many were killed and, according to the story, at the end only two Unamis and one Minsi were left alive. The Minsi, it was said, plunged into the river and, reaching the opposite shore disappeared into the forest.<sup>12</sup> It is definitely known that the Unami gathered in that vicinity for in the 1880's, two skeletons were found beneath a large cedar tree in the sand hills of Chestnut Neck, not far from present-day Port Republic, Atlantic County. The head of one of the skeletons was encased in a turtle shell, the totem of the Unami.<sup>13</sup>

The Unalachtigo, whose name signified "People-who-live-near-the-ocean," occupied the southern end of the state. They were skilled in fishing and were more gentle

than the Minsi. Their group included the Absegami around Great Egg Harbor, the Tuckahoes along the river of that name, and in the Cape May section, the Kechemèches. Two notable characters were among them. "King" Nummy was known as a good chief. It is said he was buried at Nummy Island near Hereford Inlet, Cape May County. The other about whom stories were handed down was the Indian "Queen," Bathsheba Moolis, who made an annual visit with her entourage from the interior down to the shore at Great Egg Harbor. She was said to be corpulent and rather short, and an amiable character. Her people treated her with great respect and so long as she was able to withstand the fatigue of the journey, she made the trip.<sup>14</sup> Evidence that Indians lived in this section was provided in 1890 at Pleasantville, Atlantic County when workmen digging in preparation for opening a new street, uncovered at a depth of three feet the skeletons of twenty-one Indians. Buried with them were several flints, many arrows, one stone knife, two flakes, and a stone mill for cracking corn. The latter had served long; it was nearly worn in two through usage.<sup>15</sup>

Further evidence of native occupation of sections of the coastal plain is given in a travel account written by a member of the Society of Friends in 1672, a decade before the founding of Pennsylvania and Philadelphia. Headed for a quarterly meeting at Oyster Bay, Long Island, this commentator with a group of Quakers from Maryland crossed the area from a point in New Jersey opposite Newcastle, Delaware, to Middletown, in Monmouth County. The trip occurred in March, before the season of migration of hinterland Indians to the shore. The party had a Dutchman for a guide, but on crossing into New Jersey, the latter refused to go on without an Indian to guide him. After a search for two days, one was found and hired. The next day they journeyed nearly forty miles traveling a number of miles inland from the shore to avoid crossing coastal creeks near their mouths.



That evening, according to the account, "We got to a few Indian wigwams and . . . lodged that night in one. . . . We lay upon the ground as the Indians did . . . . Next day we travelled through several of their towns and they were kind to us and helped us over the creeks with their canoes. We made our horses swim at the sides of the canoes and so travelled on." They stopped the succeeding night at another wigwam where little food was available. "We slept with only a mat under us and a piece of wool or any such thing under our heads." The next night they lodged in the woods, and the following morning reached "an English plantation, at a town called Middletown."<sup>16</sup>

From all accounts it is evident that the shore areas were frequented by many Indians, other than those who regarded it as their year-round home. There is some likelihood that the Indian population of the shore was augmented in summertime in a proportion similar to the present day increase during the same period to the permanent white population at the shore. Even in the winter season, moreover, early white commentators noticed the presence of non-shore Indians. In a narrative of a trip made to Raritan Bay and Shrewsbury River by a party of Dutchmen from New Amsterdam in December, 1663, the entry for December seventh reads: "The same evening, towards the end of Staten Island, we cast our anchors just opposite the Raritan River, where we found two houses with Southern savages."<sup>17</sup> Most of the hinterland Indians, however, came to the shore for the summer season.

## 2. *The paths to the shore.*

Who faithfully patrols Barnegat grows rich in experience; in little treasures; in large imaginings. . . . He brings home with him . . . an arrowhead of black jasper with opaline depths to its blackness, an arrowhead washed out to sea from some Indian shell heap where marsh and mainland meet.

(Comment in 1940.<sup>18</sup>)

The interior Indians of the Lenni-Lenape tribe found the attractions of the shore particularly enticing. Oysters, clams, scallops, whelks, sea snails, mussels, crabs, and fish were relished by the redmen. In May, squaws planted their maize near their permanent villages and early in June, groups set out on a march to their favorite spots for summer living. Less than a week usually sufficed to bring them to the sea. On arrival, temporary homes of skins or cedar bark and boughs were erected.

The groups then proceeded to fill themselves with food supplied by nearby waters, marshes, and forests. The men went fishing and fowling, found the eggs of the marsh-hens and gulls, or gathered mussels and other shell fish on the mud-flats of the bays. The women attended the children, cooked the food, gathered firewood to make circular beds of fire on which to roast terrapin, oysters and clams. Within a short time they went through the procedures of drying the fish and oysters to take with them on their trek to the hinterland.

Toward the end of the summer, the Indians began to leave. They loaded themselves with dried and smoked oysters and clams, winkle-shells for drinking cups, and large sea-shells for crockery ware. They carefully packed all the wampum they had made. They put into sacks the fish they had caught, dried and smoked. The squaws lashed the papooses to their shoulders and hung a string of dried fish on each arm. The men carried their tomahawks, and bows and arrows, in addition to bundles of wild fowl. Thus equipped, the groups commenced the journey back to their winter lodges.<sup>19</sup>

The typical Indian trail into the interior was a winding, well-beaten pathway from two to three feet wide. Its exact route was determined by lines of least resistance, involving such factors as dry land in wet weather, absence of rocks and stones, levelness of terrain. Along its way were outlooks, fishing points, game forests, camping sites, and even occasional rock shelters. Groups of In-

dians sometimes traveled over the trail throughout the year, although more traffic was encountered in late spring and early fall.<sup>20</sup>

A veritable network of trails existed between interior points and the Jersey shore. Five main pathways, used by Indians for cross-state travel, are shown on a map made by Charles A. Philhower, authority on the Lenni-Lenape.<sup>21</sup> One of the better known was the Minisink, the New Jersey end of which began at the Minisink Crossing on the Delaware River near Minisink Island, four miles south of Milford, Pennsylvania. This crossed the state in a south-easterly direction, passing west of Newark. It reached the Raritan near its mouth, on the northerly side. On the southerly side, at a large shell-pile near what became Sayreville, it joined with the second important trail, the Allamatunk. The latter paralleled the Minisink in a southeasterly direction, coming from the Delaware south of Minisink Island and proceeding to the southern bank of the Raritan, which it followed down to the river's mouth. The combined trails then crossed the Cheesequake Creek, the modern version of the Indian Chesna-quack Creek. The path led into what is now Morgan, where a great council fire was often held. It then proceeded on to Matawan and thence southeast to the Navesink and the Shrewsbury Rivers and Bays.<sup>22</sup>

A third major trail, later called the Burlington Path, crossed the Delaware near Burlington. At a place that is now New Egypt, it divided. One branch proceeded southeasterly through the pines to Toms River and Barnegat Bay, and another branch led easterly into Monmouth County. A similar route, using in part the Burlington Path, was the Navesink Trail, a footpath that led from Camden to Keyport in Monmouth County, over which Indians from the lower portions of Pennsylvania sometimes reached the shore.<sup>23</sup> It was estimated that there were approximately twenty summertime villages in what is now Monmouth County.<sup>24</sup> These last-mentioned



paths were referred to as "dry trails." They avoided the swampy courses of the streams and kept to comparatively high ground. In fact, the Burlington-Monmouth County route was considered "the most notable dry trail" crossing the state. It touched what was later the site of Fort Dix, following the *cuesta* mentioned in the preceding chapter. Its general trend was from west to east, deviating to avoid any streams.<sup>25</sup>

A fourth important footpath, called the Manahawkin Trail, entered the state at Camden, ran north of Cooper Creek to Medford, thence turned south through Shamong, Bass River to Tuckerton on Little Egg Harbor and to Great Bay. Near the terminus of this trail were half a dozen small summer villages.<sup>26</sup> The close proximity of the large Tuckerton shell mound indicates the results of considerable activity amongst these sojourners.

The fifth main trail, called the Cohansey, proceeded south from opposite the mouth of the Schuylkill. It touched the limits of tidewater on numerous streams and went over the Cohansey River near Bridgeton. It crossed the Maurice River and provided access to the shell fish in the Maurice Cove of Delaware Bay. Thence it continued down to Cape May.<sup>27</sup>

Other footpaths crossed and re-crossed those already catalogued. One connected with another until there was a maze of web-like lines enmeshing the whole coastal plain.<sup>28</sup> In contrast to the so-called "dry trails," some were classified as "portage trails."<sup>29</sup> Included in this category, among others, was the route up the Big Timber Creek and thence over to the Great Egg Harbor River and down to Great Egg Bay where the collecting of sea gulls' eggs was an objective. Another followed up the Rancocas and thence over to the Mullica River and down to Great Bay and Leeds Point by way of Atsion and Batsto. Still further interconnecting routes, not of the "portage" type, included a path proceeding easterly from the Cohansey-Bridgeton village to Leeds Point and

to Somers Point, in Atlantic County. A connecting path from near the latter spot pushed down from Beesleys Point to Cape May. A route known as the Shamong Trail ran from the area around Indian Mills in Burlington County to the southern tip of the state, passing near Belle Plain in Cape May County.<sup>30</sup>

In many locations, the dugout-canoe was the medium of travel, especially on the so-called "portage trails." At Dennisville, in Cape May County, older residents claimed to have seen one years ago in the bed of Dennis Creek. A large canoe of cedar was found between the Creek and Cedar Swamp, near Seaville, indicating that this was a means of getting over the peninsula of Cape May, from bayside to seaside, or perhaps a means of coming down the Maurice or the Cohansey Rivers to the Delaware Bay section of Cape May County. In Atlantic County, another dugout was discovered at a point where the highway crosses over the Great Egg Harbor River near what is now DaCosta. Older residents of Tuckahoe recalled seeing one on the bank near the point where the present bridge spans Tuckahoe Creek. On a creek, which empties into the Raritan on the north shore a short distance above the present Victory Bridge, an old dugout was found. It is believed that this boat was used to ferry the Lenape across the stream to the great shell pile on the south side where thousands of shell fish feasts were held,<sup>31</sup> although the stream was often forded three miles above its mouth.<sup>32</sup> A number of the boats have been found at the head of tide water on many of the coastal streams, a possible indication that they were left there for the trek into the interior.<sup>33</sup>

### 3. *Evidences of Indian Life.*

The dainty Indian maize  
Was eat with clamp <sup>34</sup> -shells out of wooden trays  
The luscious lobster with the craw-fish raw,  
The brinnish oyster, mussel, periwigge,  
And tortoise sought by the Indian squaw,

Which to the flats dance many a winnter's jigge,  
To dive for cockles and to dig for clams,  
Whereby her lazy husband's guts she cramms.

(Contemporary rhyming written in 1639.<sup>35</sup>)

The Indians came to the shore to fish and to make wampum. The main fishing points included what is now Sandy Hook, Point Pleasant, Toms River, Leeds Point and Cape May while other favorable locations were plentiful along the shore.<sup>36</sup> Artifacts found in modern times indicate the extent of their industry. The Indian fish spear has been discovered, more often in the southern section of the coastal area. Moreover, the notched stone, usually called a sinker, has been commonly found. The heavier types, crudely wrought, were used in scoop nets, gill nets, and the like. Some of the smaller ones may have been used for pot lids, or buttons. The very large notched stones functioned as canoe anchors. Some good-sized pebbles found with a hole drilled from either side may have been used in connection with nets. Celts have been unearthed in various remains. The celt was a chisel-like stone. When grooved on one side over the long axis, it became a gouge.

Earthen vessels of steatite (soapstone) and of clay have also been found generally throughout the shore area, and potsherds or fragments of pottery were plentiful. The Lenape never reached the point of glazing his ware. The pots were used for cooking and for storage. The bottoms were nearly always egg-shaped, which facilitated setting them in a hole in the sand around which a fire might be built. Finally, many grooved pebbles have been discovered. These stones were attached to ends of thongs. The opposite end of a half-dozen of these thongs were then fastened together. This combination was whirled about the head and thrown into flocks of gulls, ducks or geese with killing effectiveness.<sup>37</sup>

Along many parts of the shore region, shell heaps



have been discovered in which were noted ash beds, fragments of pottery, stone implements and animal bones. In some piles, bone awls have occasionally been unearthed. This indicated that such localities were drying stations. The awls were used in stringing the dried shell-fish product, to be transported to the hinterland for winter use. Drying and smoking were the most common means of preserving food. It was not uncommon, moreover, to find burials beneath the shell heaps.<sup>38</sup>

The many shell piles found were not only evidences of extensive use of sea foods. Some of the material in them was residue of the wampum industry. In fact one important purpose for Indian visits to the shore was to procure raw material for wampum. In the Algonquin tribes, to which the Lenni-Lenape belonged, this word meant beads made of wood or of shell. Earlier, wampum had been made of wood, but this practice fell into disuse gradually, as shell wampum became more easily obtainable. Shell wampum was of two kinds: white and black. The white was made from the stock of the periwinkle conches, or whelks; the black from the purple inside of the shell of the clam, a shellfish buried in the seaside sand. The black was considered more valuable than the white. Another variety, black on one side and mother-of-pearl on the other, was made of mussel shells. Although difficult to produce, it made beautiful necklaces.<sup>39</sup> Even in that day, talk developed over depreciated currency in wampum transactions. Occasionally some Indians tried to offer oyster shells for raw wampum material. This had no intrinsic value.<sup>40</sup>

Wampum, a form of Indian currency, was admired by them for its decorative use. Strung on skin or sinew, belts were made in the form of sashes and scarfs or necklaces, and oftentimes, these contained thousands of shell beads. Strings of wampum were given as an expression of sincerity of statement in a speech, and belts as a pledge in an agreement or treaty. Unpolished wampum also

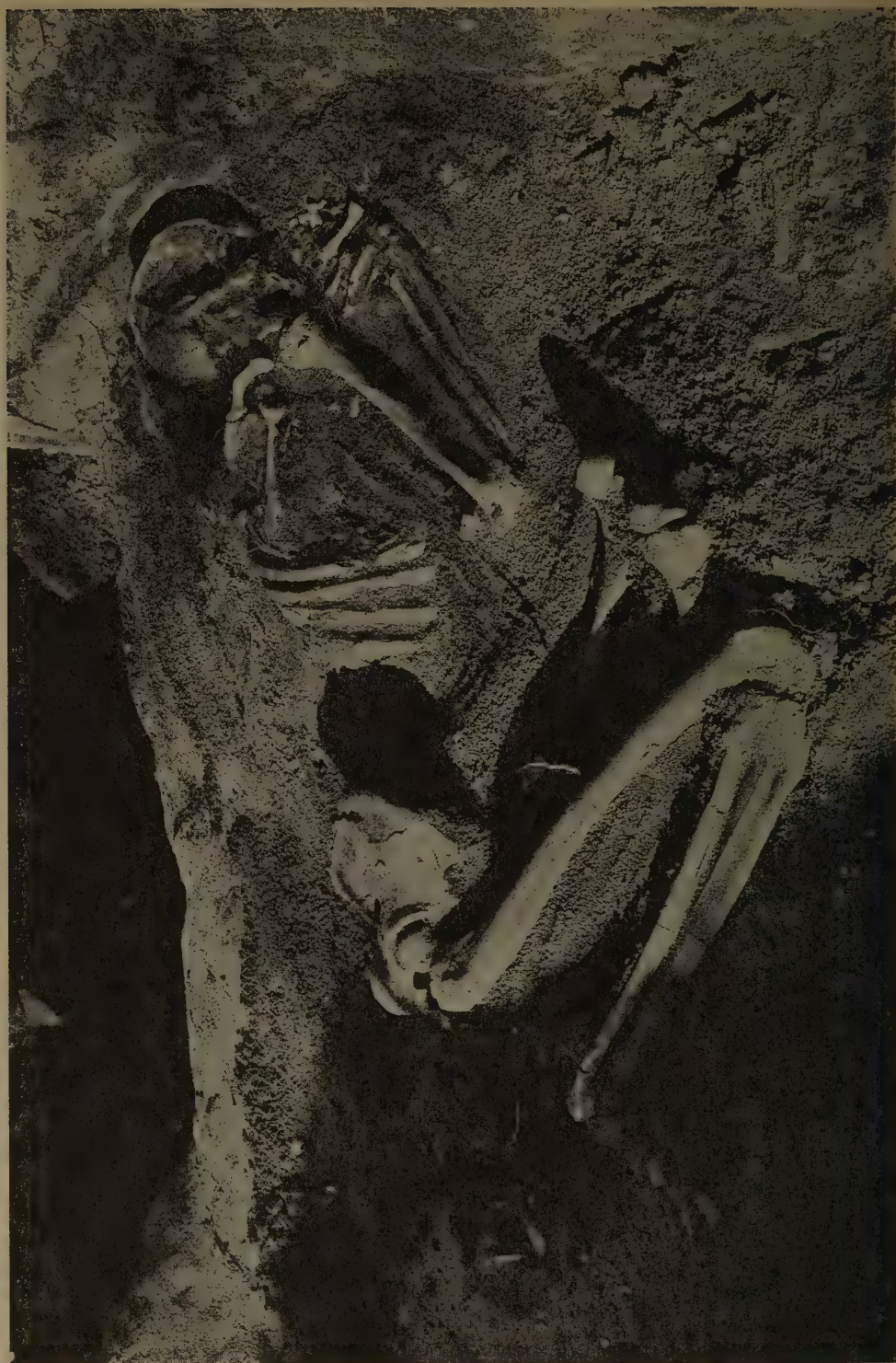
was in circulation when polished could not be obtained. Moreover, unstrung and rough wampum found its place on the market.<sup>41</sup> The making of polished wampum was a tedious process. First, a quarter inch of shell was worked into a cylindrical blank, then it was bored with a flint splinter drill, and finally it was polished for hours by hand.<sup>42</sup>

The Dutch in their contacts with the Indians used wampum which they called "seawan." This word was derived from "zeewant"; "zee" meant "sea" and "wan," signified a fan, consequently a sea fan or shell. The Dutch often referred to the Jersey shore as "Seawanhacky," the ending "hacky" signifying "place where." One contemporary observer declared in 1671, "Seawant . . . is nothing more than the inside little pillars of the conch shells which the sea casts up twice a year." Holes were drilled in these and then the pieces were strung.<sup>43</sup>

Evidences of Indian visitations have been found on numerous occasions in Monmouth County. In 1856, a large bed of shells was discovered on a farm not far from Keyport. Besides oyster shells, it contained other mollusks and some broken stone implements and fragments of Indian pottery. This was probably an Indian kitchen-midden. The charred remains showed the cooking pots with carbon on them. Certain stones not obtainable in that area must have been brought some distance. These vitrified boulders were probably glazed by the intensity of the fire. They were cooking stones. When heated redhot and put into the pot, they would make the water boil faster.

Fragments of pottery were discernible, some thin, compact and hard and others, thick, porous and coarse. None of them showed evidences of glazing. Some fragments indicated a size that would hold a quart, others might have held a number of gallons. All had convex bottoms. The pot, to stand alone, must have rested in a depression in the ground. One broken steatite or soapstone pot was discovered. This break was doubtless an accident









(Courtesy of the New Jersey State Museum)

*Two Indian Skeletons, Lenhardt Excavation near Cream Ridge, Western Monmouth County*

that caused some grief for a soapstone pot could resist fire and the stone could only be obtained from a long distance. Most of the pots probably were made of clay from nearby Amboy region. By crude baking, they had been tempered to prevent cracking.

A few of the pots were skillfully fashioned but many seemed to have been made by plastering or working the clay into some suitable form, such as a gourd. The larger and coarser ones might have been made by use of a particular basket woven for that purpose. The form was burnt out in the baking of the pot. Some of these pots were probably used for boiling over the fire. A ring of withes was put around and under the lip of flange at the edge of the pot, to which was attached a handle of some character. This is turn, was suspended to a pole extended across the fire. The band of withes around the pot was protected from the fire by a plastering of wet clay.<sup>44</sup>

One resident of Freehold, Monmouth County, recalled that in the 1860's he had heard an account from an old man who lived in Ocean County. This Ocean County man said that his grandfather remembered a few Indians coming each summer to the shore to get clams which were dried on slabs or bark and carried away. The question arose how they extracted the mollusk without tearing it. In answer to that, the Freehold observer said he had found in the same oyster shell pile near Keyport, noted earlier, a little implement made of jasper, about two inches long and an inch and a half wide. One end was carefully chipped to a round, cutting edge. One side was concave; the other convex, and chipped. This spoon-shaped gouge was the Indian's oyster knife and clam knife. Later, several more were found. Subjected to heat, the mollusk would open a little way and it was then easy to pry the shells more widely apart and with this gouge-like implement sever the muscle of the mollusk by a scooping movement.<sup>45</sup>

On one of the streams in the interior of Monmouth

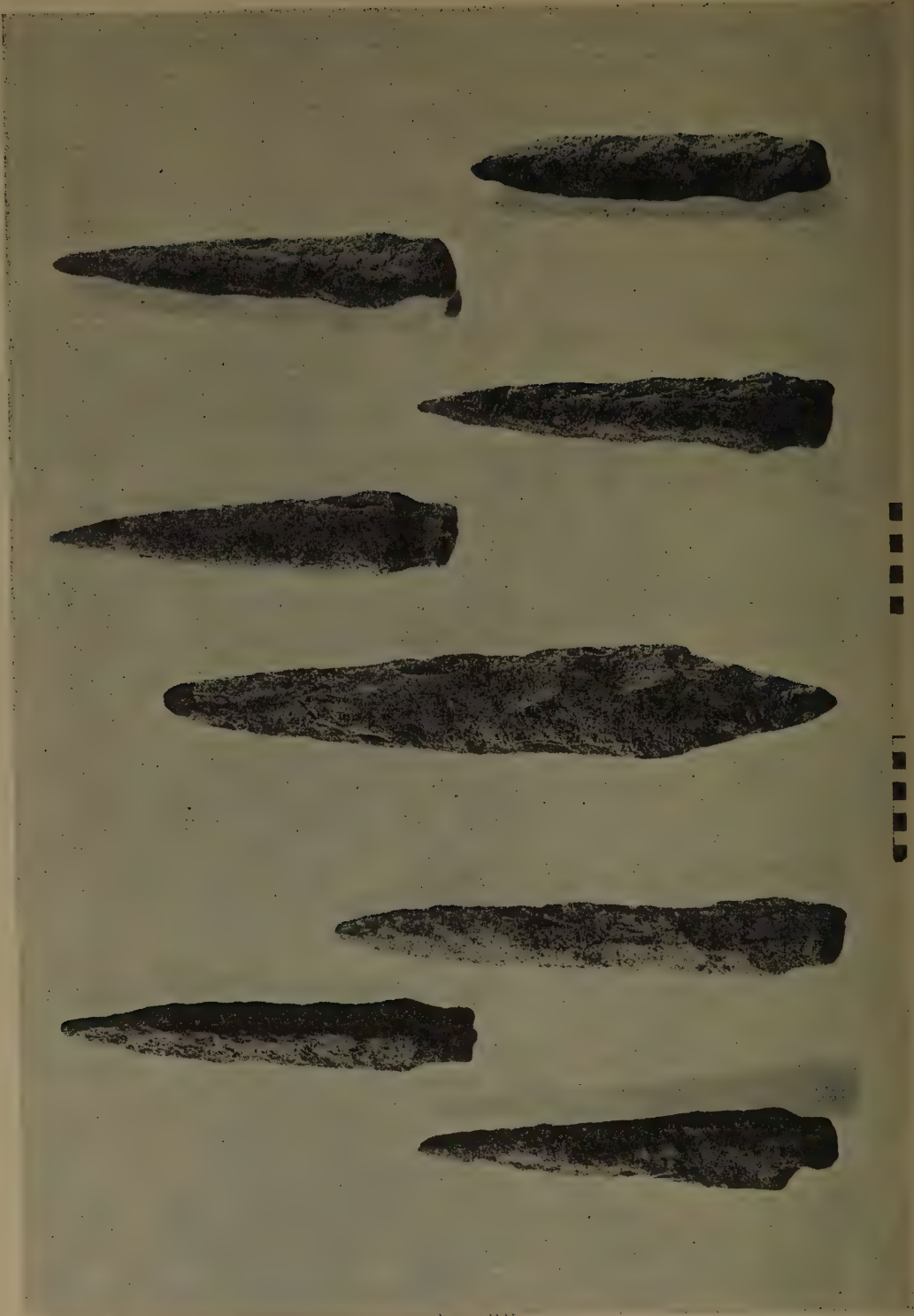


County, this same Freehold archeologist, in the latter 1850's, found a spot which probably was an Indian cache or winter storing-place for oysters. At a depth of several feet, a pit had been made below the frostline, in which the bivalves were stored. The pit, abandoned possibly before the white man came, had become filled with humus or surface soil by the action of the winds, a marked contrast to the yellow, ferruginous sand in which it was originally dug. This fact, and the presence of the shells there proved impressive. Here the provident aboriginal may have laid up his winter supply of oysters.<sup>46</sup>

The Indians that came to this section of the shore were not image-makers, except to a limited extent. Two instances were found in mid-19th century which suggested adherence to some kind of fetish or charm. One was a bit of steatite hardly larger than a silver half-dollar, with a human face on it cut in relief. This was ploughed up on a farm on the left bank of the Shrewsbury river. Another was an object dug up in clearing off some wild land near Keansburg, four miles northeast of Keyport. This was a head of stone about the size of a large cocoanut. It resembled an Indian.<sup>47</sup>

Other evidences of Indian visitations were found in the latter Nineteenth Century south of Monmouth County. In Cape May County at Beesleys Point, about twenty feet above mean tide, twenty-four Indian skeletons were found along with stone artifacts, pottery and copper.<sup>48</sup> In Atlantic County, during the same period, other finds were announced. A woodchopper discovered on June 15, 1896 what seemed to be the remains of an Indian camping site northeast of Hammonton near the upper Mullica River. He was pushing his way through a thicket when he stumbled over what appeared to be the trunk of a tree. On examination, this proved to be part of an Indian dug-out fastened to a tree. In the boat, which was about eighteen feet long, were a tomahawk, several stone knives, a stone axe shaped like a butcher's cleaver, and an earthen





(Courtesy of the New Jersey State Museum)

pot. The following day a searching party from Hammon-ton located traces of Indian remains nearby.<sup>49</sup>

Similarly, the following year, a resident of Egg Harbor City in the same County, found what appeared to be the remains of an Indian hut in the woods between Pomona and McKee City. Later search revealed weather-beaten portions of other temporary habitations along with a number of arrow-heads, darts, tomahawks, and a quantity of flint. One of the tomahawks had the remnants of a skin-covering with a sharp arrowhead fastened to one end. Ten days later another find was made in the vicinity of nearby Pomona by two Italians engaged in clearing woodland. In digging up tree stumps they unearthed parts of two skeletons, and subsequently uncovered a number of tomahawks and arrowheads.<sup>50</sup>

In the Twentieth Century, other sites used by Indians were located in the 1930's but have not yet been excavated by archeologists. These include three in the Manasquan River drainage area, in Ocean and Monmouth Counties. There the surface finds were mainly in form of chips. Many locations in the Barnegat Bay drainage area have not been fully investigated. One includes "Indian Hill" in Ocean County, sloping east to Applegate Cove of Barnegat Bay. This yielded surface finds of stone artifacts, shells, pottery and ashes. Two more sites have been discerned along the Metedeconk River, Ocean County, seven along Toms River and its branches, only one of which has been excavated. The other six show surface finds of stone artifacts, axes, points, chips, and shells. In southerly Ocean County, in the Little Egg Harbor drainage area, two sites have been located in addition to the Tuckerton Shell Mound. These were mostly knolls surrounded by swampy meadows.

In the Great Bay drainage area, in Atlantic and Burlington Counties, a site was found along the Mullica on the only high ground for several miles on the river. There the surface finds included stone artifacts, pottery and



(Courtesy of the New Jersey State Museum)

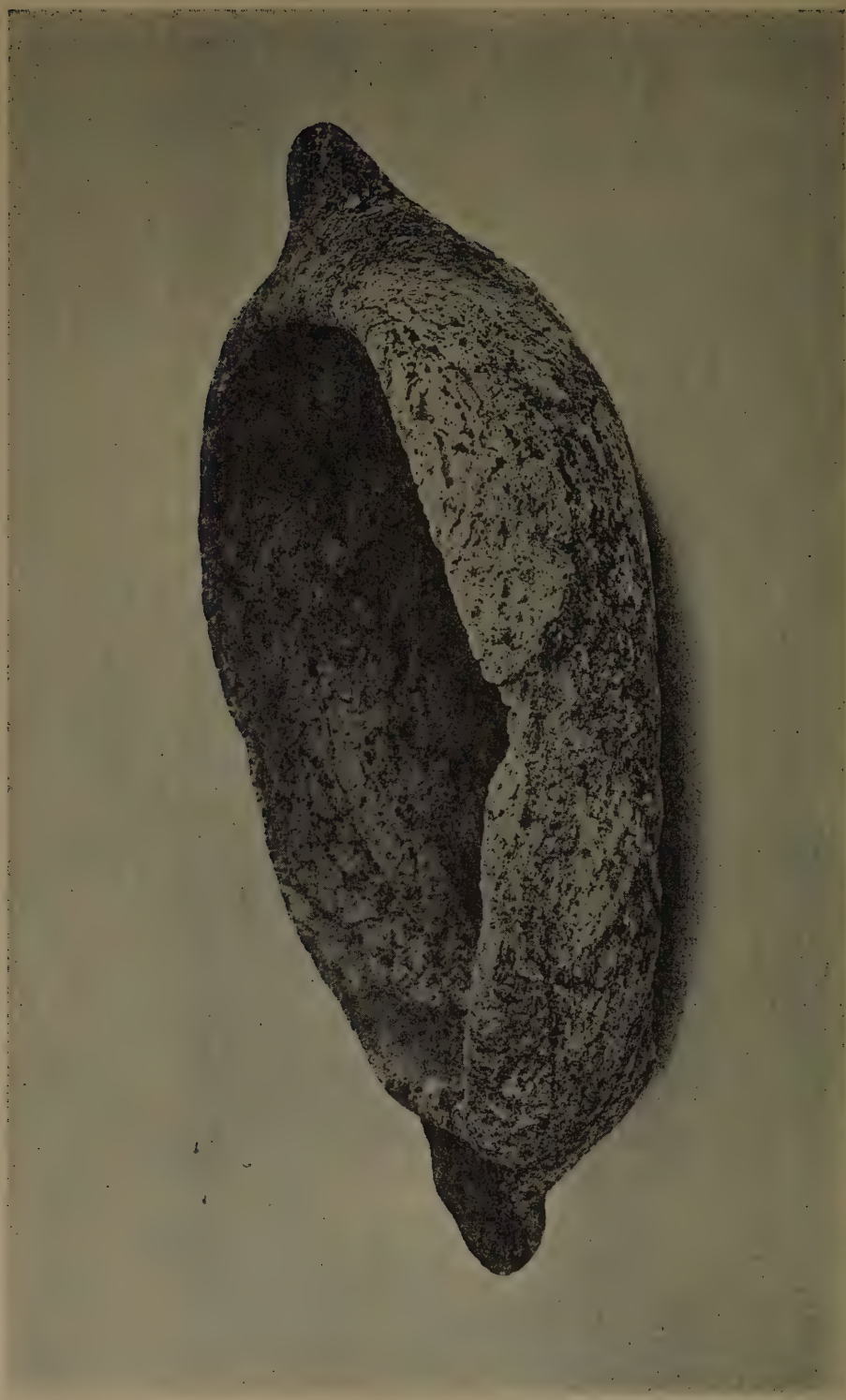
*Indian Site at Oyster Creek, near Waretown, Ocean County*



chips. Two more sites were located on Nacote Creek, Atlantic County, emptying into the Mullica, where surface finds included bannerstone and pottery chips. On Great Egg Harbor River, in Atlantic County, seven sites were discerned with surface finds mostly of chips, and some points. In the Jenkins Sound drainage area, Cape May County, on a small creek above the mud flats, west of the sound, was discovered a site of sand and shell, with finds of chips and pottery.<sup>51</sup>

Most authentic of the various finds made of evidences of Indian occupation occurred under the careful archeological investigations made in the latter 1930's and early 1940, mainly in Ocean County, the descriptions of three of which typify the findings generally. The first excavation surveyed in 1939 and dug in 1940 centered on the farm of Joseph Havens, Herbertsville, Ocean County. This site was east of the Herbertsville-Point Pleasant road on a knoll sloping southeast to a gully. Through the latter runs Saw Mill Creek, a tributary of the tidal Manasquan River which lies a short distance to the east. Chips of various materials were first noticed on the surface, which led to the digging. Five trial trenches were dug into the knoll. This produced twenty-eight artifacts, three fragments of trade pipes and seventy-eight potsherds. Much of the material had been scattered previously because the surface of the site had many years earlier been cultivated by farmers. It was now overgrown with grass. The greatest depth at which anything was unearthed was thirteen inches; six to eight inches of black humus overlay a fine yellow sand of unknown depth.

Materials excavated included lozenge-shaped arrowheads, a spearhead of a triangular type, two thumb scrapers, and six other scrapers, all quite small. The most important find, however, was a beautifully preserved steatite bowl, in perfect condition. This was recovered a foot underground. The depth of twelve inches had saved it from destruction by the plow. The bowl was about



(Courtesy of the New Jersey State Museum)

*Steatite Bowl found at Havens Site east of Herbertsville-Point Pleasant Road, Ocean County*

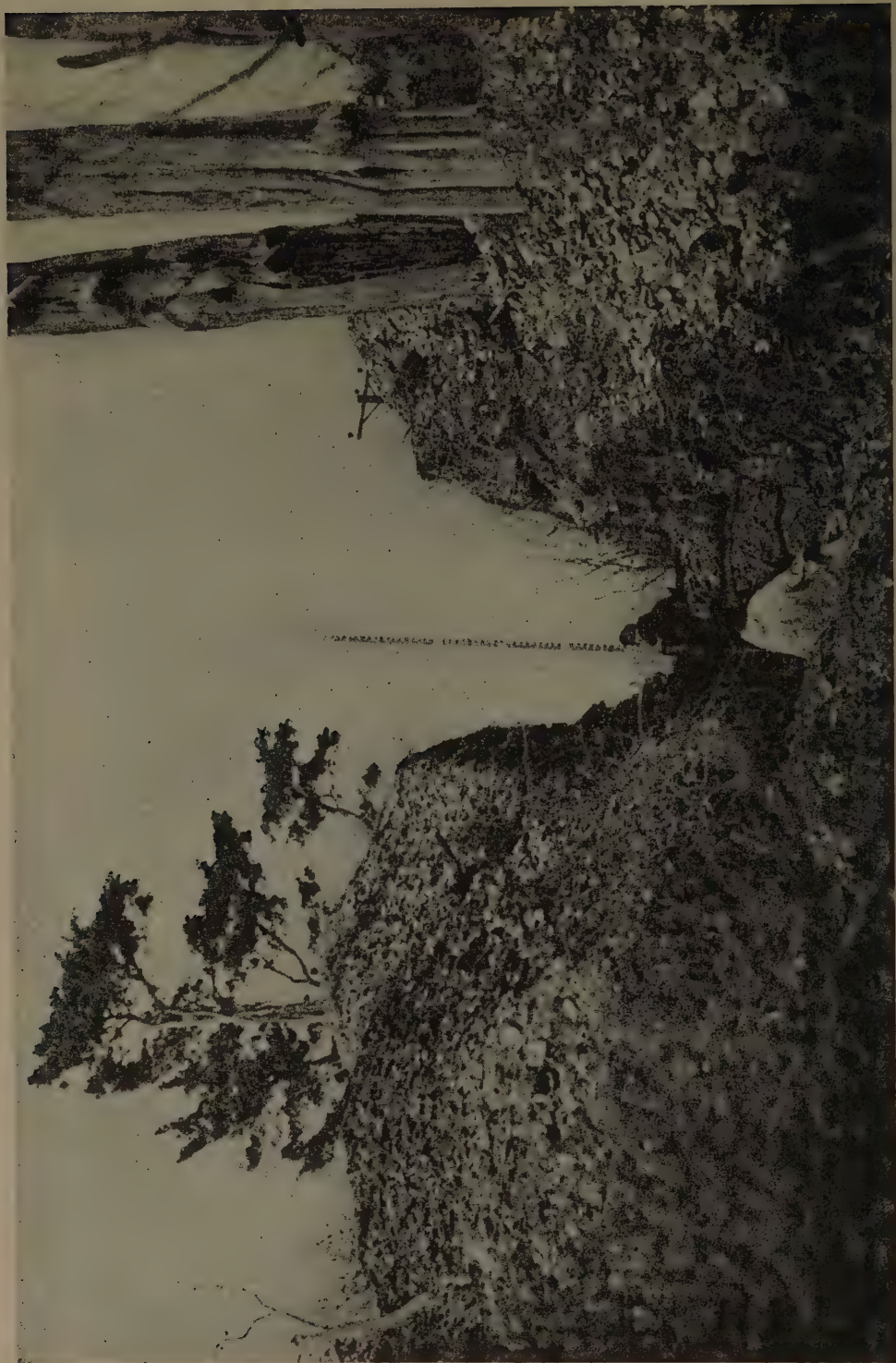
fifteen inches long.<sup>52</sup> The nearest known steatite quarry was in Pennsylvania, which indicates the wide contacts of the people temporarily inhabiting the site.

The seventy-eight scattered small potsherds of clay were all extremely crude, relatively thick and grit-tempered. The three fragments of trade pipe indicates occupancy after white settlement, for the pipe was a European trade object. One stem had a small hole 3 mm. in diameter. The relative scarcity of material under the surface particularly the absence of refuse pits, fireplaces and burials indicates that this was a camp site and the crudeness of the pottery confirms this. It is evident that the location was an excellent one for fishing, although the material recovered does not demonstrate this activity. The presence of the large and finely made steatite bowl, it is admitted, is an anomaly inconsistent with the other material found. Some occupancy continued even after the white contact came as is shown by the presence of the trade pipes.<sup>53</sup>

Another "fruitful" site was located on a series of small knolls rising above the salt meadows along Barnegat Bay, just south of Oyster Creek near Waretown, Ocean County. These knolls rise about ten feet above water level and are covered with grass and brush, and with scattered small cedar and pine trees. The knolls are separated from the mainland by swampy meadows, covered by tidal inundation. On them are about eight inches of humus, underlain by a fine yellow sand. This latter continues down to water level and is entirely free of pebbles.

Excavation in this site occurred between March 12 and April 6, 1940 and included trial trenches and a wider excavation. The average depth to the diggings was 42 inches and among the finds were a skeleton, nine stone artifacts, and 90 potsherds. Several accumulations of oyster shells were discovered but these did not contain cultural remains. The skeleton was unearthed in a pit at the depth of 42 inches. This pit was defined by discolored





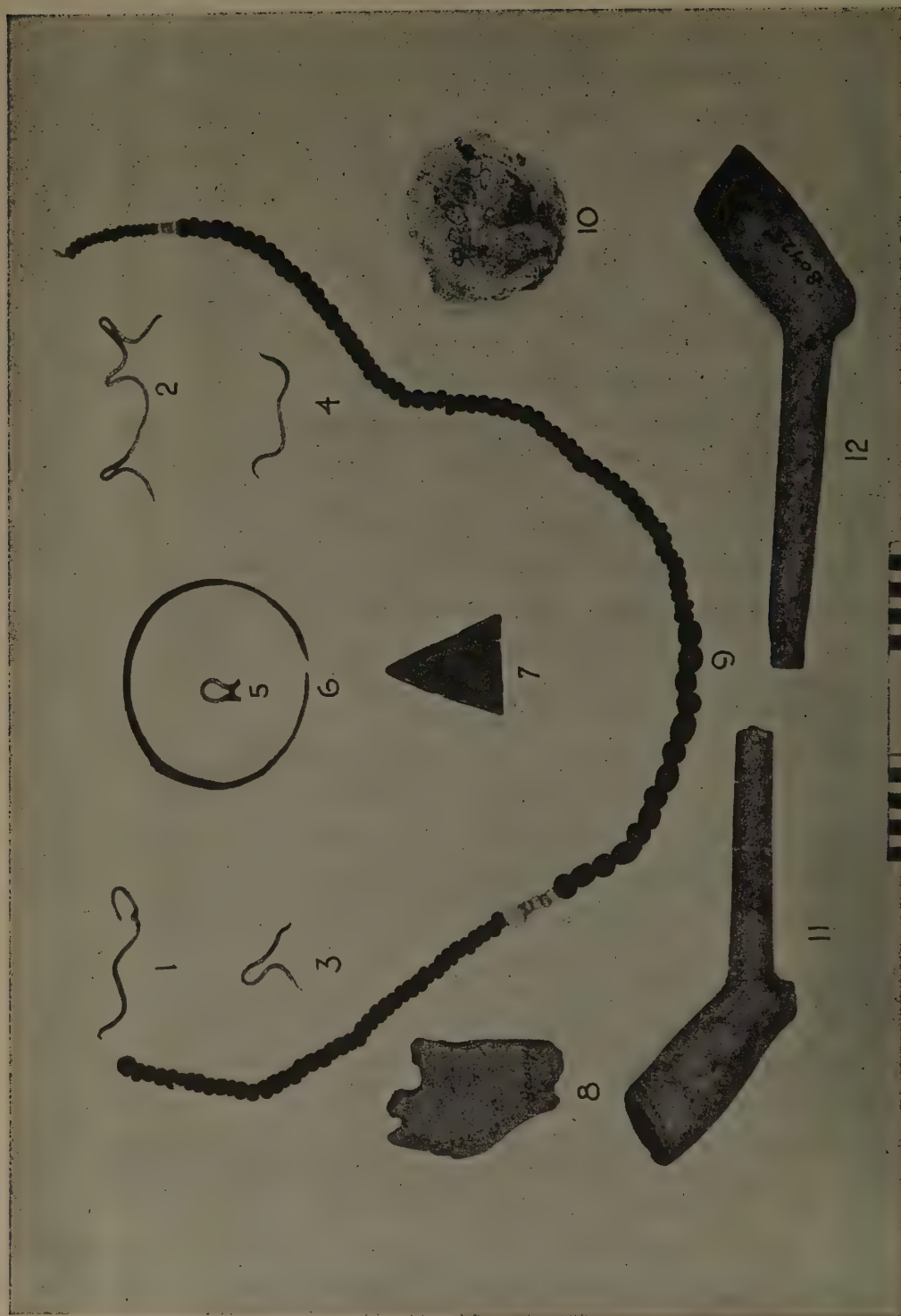
(Courtesy of the New Jersey State Museum)

*Tuckerton Shell Mound Trench, Looking Northeast, Ocean County*

sand and contained no charcoal, shell or artifact. The bones were in a very poor state of preservation with only fragments of the right and left tibia and cranium recoverable. The burial was flexed with the skull on the right side, facing south. Other findings included a sandstone piece probably used as a hammer-stone. Scrapers were unearthed as well as thick and coarsely grit-tempered potsherds, all badly worn.<sup>54</sup>

The location of these Oyster Creek knolls along the edge of the bay indicates that they were desirable camp sites for fishing. The crude pottery was probably used for boiling the catch and the presence of scattered piles of shells confirms this supposition. Moreover, there was a relative absence of stone artifacts. Since so small an amount of material was recovered, it seems evident that occupation of the site was never heavy. Any permanent settlement would probably have been located in the wooded and higher ground west of the meadows. Although test holes were made there, no indications of occupation were uncovered.<sup>55</sup>

The most widely-publicized of Ocean County sites is the so-called Tuckerton Shell Mound, situated  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles south of Tuckerton and about 1,000 feet west of Little Egg Harbor. The pile is approximately 80 feet long and 50 feet wide. It rises from tidal meadows to a height of nine feet. The location had been known for a number of years, during which time it had been deeply pitted by various unauthorized collectors and by the removal of shells for commercial purposes. On April 3, 1939, a one-day excavation was made by the archeologists. A trench was dug through the short axis of the mound. This disclosed that the pile consisted largely of remnants of hard-shell clams. The oyster shells were found to be concentrated on the bottom level of the southwest side, although even in this section clam shells predominated. Conch shells occurred somewhat more frequently in the obviously later accumulations. It is interesting to note that the shells



(Courtesy of the New Jersey State Museum)

*Material Used in Trade, Gorget Fragment, Shell Disk and Pipes.  
Lenhardt Excavation, Western Monmouth County*



extended for an unknown depth below the present water level. This might indicate a slight change in the relative position of sea and land, as discussed in the preceding chapter. The finds of a strictly cultural nature were meager. Charcoal, shells and a few animal bones were unearthed, but the only other materials recovered were a few sherds of burned and blackened pottery.<sup>56</sup>

#### 4. *The decline of the Indian.*

They were set upon by two canoes, the one having twelve and the other fourteen men. Night came on, . . . one man was slain in the fight, an Englishman named John Colman, with an arrow shot into his throat and two were hurt.

(Excerpt from 1609 Journal of member of Hudson's crew.<sup>57</sup>)

In 1609 on a mild September day the first white man set foot on the Jersey shore, where they were met by anxious Indians. In the previous month other Indians on the southern tip of the shore had probably seen Hudson's ship, the "Half Moon," when on August 28, it had entered Delaware Bay. Still others may have viewed it as it lay at anchor for the night of September 2, a short distance off Barnegat Inlet. "The night was fair," observed one member of the crew. "This night I found the land to haul the compass eight degrees. Far to the northward . . . we saw high hills. (the Navesink Highlands). This is . . . a pleasant land to see. At ten the next day," wrote the chronicler, "we weighed and stood to the northward. The land is . . . high and bold. . . . At three o'clock in the afternoon we came to three great rivers (the New York Bay Narrows and Staten Island Sound and the third was probably Rockaway Inlet.) We . . . cast about to the southward (Sandy Hook Bay) and . . . anchored. Saw many salmons and mullet and rays very great," he concluded.<sup>58</sup>

That day according to the same observer, "the people of the country came aboard . . . and brought green tobacco

and gave us it for knives and beads. . . . They have a great store of maize, or Indian wheat, whereof they make good bread." The following day, September 5th, some of Hudson's crew went ashore, for the first time<sup>59</sup> and on the next day, Sunday, Hudson sent John Colman with four men to explore. They pushed up and into what is now Newark Bay. As they came back the attack occurred as described in the quotation at the beginning of this section. Despite the unfortunate event two days later more Indians came to the ship to trade. There was no violence then. On September 9 "two great canoes . . . full of men" came out to the ship. The natives pretended they wanted to buy knives. "But we perceived their intent," observed the same member of Hudson's crew. "We took two of them . . . and would not suffer the other boat to come near us. . . . So they went on land and two others came on board in a canoe; we took one and let the other go; but he which we had taken got up and leaped overboard. Then we weighed and went off into the channel of the river and anchored there all night."<sup>60</sup> The white men on the "Half-Moon" then left the Jersey shore and the ship made its way into what is now the Hudson River.

Increasing encroachments from the white man during the following century and a half brought a gradual end to Indian visits to the shore and stimulated the removal from the State of those few who lived in the immediate hinterland. During these years however, most of the whites moving into the shore counties took care to extinguish by private deeds the Indian title to land they planned to settle. The newcomers sometimes procured more than one Indian deed for the same property. The Indians were naturally vague about boundaries and about ownership of land. Hence, the settlers occasionally protected themselves with several deeds in return for axes, coats, kettles, pistols, wampum, or "13 cases of rum, four barrels of beer, two ankers (32 gallons) of liquors" and the like.<sup>61</sup> Nevertheless the paucity of the so-called Indian

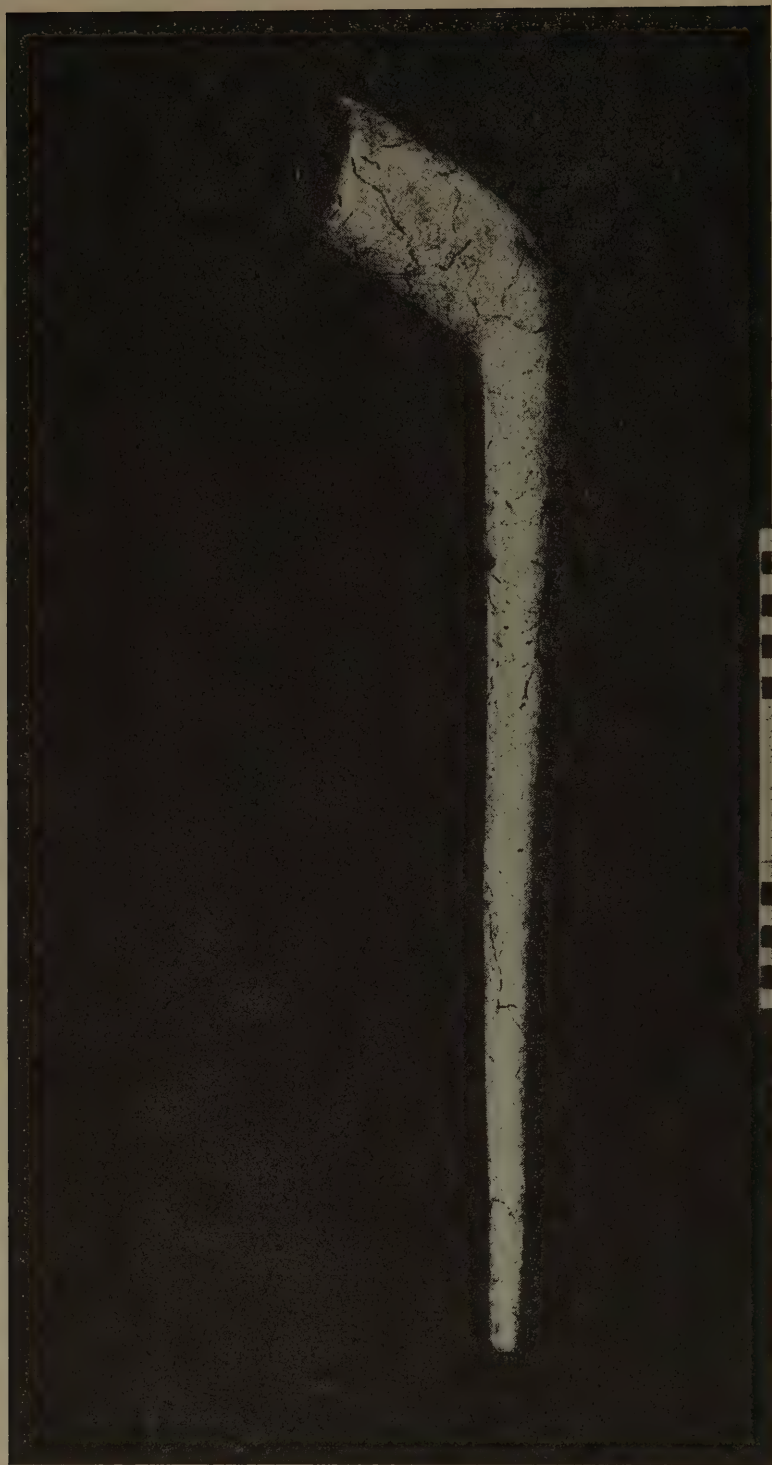
deeds indicates how small was the number of Indians whose claims needed to be satisfied.<sup>62</sup>

In Cape May County as early as 1630 sixteen square miles in the southerly portion were purchased from nine Indian chiefs. Other Indians later were persuaded to give more deeds of title to land. Among the papers of Jacob Spicer of Cape May, for example, was a deed given January 1, 1687, by one Indian named Panktoe to John Dennis for a tract near Cape Island. Contacts with the whites, however, brought about a decline in Indian population. By 1692, declared a County commentator, "we find them reduced to fractional parts and besotted with rum."<sup>63</sup>

In Monmouth County, similar procedures were followed. A late 19th Century County history listed a series of deeds from Indians to whites in Old Monmouth County in the latter 17th Century. Much of the land described in these lay along the shore or along the rivers near the coast. Names of several different Indians appeared with frequent reference to "Sachems" who signed the deeds.<sup>64</sup>

One of the more interesting Monmouth County deeds reveals the white men's realization of the Indians' inability to understand the implications of exclusive private ownership of land. Richard Hartshorne, an early settler who had previously bought Sandy Hook and the lands around the Highlands from the Indians, found it necessary in 1678 to prevent their continued trespassing upon his lands. In that year he paid the sachem and his son a small sum to relinquish their claims to hunt, fish, fowl, and gather beach plums on his domain. The phraseology of the deed indicates the difficulties of the situation. "Whereas, the Indians pretend that formerly when they sold all the land upon Sandy Hook, . . . they did expect liberty to get plumbs when they please and to hunt upon the land, and fish, and to take dry trees that suited them for cannows (canoes)." Therefore Hartshorne covenanted with the two Indians who signed the deed, giving





(Courtesy of the New Jersey State Museum)

*Trade Pipe found near Skeleton, Lenhardt Excavation, Western Monmouth County*

as his reason the desire "for peace and quietness . . . and to the end there may be no cause of trouble with the Indians and that I may not for the future have any trouble with them as formerly, . . . in their dogs killing my sheep, and their hunting on my lands, and their fishing." The two Indians signing the agreement gave up their so-called rights, saying that "no Indian or Indians shall or hath no pretense to lands or timber, . . . or to . . . any percell of land belonging to the said Richard Hartshorne, to said Sandy Hook or land adjoining to it." In consideration for this deed, Hartshorne paid unto Vowavapon, the Indian, the munificent sum of "thirteen shillings money."<sup>65</sup>

Action at provincial level to gain title from the Indians came to a head in mid-18th Century under the auspices of the royal colony of New Jersey and was not completed until the early 19th Century when New Jersey was a state. At a conference held at Crosswicks, Burlington County, in February, 1758, the Indians informed the royal Commissioners that the lands the Indians claimed could not be described by them to persons not on the spot, as the lands were delimited by hollows and small brooks which had no certain names. They did describe certain tracts which were still claimed by individual Indians. For the areas along the shore, these included lands from the mouth of the Metedeconk to Toms River; the area around Egg Harbor; the territory from the mouth of the Manasquan to the head of the branches; the acreage along the Shrewsbury; and the Cedar Swamp near the Tuckahoe River.<sup>66</sup>

In October of the same year the Indians agreed to abandon their claim to any land in New Jersey not actually held by them, in return for which they received 1,000 pounds.<sup>67</sup> It was decided to purchase a tract of land near Atsion, Burlington County, containing about 3,000 acres, for the Indians to locate upon. The acreage included a small sawmill and cedar swamp and satisfactory hunting ground.<sup>68</sup> The Indians soon removed to this reservation, originally called Edgepillick, later named Brotherton

and now known as Indian Mills. The government aided them in getting started there. A house of worship and several dwellings were erected. Few, however, ever settled on the reservation. By 1765, it was said the area contained only sixty persons.<sup>69</sup> A few Indians and their descendants continued to abide in the shore counties in the 18th Century. One authority estimated that by 1775 approximately 200 full-blooded Indians resided on the coastal plain of the state.<sup>70</sup>

Some of these became the source for much discussion. Stories of their activities have been handed down with considerable embellishment. Two of the better-known figures, for example, were Indian Pete and Indian Will. Indian Pete had the unfortunate habit of mixing too much whiskey with his water. He lived near Toms River but decided during the American Revolution to move inland. He settled near Imlaystown, in Upper Freehold Township in Monmouth County where he built a wigwam by a pond not far from the village. Shortly after locating there his wife died. According to a story recounted by the county historians, the Indian loved his squaw and could not bear the idea of parting with her. For a day or two he was inconsolable. Then a happy thought occurred to him. Instead of burying her, he put a rope about her neck and placed her in the pond. There he came to her daily. On one of his visits, he noticed a large number of eels in the water around her. Peter loved money as dearly as he loved his wife. He caught the eels daily and for a fortnight visited the village regularly where he found a ready sale for them. At length the supply failed. His novel eel trap gave out. A few days later, when he came to the village, a number of the townspeople asked him why he did not bring any more of those good eels. "Ah," said Peter very innocently, "me catch no more eels; me squaw all gone." From that time on, it was said, that generation of Imlaystown citizens possessed a holy horror of eels.<sup>71</sup>

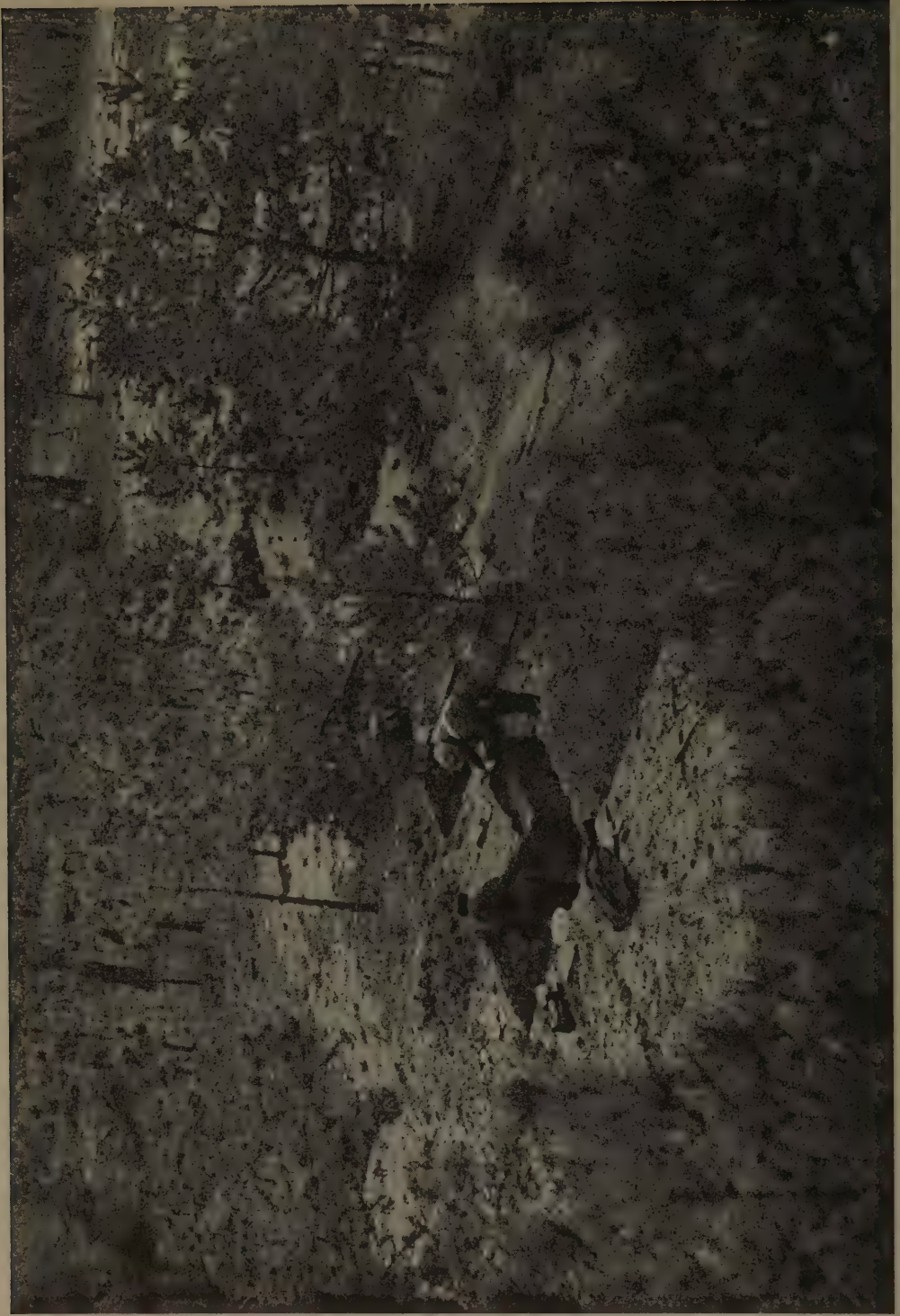
Indian Pete won local fame for only one episode;



Indian Will, on the other hand, was the performer of various "eccentric acts," which according to one County history written in 1890, "formed the theme of many a fireside story among our ancestors."<sup>72</sup> One tale was associated with the Captain Kidd legend. When the Indians in about 1670 sold a large acreage near Eatontown, Monmouth County to Lewis Morris<sup>73</sup> for a barrel of cider, all of them emigrated inland to the Crosswicks and Cranbury sections except Indian Will who stayed on in his wigwam between Tinton Falls and Swimming River. One morning while eating at the Eaton place, he noted a silver spoon, whereupon he told Mr. Eaton that he knew where there were plenty more of them. He was promised a red coat and cocked hat if he brought the spoons. A short time later, it was recounted he was arrayed in that dress and it was said Eaton's fortunes improved rapidly at the same time. Rumor went around the county that some of Captain Kidd's buried treasure had been found by Indian Will.<sup>74</sup>

Other variations of the same yarn appeared, one of which involved the Longstreet family at Manasquan, whose dealings with the Indians were alleged to have made them well-to-do. Kidd did not sail on his piratical cruises until 1696, but Will might have lived long after the 1670 date. In fact, one John Tilton of Barnegat had some evidence verifying at least the existence of Will. Tilton recalled when he was a young boy at Manasquan that aged citizens had related to him stories of Indian Will and that they had known him personally. They had described Will as stout and broad-shouldered with prominent Indian features. He wore rings in his ears and a good-sized one in his nose.<sup>75</sup>

It was probable that Indian Will possessed the attributes of an unrepressed individual. A favorite tale about him involved four vengeful Indians who seized Will and told him to prepare to die. Will asked for one favor before the *coup-de-grace*: to be allowed to drink out of his newly filled liquor jug. The captors acquiesced. Since



(Courtesy of the New Jersey State Museum)

*Excavations at Red Valley Site, near Red Valley, Monmouth County*



it was common politeness for the jug to be passed around, the captors gratefully accepted its contents. The drink made them talkative, and started them to reason with Will about his supposed crimes. Another drink went around, to help Will drown the stings of conscience. They then persuaded Will to make a full disclosure of his misdeeds, which was the cause for still another round. The captors were so overcome by his confessions they took still more drinks. Soon they fell asleep and then crafty Will, who had been indulging less assiduously, found his hatchet and dispatched his "tormentors."<sup>76</sup>

Near the mouth of the Manasquan River, a deep place was designated "Will's Hole." Both versions as to the origin of the name stem from Indian Will. One local authority claimed that it was so-called because Will himself was drowned in it.<sup>77</sup> The other account, related in the 1880's, by a resident of Point Pleasant, explained that one day Indian Will, then living in a cabin in the woods near Point Pleasant, brought home a muskrat. This he ordered his wife to cook for dinner. She obeyed but when it was placed on the table, she refused to partake of it. Indian Will then said if she were too good to eat muskrat, then she was too good to live with him. Whereupon, he dragged her to the deep hole in the river and drowned her. From that time on, it was "Will's Hole."<sup>78</sup> It is claimed by one reputable authority that Indian Will finally died a natural death in the same cabin.<sup>79</sup>

In the latter 18th and early 19th centuries the remnants of the Indians continued to decline in the state. By 1795, a very few residents were left on the Burlington County tract, and in 1802 these moved to Oneida Lake, New York and 1824, on to Wisconsin and ultimately to the Indian Territory.<sup>80</sup> By 1832, the total left in all of New Jersey was reduced to less than 40. These sent an emissary to Trenton to apply for remuneration for hunting and fishing privileges on unenclosed lands which they alleged had not been sold with the land. The Legislature



thereupon directed the Treasurer to pay the Indians \$2,000, which extinguished the last claim the Indians brought against the State. One legislator remarked at that time "It is a proud fact in the history of New Jersey that every foot of her soil had been obtained from the Indians by fair and voluntary purchase and transfer, a fact that no other state of the Union, not even the land which bears the name of Penn, can boast."<sup>81</sup> In thanks, one Lenape named Wilted Grass, a veteran of the Continental Army, sent a letter addressed to the people of New Jersey in which he stated, "Not a drop of blood have you spilled in battle; not an acre of land have you taken but by our consent." These facts speak for themselves and need no comment.<sup>82</sup>

## PART II

### THE OPENING OF THE SHORE, 1660-1800

Almost the whole extent of the province adjoining the atlantick is barrens, or nearly approaching it; yet there are scattered settlements all along the coast, the people subsisting in great part by raising cattle in the bog, undrained meadows, and marshes, and selling them to graziers, and cutting down the cedars. . . . Another means of subsistence along the coast is the plenty of fish and oysters. These are carried to New York and Philadelphia markets. . . . No inconsiderable whale-fishery might be form'd there; on the banks, the New England men frequently fish with success. The barrens or poor land generally continues from the sea up into the province thirty miles or more, . . . so that there are many thousands of acres that will never serve much of the purposes of agriculture.

(Description of shore region, written in 1765.<sup>1</sup>)

This quotation presents a contemporary picture of the shore as it appeared to an observer toward the end of the period covered in Part II. It mentions many of the highlights of shore expansion in the latter 17th and in the 18th centuries, although the disparaging account of agricultural possibilities neglects the farming developments in the more fertile soil of parts of Monmouth County and in certain mainland strips of Ocean, Atlantic, and Cape May Counties, where the first settlements of whites were made.

Allusions in the quotation to the major livelihoods of the period include cattle raising, lumbering, fishing, oystering and whaling. No mention is made of general farming, salt production, and shipbuilding. An investigation of all these topics, together with a discussion of the impact on the shore of the Revolutionary War, constitute the major portion of Part II.





## CHAPTER III

### SETTLEMENT AND SUBDIVISION

The first settlers along most of the Jersey shore . . . built their houses and cleared their farms along the main shore . . . on the rise of ground just back of the salt meadows.

(Comment of Ocean County historian, 1899.<sup>2</sup>)

In contrast to the present day situation, the mainland rather than the sea islands was definitely preferred for settlement, although the few “whalers” favored sea beaches, as noted in a later section. Values of land on the mainland soared over those along the immediate shore. Thomas Budd, a Quaker who arrived in Burlington from England in 1675, was given by the proprietors, to settle a claim, fifteen thousand acres of land on the north and south sides of the Great Egg Harbor River, including much of what is now Atlantic City. In the 1690’s he sold many acres on the mainland and the beaches to settlers. In these sales the beach lands were valued at four cents an acre and the mainland at ten times that amount.<sup>3</sup>

Even when there were no sea islands, it was the inland location that developed more rapidly during the age of settlement. The sea held little immediate attraction for the early settlers. The situation at Long Branch was an example of this tendency. The shore front, which was to become the deciding factor in Long Branch’s growth, was regarded as practically worthless by the pioneers. They sought protection from the wintry gales and heavy storms by settling about a mile and a half inland.<sup>4</sup>

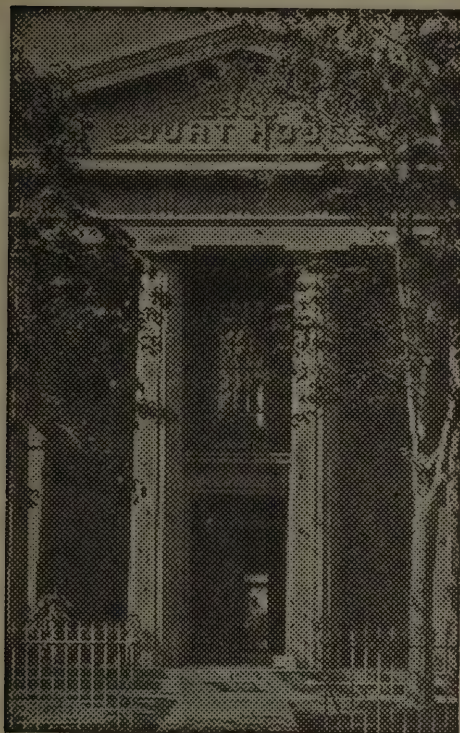
In all the shore counties a similar situation held true. The selection of a site for the village first known as Little Egg Harbor and later Tuckerton showed the value of a location not immediately on the ocean. Other related factors also were important. Timber was a burden, since

at the time it lacked commercial value, and the most open ground, not the richest soil, was the most attractive, especially if the location was convenient to creeks and landings, fishing grounds, hunting grounds of deer and fowl, and most desirable of all, near the natural pasturage of the salt meadows. The reason for the location of Tuckerton is a point of firm land, just east of the present-day Tuckerton, which stretches out into the salt marsh beside a navigable creek. This tongue was especially valuable because it gave opportunity for landing places, the hauling of nets, and the building of fish pounds. The Indians had earlier had a fish weir near the same location. Furthermore, this point offered a stopover place for passing wild fowl; twice a year migratory clouds of snipes and ducks and geese went by.<sup>5</sup>

By settling on the mainland, safely back from the ocean storms, yet near the shallow bays, the newcomers were close enough to the water for communication with one another and with neighboring villages before roads were constructed. In fact, the first roads were from the landings on the bays to these dwellings and then along the line of the shore from one dwelling to another, or later, from one hamlet to another. This road, called the main shore road, was the chief means of land communication. The nearby inland bays and sounds provided fish and shell fish; the salt meadows and the sea islands later furnished natural grazing ground for their cattle. It was on these rises of ground overlooking the salt marsh and the bay, that the Indian had once camped, and thus it was that the first settlers sometimes found a cleared and casually cultivated plot where the Indian had grown corn and perhaps tobacco.<sup>6</sup>

The movement to settle the shore areas proceeded slowly. Old Monmouth County, which then included sparsely settled Ocean County, was the most populous, reporting 4,879 people in 1726; 6,086 in 1737; and 8,627 in 1745. By 1784, the number had jumped to 14,708, with

increases to 16,918 in 1790, and to 19,872 in 1800. Cape May County's population amounted to only 668 in 1726. This grew to 1,004 in 1737. Following the Revolution, in



(Courtesy Ocean County Bureau of Publicity)

*Facade of 1850  
Courthouse of Ocean County,  
in 1900, before the addition  
of the Hall of Records.*

*The quaint iron fence was  
removed about the time of  
World War I.*

the first federal census in 1790, it mounted to 2,571 and by 1800 it reached 3,066. Less revealing trends can be shown for what became Atlantic County and Ocean County. Two townships comprised in 1790 what is now Atlantic County and these two were not formally organized by Old Gloucester County until 1798. No report for population was given for them in 1800. By 1810, however, Egg Harbor Township sent in a census of 1,830, and Galloway, a population of 1,648. By 1790, two townships also comprised what was later to become Ocean County. Dover Township by that year reported 910 people, which mounted to 1,882 by 1810 (the figures for 1800 were not reported.) Stafford Township counted 883 people

in 1790 and 1,239 in 1810.

Little Egg Harbor Township, first belonging to Burlington County and later transferred to Ocean, reported a population of 1,160 in 1800. This included the village of Tuckerton. It was not until 1891 that the Township was shifted to Ocean County in a latter 19th Century example of gerrymandering. According to one authority,



the Democratic leaders of the Legislature in that year realized that even if Ocean County was "hopelessly" Republican, they had a "fighting chance" in Burlington County. Since Little Egg Harbor Township was overwhelmingly Republican, its transfer to Ocean County might enhance Democratic prospects in Burlington County.<sup>7</sup> Another factor favoring the shift was the comparative proximity of the Ocean County seat at Toms River in contrast to the distance from Little Egg Harbor to Mt. Holly, the Burlington County seat.

Proprietorship title also influenced settlement. When the English captured the New Netherlands from the Dutch in 1664, Charles II gave to his brother, the Duke of York, the land between the Hudson and the Delaware, following which the Duke of York granted the territory to two exponents of the Royalist cause in England, Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret. Berkeley then sold his undivided half of the province to four proprietors, one of whom was William Penn, whose interests in New Jersey antedated those in Pennsylvania. These four proprietors in 1676 made a deed with Sir George Carteret dividing the province. They received West Jersey and Carteret, East Jersey. The boundary was to be a straight line drawn from the most northerly point of the Duke of York's grant "unto the most southwardly point of the east side of Little Egg Harbor." This latter location, on the east side of the Harbor, brought the territory of what later became Burlington County down to the ocean.

The uncertainty as to what point on the Delaware River was intended by the Duke of York to be the northernmost point of his grant proved a fruitful source of disagreement between New Jersey and New York and also kept in dispute the East and West Jersey proprietors, with reference to what direction this line from Little Egg Harbor should run. A line surveyed by George Keith in 1687 was not accepted by the proprietors. This line, however, eventually formed the southwest boundary of Old

Monmouth County and in 1850, when Ocean County was set off from Old Monmouth, this became the southwest boundary of Ocean except for the Little Egg Harbor transference discussed in a preceding paragraph.<sup>8</sup>

1. *Monmouth County settlement.*

Betwixt Sandy-Hook and Little Egg-Harbor lie two towns, Middletown and Shrewsbury. There is no land taken up that way but what is in the bounds of these two towns. . . . Barnegat or Burning-Hole is said to be a very good place for fishing and there is some desiring to take up land there.

(Description of northern part of Jersey shore, written in 1684.<sup>9</sup>)

Following the end of Dutch control and the advent of the proprietorships, settlers gradually came to the shore. Monmouth County, in what was then East Jersey, was the first shore area to be settled by the whites. As early as December, 1663, the year before New Amsterdam fell to the English, a group of twenty men, nearly all of whom had previously lived in the New England colonies but most of whom were then settlers on Long Island, set out in a sloop from Gravesend, Long Island. They sailed across the bay to what is now Monmouth County for the purpose of purchasing lands from the Indians, ignoring the Dutch claims.<sup>10</sup>

The Indians sold an area between the Navesink River and Sandy Hook Bay, and extending to the Highlands, embracing the site of old Middletown. Also included was the neck between the Navesink and the Shrewsbury Rivers, and a portion of land south of the Shrewsbury. The western and southwestern bounds were poorly defined. The purchase was made for a bit less than one hundred and fifty pounds sterling, paid in money, guns, tobacco, liquor, and other goods. Although the acquisition took place prior to the assertion of English sovereignty, the newcomers probably had an inkling of the English

desires to push the Dutch out of the New Netherlands and New Jersey.<sup>11</sup>

New Amsterdam surrendered in September, 1664, to an English expedition under the command of Colonel Richard Nicolls, who bore a commission as Deputy Governor under the Duke of York, the brother of Charles II and recipient of the grant of land from the King. Evidence of purchase of Monmouth County land from the Indians was laid before Governor Nicolls and in April, 1665, the Governor made a grant, known as the "Monmouth Patent" to the Long Island associates. The land embraced parts of what is now Monmouth County, except the township of Upper Freehold and the western part of Millstone, and parts of the present counties of Middlesex and Ocean. Nearly a year before the patent was issued, five families came to Middeltown and Shrewsbury in Monmouth County and made their settlement in the spring of 1664. Larger numbers arrived following the granting of the patent, settling in the same two townships. Most of these moved from Long Island and New England communities.<sup>12</sup>

In order to appeal to self-dependent community-minded New Englanders, whom Nicolls wished to attract in sufficient numbers as to remove all apprehension of Dutch designs, he allowed to be introduced into the northern part of what became the State of New Jersey the New England system of local town government, with all its rugged self-reliance.<sup>13</sup>

More settlers arrived in the Monmouth County townships during the summer and fall of 1665, with New Englanders in the majority. By 1670, there were more than one hundred families at Middletown and Shrewsbury and in the region to the west and northwest of these places, all within the limits of Monmouth County.<sup>14</sup>

The Nicolls grants, however, soon faced litigation. While the English expedition was still en route to New Amsterdam, the Duke of York was prevailed upon by



two prominent courtiers to convey to them in common the territory to be known as Nova Caesarea or New Jersey, and thus Berkeley and Carteret became, legally, the two proprietors of New Jersey, as yet undivided.<sup>15</sup> From the start the two new proprietors behaved as though they had titles to both the soil and the right of government. On February 10, 1665, they commissioned Philip Carteret as governor of the Province of New Jersey, and he arrived in America late in the summer of the same year. By that time Nicolls had heard of the transfer of New Jersey to new hands and wrote a protest to the Duke of York.<sup>16</sup>

Whether or not Nicolls had issued a valid patent of the Monmouth area became the basis of dissension in the province for many years. A dispute as to the right of government also arose. The proprietors sought to maintain their land and colonization policy by the control of executive and judicial authority while the new settlers claimed the right of self-government by virtue of a grant from Nicolls, the Duke of York's representative. The proprietors, however, realized they must find settlers from Old and from New England and from the continent of Europe. Without inhabitants, a proprietary colony was an expensive luxury.<sup>17</sup>

In July and August, 1667, the Monmouth patentees addressed a communication to Governor Nicolls asking his advice. On the tenth of August the Governor replied they "must submit to ye Governour and government established in ye Province of New Jersey," and added "You may depend safely for your title to ye land . . . granted by me."<sup>18</sup> Although the proprietors had difficulty with the patentees, the latter were never in open resistance to the proprietary order. Finally, on May 28, 1672, the Governor and Council of the province confirmed the privileges claimed by the towns; and in 1674, the proprietors ordered the patentees to receive five hundred acres each upon their petition for such a survey.<sup>19</sup>

Thus the Monmouth patentees finally took patents for their lands from the proprietors, though they eventually gained their paramount object in that they continued to hold their lands and at the same time avoided payment of the slight amount of quit-rents demanded by the proprietors. They were too numerous to make a general eviction for non-payment practicable. The controversy, however, continued with fluctuating intensity until the close of the American Revolution, although even that "great convulsion" failed to extinguish completely the claims of the proprietors.<sup>20</sup>

Following the Middletown and Shrewsbury settlements, the next to migrate into what is now Monmouth County were groups of Scots sponsored by Robert Barclay, a Governor of East Jersey who was a native of Scotland. These began to move into the county in 1682-83, making their settlements chiefly in the Freehold township area and along the northwestern boundary of the county, next to Middlesex County. Many were refugee Scots Quakers and Presbyterians, nearly all of whom landed in New Jersey at Perth Amboy. A number of them settled at what is now Matawan, which they first named New Aberdeen.<sup>21</sup> Between the Scotch and English settlers in the county a mutual dislike arose. In 1703 one observer wrote, "The contest . . . is . . . whether the country shall be a Scotch settlement or an English settlement."<sup>22</sup>

Following 1690, a group of Dutch settlers entered the county, coming from New York City and from western Long Island, principally between 1690 and 1720. They were generally younger sons leaving the crowded homesteads of their fathers on Long Island. Most of them engaged in farming activities. Their highest desire was to own a large unencumbered farm with a substantial house, large well-filled barns and good stock. They proved excellent farmers.<sup>23</sup>

The County of Monmouth was established by an act passed at the Proprietary Assembly in 1683. The bound-

ary lines, particularly to the north and west were vague, and were subsequently determined by Assembly Acts in 1710 and 1714. The name Monmouth was given to the county at the suggestion of one of its most influential citizens, Colonel Lewis Morris, who lived at Tinton Manor. He had come to Tinton Falls in 1673, and later operated a bog-iron furnace there. Morris was surveyor-general of the province in 1683, and urged that the county should be named in honor of his native county in Great Britain, Monmouthshire. Morris died in 1691. His estate in Monmouth County was inherited by his nephew and namesake, Lewis Morris, who became Governor of New Jersey in 1738 and for whom Morris County and Morristown are named.<sup>24</sup>

Ten years after the formation of the county, in 1693, the first legal subdivision of the area into townships was made. The three original townships erected were Middletown, Shrewsbury and Freehold. Middletown took in all the area south of Raritan Bay and Sandy Hook Bay, including what was later Raritan, Holmdel, Matawan and part of Atlantic townships. Shrewsbury was a large territory extending south from the Navesink River to the southern and southwestern bounds of Monmouth County and including such later townships as Howell, Wall, Eatontown, Neptune, Ocean, and part of Atlantic Townships, and most of what is now Ocean County. Freehold extended to the Middlesex County line, and embraced land in what was later the townships of Marlboro, Manalapan, Millstone, and Upper Freehold, and the other part of what is now Ocean County that did not then belong to Shrewsbury.<sup>25</sup>

Subsequent subdivisions up to 1800 included Upper Freehold Township, taken from Freehold and Shrewsbury prior to 1830; Stafford Township taken in 1749 from Shrewsbury and entirely within the limits of present Ocean County; and Dover Township, organized in 1767 from Shrewsbury and also entirely within what is now



Ocean County. These subdivisions were made as population increased.<sup>26</sup>

In 1790, the federal government assumed direct control over a small but strategically located portion of Monmouth County when the New Jersey Legislature ceded to the United States jurisdiction over the point of Sandy Hook, used for lighthouse and later military installations. It was not until mid-20th Century, as discussed in Part V, that portions of the area were retroceded to the State.

## 2. *Ocean County.*

Who first settled in Ocean County will never be known.

(Comment by County historian, in 1899.<sup>27</sup>)

The settlement of Ocean County, formed in 1850 from Monmouth, proceeded more slowly than its parent county. Except for the one township of Little Egg Harbor, few sources of data are available for the early settlers of Ocean County. Little Egg Harbor, belonging to Burlington County until 1891 as noted earlier, was settled by Quakers who procured their lands from the Indians and from the proprietors of West Jersey, in which Burlington County was organized. As for the rest of Ocean County, the early settlers paid little attention to title to their lands. For the most part, they could be classified as squatters.<sup>28</sup>

The settlers came from at least three sources. Some of them in the Barnegat and Manahawkin section were originally "whalers" from Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard. These had whaling stations on Long Beach, explained in Chapter VI. Others probably drifted in to these two locations from the sea. Even beyond Revolutionary War times, there were few roads connecting with the hinterland, except rough Indian trails.

The second origin, and in all likelihood the most important, of early newcomers to the county sprang from settlements that Long Island and New England families

had made at Middeltown and Shrewsbury in Monmouth County. These new residents sent their offspring to find homes further down the coast.<sup>29</sup>

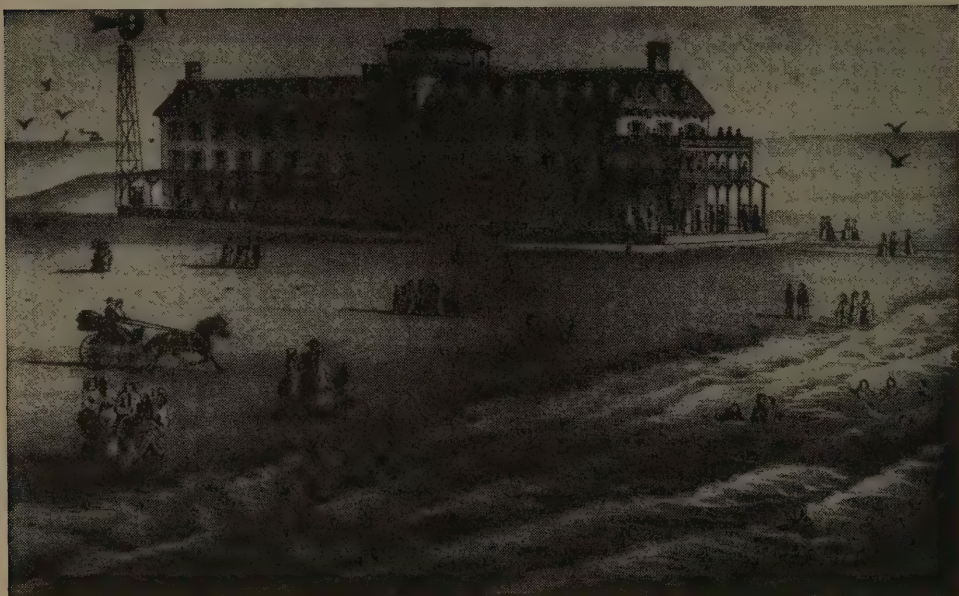
Finally the lower end of the county, around Little Egg Harbor, was peopled mainly by newcomers who travelled overland from the West Jersey Quaker settlements along the Delaware River, although a number came into the vicinity by way of the sea. Joining the Quaker English yeomanry were occasional French Huguenots, Scotch Presbyterians, and Welsh Baptists. In this section, most of the original settlers took up land from the West Jersey Quaker proprietors, but in the rest of what became Ocean County, the East Jersey proprietors did not have opportunity to pass title on their claimed lands until the decade 1740-1750.<sup>30</sup>

During the first half of the 18th Century, Little Egg Harbor became the most important of the settlements in the county. Its first white resident arrived in 1696. In 1704, the first log grist mill was built near the head of the tidal creek, with a mill-dam that had once been a beaver colony dam. In 1709, a Quaker meeting-house was built there and for seventy years prior to the Revolution, the vicinity remained a distinctively Quaker settlement, with no public house or tavern allowed there, and with town meetings held at the Friends' Meeting-house. It was created a township in 1741, the chief village of which came to be called Tuckerton in 1798, in honor of its leading citizen, Ebenezer Tucker.<sup>31</sup>

In addition to Little Egg Harbor, two other townships composed in colonial times what later became Ocean County. Stafford Township, formed from Shrewsbury in Monmouth County in 1749, included what was later Manahawkin village and Eagleswood, and Ocean Townships. It received its name, according to tradition, from one James Haywood who settled in Manahawkin and who came from Staffordshire in England. Dover Township, created in 1767 from Shrewsbury, included the village of

Toms River and what became later the townships of Manchester, Berkeley, and Lacey, as well as parts of the townships of Brick, Lakewood, Jackson, and Plumsted.

The origin of the name Toms River has received two interpretations. The word "Tom" may have come from



(From Woolman & Rose Atlas of the N. J. Coast)

*Parry House, Beach Haven, 1879*

Captain William Tom, a member of the English expedition against the Dutch at New Amsterdam in 1664, who was stationed on the Delaware in the 1660's and in 1674 appointed secretary to the town of Newcastle, Delaware. The river in Ocean County had been noted without name by navigators and explorers of the earlier part of the century. It is possible that Captain Tom came to have his name associated with the river in the latter part of the century. As collector of quit-rents and agent to sell lands for the proprietors, he may well have been on and near the river many times when he came by Indian path to the shore areas. The word "Tom" on the other hand may have



come from a semi-legendary figure named "Indian Tom" who was said to have lived in the vicinity in the 17th Century. One authority on Ocean County history favors Captain William Tom as the man for whom the river was named.<sup>32</sup>

South of Ocean County, a small portion of Burlington County can be classified as shore territory. This section included, in the 17th and 18th Centuries, Little Egg Harbor Township and areas which, because of paucity of population, were not yet formally established as townships. Washington Township was not created until 1802. It was taken from portions of Little Egg Harbor, Northampton, and Evesham Townships and embraced in its territory the hamlets of Green Bank, Lower Bank, and Wading River, as well as two bog-iron production centers, Batsto and Martha Furnace, discussed in Part III. Portions of Washington and Little Egg Harbor, moreover, comprised what later, in 1864, became Bass River Township, which derived its name from a small stream rising in its northeastern corner. Bass River was settled in 1713 by an Englishman from Long Island named John Mathis, founder of the Ocean County Mathis family. Another family arrived in 1729 and later others came from Connecticut. The most important village in the township became what was later known as New Gretna, near the mouth of the Mullica River, while another location there was Harrisville, or Harrisia, discussed in Part IV.<sup>33</sup>

### 3. *Atlantic County.*

Forasmuch as there are some families settled upon Egg Harbour, and of right ought to be under some jurisdiction, be it enacted . . . that the inhabitants of the said Egg Harbour shall and do belong to the jurisdiction of Gloucester to all intents and purposes, till such time as they shall be capable, by a competent number of inhabitants, to be erected into a county, any former act to the contrary notwithstanding.

(Excerpt from the law of 1694<sup>34</sup>)

Atlantic County settlements were made considerably later than those of Monmouth or Cape May. Its ocean frontage included the area from Island Beach and Brigantine Beach to the southern tip of Absecon Island, now Longport. The whole region went by the name of Egg Harbour, or Eyren Haven in early colonial times. The crew of a Dutch ship which landed in the vicinity in 1614 during the season of birds' eggs, found large quantities of gulls' and other birds' eggs, a fact which led the Dutch to refer to the location as Eyren Haven, or Egg Harbour. This later became known as Great Egg Harbor, and should be distinguished from Little Egg Harbor, which lies north of the Mullica River and is not in Atlantic County. For years the Mullica River was called the Little Egg Harbor River.

Prior to the first settlement in Atlantic County, Eric Mullica, who had come to America from Sweden in 1638 when fifteen years old and had lived for a few years in the Swedish settlement on the Delaware, found his way to the river which later bore his name. In 1645 he settled with his family on what was later the Burlington County side of the river, about fifteen miles from the bay, near a place later called Lower Bank. He became the head of a family of eight. In his old age, he moved to the place now known as Mullica Hill in Gloucester County. Mullica Township and the Mullica River, in Atlantic County, subsequently bore his name.<sup>35</sup>

The first settlement in what is now Atlantic County occurred about the year 1679 at a place known as Clark's Landing, on the south side of the Mullica River, near what is now Egg Harbor City. Captain James Clark made regular trips with his vessel to New York, carrying out pelts and timber and bringing back cloth, ammunition and other goods. By 1718 Clark's Landing contained forty dwellings, a trading house, a log church and an approximate population of two hundred and seventy. By 1735 the population had mounted to more than four hun-

dred inhabitants. During the American Revolution, however, the threat of British invasion, which materialized in 1778, caused a depletion of population. Trade was stopped and the Landing declined to a small hamlet.<sup>36</sup>

In 1695 John Scull, with four other men, purchased land near Somers Point, and formed one of the first settlements in Egg Harbor Township. Another early settlement in the township was at Absecon, where in 1699 Peter White purchased from Susanna Budd, widow of the Thomas Budd mentioned earlier in this chapter, a thousand acres of land. Its name was derived from the Indian word "Absegami," which was corrupted into Absecom and later Absecon. It meant "little sea water." Although whaling men had temporary shelters on the island, the first permanent settler on Absecon Island was Jeremiah Leeds, who by 1804 owned the entire island.<sup>37</sup>

Egg Harbor Township, in its original form, comprised all of present-day Atlantic County. In 1682, its representatives journeyed up to Gloucester City to join others from Newton Township and Gloucester to make plans for a county organization, and in 1686 Old Gloucester County was established. Most of the Egg Harbor citizens considered themselves a part of Old Gloucester County. For a number of years, however, Cape May County assumed temporary jurisdiction over the area. In 1693, for instance, the court of Cape May County appointed John Somers supervisor of roads and constable for Egg Harbor Township. Later, in 1708, one observer wrote "The tract of land between Cape May and Little Egg Harbor, which divides East and West Jersey, goes by the name of Cape May County."<sup>38</sup> In that same year, nevertheless, Gloucester County officials assigned tithing officers to Egg Harbor Township.<sup>39</sup>

In 1710, however, in an enactment determining county boundary lines, the status of Egg Harbor Township was definitely settled when Old Gloucester County's southwestern boundary was delimited as beginning at



Great Egg Harbor Bay and River, thence going up the River to "the fork thereof; thence up the southernmost and greatest branch of the same to the head thereof; thence upon a direct line to the head of Oldman's Creek and thence down the same to Delaware River."<sup>40</sup>

As population slowly began to increase and spread along the shore, a new township was created, first by voluntary act of the settlers, and afterwards approved by the Assembly in 1774, and later by the colonial legislature. Galloway, probably named for a tongue of land on Solway Firth, Scotland, called Galloway Maul, was mentioned for the first time in the county records of Old Gloucester County in March, 1775, when the court allowed to the township and to Egg Harbor, two constables each. The name does not appear in the Assembly laws until 1798, when the township was formally incorporated by the New Jersey Legislature.<sup>41</sup>

Egg Harbor Township was again subdivided in that same year, 1798, when the township of Weymouth was organized. This covered the territory between the Great Egg Harbor River and the Tuckahoe River (the northern boundary of Cape May County), as well as the land inland. The remnant of Egg Harbor Township contained land which was later the mainland settlements from Somers Point north through Absecon, as well as Absecon Island, later Atlantic City.<sup>42</sup>

#### 4. *Cape May County.*

At the beginning of the Eighteenth Century, in 1700, we find Cape May County with probably between four and five hundred settlers . . . in homes in an almost barren wilderness scattered along the uplands adjacent to sounds between Great Egg Harbor and Cape May.

(Comment by County historian made in 1897.<sup>43</sup>)

Cape May's contact with Europeans dated from early times. Hudson in his "Half Moon" anchored around the

point of the Cape, probably opposite what was later called Town Bank, on August 28, 1609, prior to his trip a short distance up Delaware Bay in search of a northwest passage. His explorations created a desire on the part of Netherlands entrepreneurs to develop trade in the area. Five vessels were fitted out and Cornelius Mey was given charge of an expedition in 1623. He reached Manhattan Island in May, and then proceeded to examine the coast where Hudson had preceded him fourteen years earlier. He knew that Cornelius Hendricksen, also sailing for the Dutch, had been at Cape May about four years previously. Mey explored the Delaware, which was called by the Dutch the "Zuydt" or South River, as distinct from the Hudson, or North River. On his trip up the river he made a landing at what is now Gloucester City, where he constructed Fort Nassau. Captain Mey was far from being modest in giving out appellations. He named the bay of New York "Port Mey"; a section along the Delaware "New Port Mey"; the south cape of the Delaware Bay (now Cape Henlopen) "Cape Cornelius"; and the north cape, "Cape Mey." Only the latter name, in its derived form of "Cape May" has continued.<sup>44</sup>

Other visitors came to Cape May in subsequent years. On May 5, 1630, eight years before the Swedes started their settlement near what is now Wilmington, Delaware, Peter Heyssen, acting as agent for two directors of the Dutch West India Company, landed on the Cape May shore and bought a tract of land from three Indian chiefs of a tribe living there. The area covered four miles along the bay from Cape May to the north, and extended four miles inland, a section of sixteen square miles. The Indians promised to renounce "any particle of claim, right or privilege" to the land and to "keep it free against everybody, from any claim." However, no colony was established at Cape May at this time.<sup>45</sup>

In 1641 the Swedes gained a claim on the Cape May area when they purchased from the Indians the land from

Narriticon, or Raccoon, Creek down to Cape May.

Despite the Swedish claims, English settlers from New Haven, Connecticut and Long Island, were making temporary landfalls on Cape May for whaling purposes as early as 1638. One of them bought from other Indians the land along the shore from Cape May to Raccoon Creek for thirty pounds. The deed was dated November 24, 1638.<sup>46</sup> Town Bank, near Cape May Point, was the center of their activities in the early sixteen-forties, as described in Chapter VI.

Although the English gained control over New Jersey in 1664, there is no positive proof that Cape May was permanently inhabited until 1685. On that date Caleb Carman was appointed by the West Jersey Assembly a justice of peace for the area, and Jonathan Pine, constable. There must therefore have been a number of inhabitants in the area at that time.<sup>47</sup> Some authorities believe that some families came from Long Island to the region by 1680, among them John Townsend and Jacob Spicer. The records of the whalemens from New Haven, Connecticut, show that there was no permanent removal from that place to Cape May until 1685, although from 1640 on a sheltering and temporary resting place had been established at Town Bank for whalemens from Connecticut and Long Island. The similarity of names between Cape May families and those of early New Haven people and of residents of East Hampton, Long Island, indicate considerable contact with those locations.<sup>48</sup>

Population had increased sufficiently by 1685 for the creation of Cape May as a county by the proprietors, and in 1692 it was formally established by act of the assembly. In the same year, on February 7, the first meeting referred to as a town meeting, was held for the transaction of public business, at the house of Benjamin Godfrey. At that time a county clerk was appointed and commissions for justices and sheriff were proclaimed. The following year the first County Court was established,



but it was not until 1745 that the present Cape May Court House was made the county seat.<sup>49</sup>

One of the earliest settlers was John Townsend, who belonged to the Society of Friends. Banished from New York, he came to Leeds Point, Atlantic County, near Little Egg Harbor. In the sixteen-eighties he journeyed south to Somers Point, crossed the Great Egg Harbor River and followed an old Indian path southward about ten miles until he came to a stream which seemed a good location for a mill. He returned to what is now Absecon, Atlantic County, bought a yoke of oxen and started south again. He had great difficulty in getting the animals over the Great Egg Harbor River. Once across, he found the trail through the woods so narrow that there was not width enough to drive the oxen abreast, so he carried the yoke on his back, and drove them single file down the Indian path to his site for a house and mill, not far from Ocean View.<sup>50</sup>

Title to the land was procured from the proprietors, one of the most important of whom was Dr. Daniel Coxe, who was a physician to Charles II and afterwards to Queen Anne. Although he never came to America, he acquired vast holdings of land. He became the largest holder of proprieties within the territory of Cape May when in 1688 he purchased from the heirs of an earlier proprietor, Byllynge, ninety-five thousand acres in that area. Coxe encouraged migration and was liberal in his inducements. Although a strict adherent to the Church of England, no differences arose between him and his Quaker associates. Because of the comparatively small yield of income, however, and also because of litigation, Coxe in 1691 sold nearly all his interests in the province to a group of proprietors, fifty-eight in number, who called themselves the West Jersey Society. No land titles had been obtained under the old regime, except for five conveyances. The West Jersey Society now became the medium through which settlers could select and locate

their choice of land, at prices corresponding with the means and wishes of the purchaser. Through its agents appointed in the county, the Society continued to make sales of land during the period of the sixty-four years they had possession.<sup>51</sup>

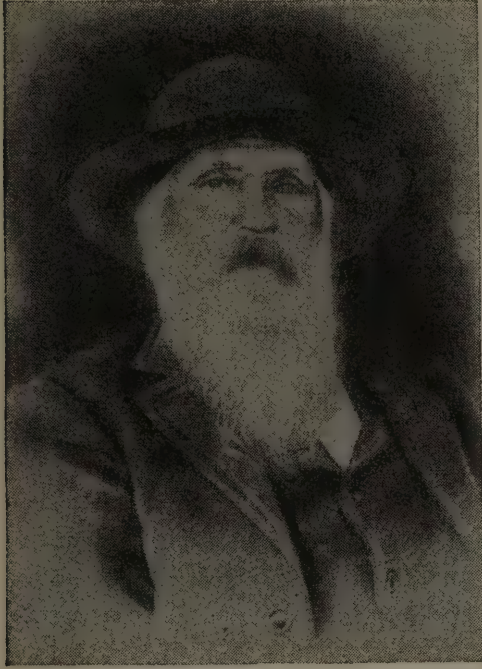
In 1694, the Assembly made new boundaries for the county, since "The bounds . . . were not distinctly enough described" earlier. The starting place, on the northern end, was the same, twenty miles up the Maurice River, although in 1710 the northwestern boundary was placed at West Creek, a few miles east of the Maurice River, in Cumberland County. From there the boundary went east to "the middlemost great river that runneth into the bay of Great Egg Harbour, so far as the tide flows up the same and thence down the said river into the said bay." This "middlesmost great river" was what was later called the Tuckahoe.<sup>52</sup>

By 1708 more settlers had moved into the county but no center of settlement had developed. According to a contemporary description of the county, written that same year, "There are several straggling houses on this neck of land . . . between Cape May and . . . Egg Harbor . . . but there's yet no Town. Most of the inhabitants are fishermen, there being a whalery at the mouth of the (Delaware) Bay."<sup>53</sup>

In the next two decades, as more newcomers moved in, a number of hamlets appeared. What was later Dennisville was first settled upon the south side of Dennis creek in about 1726 by Anthony Ludlam, and a few years later, his brother Joseph built a house on the north side. In 1745 Cape May Court House was designated the county seat when Daniel Hand presented the county with an acre of land as a site for the county buildings. Before that time the hamlet had been referred to as Middletown.<sup>54</sup>

In the first census of Cape May County, in 1726, 668 persons were reported. They lived for the most part

along the main shore road, which extended from Town Bank on Cape May point via Cold Spring and the Court House and Seaville to Beesleys Point on Great Egg Harbor River. From Cohansey, now Greenwich in Cumberland County, to this main shore road, was mostly a



(Courtesy Ocean County  
Bureau of Publicity)

*Joseph Parker, Forked River,  
First Sheriff of Ocean County,  
Appointed by Governor  
Daniel Haines in 1850*

“wilderness.” According to the journal of Thomas Chalkley, a Quaker from England who journeyed down to the Cape May shore by the land route in February, 1726, it was recounted, “From Cohansey I went through the wilderness over the Maurice River . . . through a miry, boggy way, in which we saw no house for about forty miles, except at the (Maurice River) ferry. That night we got to Richard Townsends, at Cape May, where we were kindly received. . . . From Cape May we traveled along the sea-coast to Egg Harbour (Great Egg Harbor). We swam our horses over Egg

Harbour River, and went over ourselves in canoes; and afterward had a meeting at Richard Summers (Somers).”<sup>55</sup>

Population increased so slowly that no formal political subdivisions for the County were made until the end of the Eighteenth Century. In 1765, when the first real history of the province of New Jersey was published, the county was divided into three precincts, “the Presbyterians . . . (having) a place of worship in the first, the Baptists in the second, the Quakers in the third.”<sup>56</sup> In



1798 these three precincts were incorporated by the State Legislature as Townships. Lower Township included what was later Cape May City, Cold Spring, and Fishing Creek. Middle Township embraced the section that was to become Cape May Court House, Dias Creek, Stone Harbor, Avalon, Swainton and Goshen. Upper Township, which was the largest, extended northward of Middle to the county boundary line on Tuckahoe Creek and West Creek, and included what was later Belle Plain, Woodbine, Dennisville, South Dennis, Tuckahoe, Marmora, Palermo, Ocean City, Sea Isle City, Seaville, and Ocean View. No separate census returns were made for the three townships at the end of the Eighteenth Century, but the 1810 report listed Lower Township with 862; Middle with 1,106; and Upper, with 1,664 residents, or a total of 3,632, an increase of approximately twenty per cent over the 1800 figure.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE INTRODUCTION OF ORGANIZED RELIGION

Sunday, 26th. I preached to a thin assembly at Cedar Bridge meeting house. At 2 P. M., I preached at Absecon, at one Mr. Steelman's: a full house. Monday, 27th. At 11, I preached at Clark's Mill meeting. The assembly very attentive. Here they gave me a dollar.

(Excerpt from 1775 journal of Rev. Philip A. Fithian, Presbyterian, of Greenwich, Cumberland County.<sup>1</sup>)

The settlers who moved into the shore regions brought with them their religious beliefs. The four leading groups were the Presbyterians, the members of the Church of England, the Quakers, and the Baptists. The Methodists did not appear until the latter part of the 18th century and their great period of growth occurred in the first half of the 19th Century. The Church of England developed congregations in Monmouth County, but was little in evidence during the 18th century in the three counties south of Monmouth.

In a letter written to the Anglican Bishop of London in 1700 by Lewis Morris of Tinton Falls, Monmouth County, uncle of the Lewis Morris who became royal governor in 1738, it was stated that about one-half the people in Freehold were "Scotch Presbyterians and a sober people." In Shrewsbury, there were about thirty Quakers and "the rest of the people" were "generally of no religion." According to this letter there was not a Church of England in either West or East Jersey and except in two or three towns there was "no place of public worship of any sort."<sup>2</sup> Three-quarters of a century later, however, four major denominations had become well-rooted. In an account written in 1765 the houses of worship in Old Monmouth County were listed as "presbyterians, six; episcopalians, four; quakers, three; baptists, four."<sup>3</sup>

### I. *The Presbyterians.*

And, O Religion, thou has one warm and unfeigned advocate in good and useful Mrs. Clark . . . . She has more than the form, she has the spirit of religion. This peaceful, friendly, heavenly spirit is breathing from her in every sentence.

(Excerpt from the 1775 Fithian journal.<sup>4</sup>)

The Presbyterians established a firm foothold in the shore regions during the 18th century. Monmouth County was the center of much of their growth. By the latter part of the 17th Century, a number of Scots had moved to Matawan in that county. About 1692 they organized a church which claimed to be the first Presbyterian church in that region and the "small beginning of a great stream of organized American Presbyterianism."<sup>5</sup> This church in 1706 was the scene of the first Presbyterian ordination in America.<sup>6</sup>

In the same year the church at Middletown was organized, although the building constructed there was not kept in repair. Rev. Joseph Morgan, who preached there from 1710 to 1728, stated that he was annoyed at its neglected condition, and he himself did what he could about the situation. When riding by, if he saw a door or window open, he would stop, and "dismounting his horse reverently close the open door or window before proceeding on his way."<sup>7</sup>

By 1722 a church had been organized at Allentown, in the interior of Monmouth County. In 1740, in company with Gilbert Tennent, the great evangelist, George Whitefield, who had landed at Philadelphia in 1739 from England, visited Allentown and "by the stimulus received (from his visit) . . . the church grew in strength." In 1756 a brick structure was erected and in 1752 a parsonage farm was purchased.<sup>8</sup>

By 1727 a Presbyterian church had been erected at Shrewsbury, and by 1745 "The inhabitants of Freehold Township were at least half of them Presbyterian."<sup>9</sup>

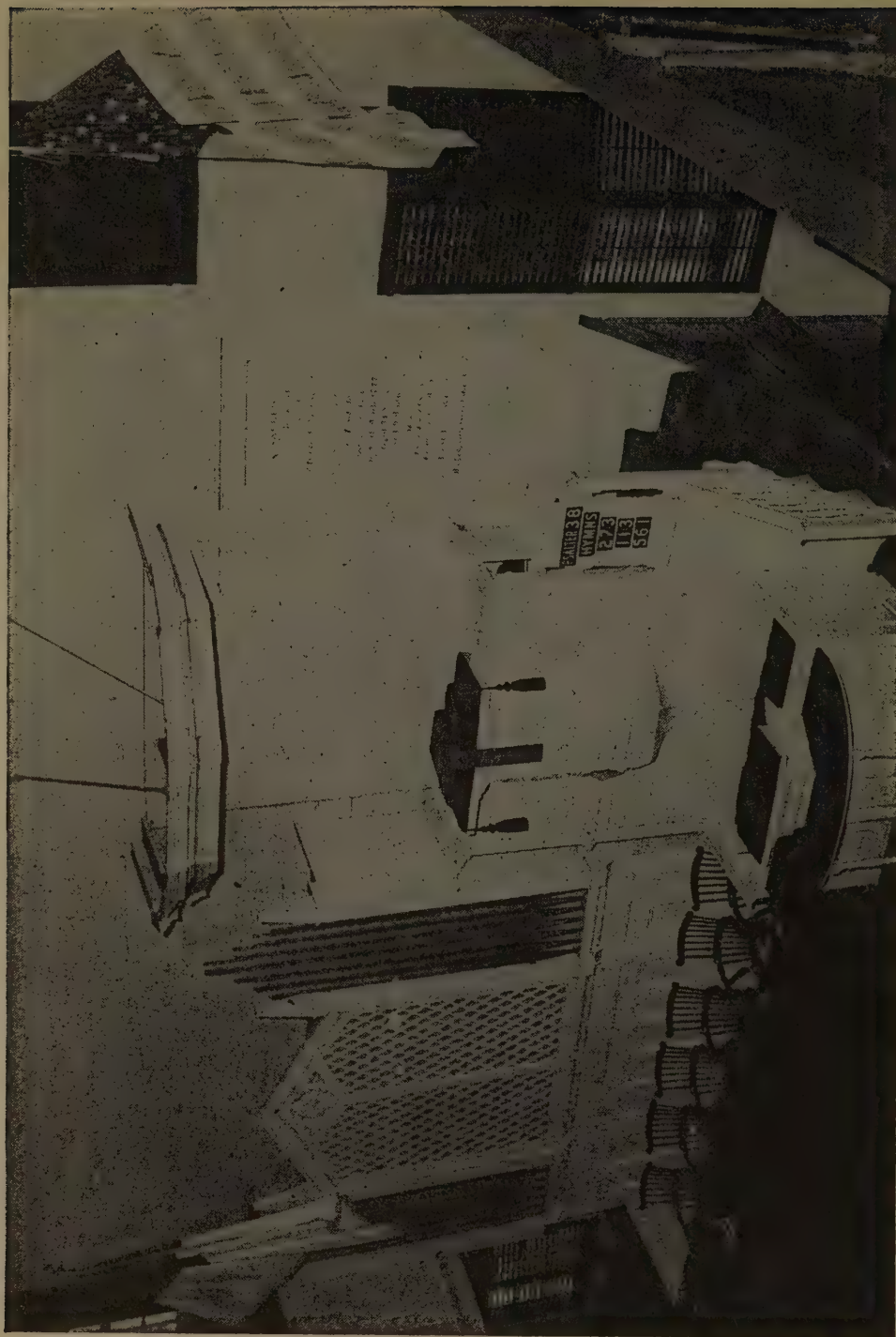


Many of them attended the Old Tennent Church, built in 1731 and rebuilt in 1751, which played so important a role in the Battle of Monmouth in 1778. In 1749 the Royal Governor granted a charter to the trustees of the church in Monmouth County, who represented several contiguous congregations.<sup>10</sup>

The Presbyterians did not make much substantial progress in the counties south of Monmouth, except in certain sections of Cape May County. The first church in that county of this denomination was organized in 1714 at Cold Spring, a few miles north of the Cape. This was an outgrowth of missionary work done by the Philadelphia Presbytery which entered the county in 1705. A meeting-house, a small log building, was built at Cold Spring in 1718. Later, it was recalled that "the meeting house was never lighted except by the sun, until singing schools made it necessary to introduce candles. Night meetings . . . were considered quite improper and the Presbyterian would have thought candles too suggestive of the superstitions of the Church of Rome."

The same writer also described the service. "The people came together at nine o'clock for the morning service. In early times they were summoned by the beat of the drum. Sometimes, the voice of the town crier, or the blowing of a conch shell, or of a horn, served instead of the drum. . . . Inside the meeting house door, the most conspicuous object was the pulpit. . . . In front of it, on a low platform, sat the deacons, facing the congregation. On a platform a little higher . . . sat the ruling elders. Above them, in the pulpit itself, sat the two ministers, (a pastor and a teacher). . . . The pastor began with a solemn prayer, continuing about a quarter of an hour. After this, the teacher read and expounded a chapter in the Bible. This exposition . . . was one of the leading parts of the service. Then a Psalm was sung by the congregation. No instrumental music was allowed. . . ."

"After the Psalm, came the sermon by the pastor,



(Courtesy N. J. Dept. of Conserv. & Econ. Devel.)

## Old Tennent Church Interior

and this was the great feature of the service. Its length was measured by an hour glass when he began to preach and he was expected, on ordinary occasions, to draw his discourse to a close when the last sands were running out from the glass. Yet there were instances when the glass was turned two or three times . . . . The sermon being finished, the teacher made a short prayer and another Psalm was sung. Then baptism was administered to children. . . . Once a month the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was administered, in connection with the morning services. The people were then dismissed with the benediction."<sup>11</sup>

Early Presbyterian mission work in the central section of the shore was headed by John Brainerd, whose center of activity for many years was at Atsion, in Burlington County. He had come from Connecticut and in addition to efforts with the whites, he worked among the remnants of the Indians in the county. He exhorted and visited the new settlements in Cape May, Great Egg Harbor, Manahawkin, Toms River and Cedar Bridge, although he left his strongest impress on the Atlantic County villages of Port Republic, Absecon, English Creek and Pleasant Mills.<sup>12</sup> It was a common occurrence for him to ride forty miles a day on horseback to preach a sermon. By the 1750's he had established a circuit in what is now Atlantic County. This began at the Forks of Little Egg Harbor, near Pleasant Mills. It then passed over to Great Egg Harbor, following its shore south to the inlet; then it proceeded northeast along the shore to the neighborhood of Port Republic, and thence north and west to the starting point. From Brainerd's journal we learn that in 1761, on a tour through this circuit, he raised a subscription of eighty pounds, to be paid annually for the "settlement and support of gospel ministry." In a journal entry he made plans for the construction of a church at Chestnut Neck, near Port Republic. He wrote "Preached a lecture at Chestnut Neck. After sermon



stayed the heads or principal members of the congregation, to discourse about building a meeting house."<sup>13</sup>

Further work was done by Presbyterian missionaries during the next decade, particularly in the early 1770's before the outbreak of the Revolution. Elijah Clark, who carried on after John Brainerd, and whose wife is the object of admiration in the quotation at the beginning of this section, held services at the little log meeting house constructed near the junction of Atsion and Batsto Creeks, at what is now Pleasant Mills in Mullica Township. This was near the site of what was later the Methodist church, which still stands. Clark's log meeting house was twenty-five by thirty feet, with ceiling of cedar boards and covered with cedar shingles. It was between ten and twelve miles from the Clark's Mill meeting house at Clark's Landing, one miles west of Port Republic.<sup>14</sup>

Further Presbyterian growth in the 1770's centered around the efforts of the Rev. Philip V. Fithian of Cohansey, present-day Greenwich, in Cumberland County, who made several religious missions into Cape May and what is now Atlantic Counties in these years. His journal entry for Friday, Feb. 3, 1775, recounts he left for Great Egg Harbor that day "early in the morning," and arrived "about 4 P. M." On Sunday he walked to a neighboring home to hold service. He added that while going there "Many straggling, impertinent, vociferous swamp men accompanied me this morning; they however, used me with great civility. . . . At 12, began service. There were present between forty and fifty persons. . . . I spoke with freedom of spirit." On the next day "I rode to the Forks and put up at Elijah Clark's."

The following Wednesday, Feb. 8, 1775, Rev. Fithian preached in Mr. Clark's little log meeting-house "with about forty present." The journal then states some of the factors for successful conversion. "I understand the people in this wild and thinly settled country are . . . difficult to be suited in preaching. One would think that

scarcely any pulpit would have admirers here. It is, however, otherwise. They must have, before they can be entertained, good speaking, good sense, sound divinity and neatness and cleanliness in the person and dress of the preacher. This I found from the remarks which several of them freely made upon gentlemen who had formerly preached here."<sup>15</sup>

## 2. *The Church of England.*

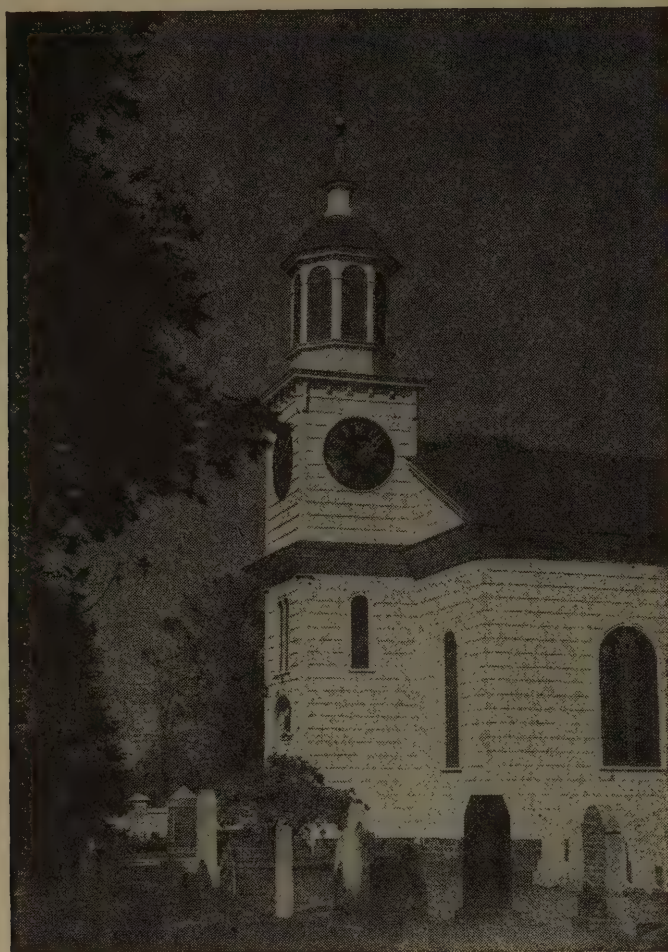
In my journeying, I had many conferences and disputes with the people. Some of them were willing to see their errors and others were as obstinate in defending theirs. . . . I gained a few to the communion and baptised beside children, seventeen grown persons, of which number was Nicholas Wainright, nearly eighty years of age.

(Portion of journal of Anglican missionary, written in 1750, on a visit to what is now Ocean County.<sup>16</sup>)

The Church of England, which following the Revolution, became the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States, developed only a few local organizations in the shore section during the 18th Century, and these were all in Old Monmouth County. As early as 1702-04 services were held in Freehold and elsewhere by the Rev. George Keith. On October 17, 1702, Keith preached at the Middletown Church and noted in his journal for that day, "There were several of the audience who were Anabaptists, who heard me civilly without interruption, but most of the auditory were Church people."<sup>17</sup> Mr. Keith had previously been a confirmed Quaker. He became an Anglican and worked steadily to convert Quakers in Monmouth County. On December 27th he noted in his journal, "I preached at Shrewsbury, near the Quaker Meeting-House . . . and had a considerable auditory of Church people lately converted from Quakerism."<sup>18</sup>

Following Keith's return to England in 1704, Rev. Alexander Innes held services in Shrewsbury, Middletown and Freehold, and donated ten acres of ground upon

which the church was built in Middletown. During his ministry, Queen Anne made her gift of the communion service to the Shrewsbury Church, The churches at



(Courtesy N. J. Dept. of Conserv. & Econ. Devel.)

*Old Christ Church, Shrewsbury*

Shrewsbury and Middletown were under the same minister until 1854, when the property was divided and they became separate bodies.<sup>19</sup>

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts sent missionaries from England during the 18th Century. One, the Rev. John Forbes, served in Old Monmouth County from 1733 to 1738 and he was



succeeded by the Rev. John Miln, who worked there until 1746. More is known of the activities of the next missionary, the Rev. Thomas Thompson, since he kept a journal, an excerpt of which is quoted at the heading of this section. He served in the area from 1746 until 1750, having immediately in his charge three churches, at Freehold, Shrewsbury, and Middletown. At that time these townships comprised the whole county. Like the Presbyterian parson mentioned in the last section, Mr. Thompson was much concerned over the condition of the church buildings. "I have found them all much out of condition," he reported in his journal, "especially the church at Middletown." This building had been started a year earlier but, he went on "When I came there it had nothing done on the inside, not even a floor laid." By the end of that year (1746) the church "was made fit for divine worship." At Shrewsbury, Mr. Thompson noted, "The Church was now too small for the numerous congregation. People of all sorts resorted thither. . ."

The missionary confessed that in both these townships he had "a great and very difficult task of it to bring people to the communion. They that were conformable to this sacred ordinance were in very small numbers. Many persons of 50 or 60 years of age and some older had never addressed themselves to it. I took all possible pains to satisfy their scruples, gave them frequent opportunities of the communion . . . and gained most of the ancient people besides many others." At Middletown, he admitted, "the congregation . . . was but small and as the services could not be oftener than once a month, it was morally impossible to increase the number much, especially as there was a weekly meeting of Anabaptists in that town, so that the most I could propose was to prevent those that were of the church from being drawn away by dissenters . . ."

Since Old Monmouth then contained what is now Ocean County, the Rev. Mr. Thompson journeyed south-

ward into a more primitive region. He remarked in his journal that from Manasquan south for 20 miles "is all one pine forest." He travelled "this desert four times to a place called Barnegat, and thence to Mannahawkin, almost sixty miles from home." In this area he met all types of people. "The inhabitants," he wrote, "are thinly scattered in regions of solid wood. Some are decent people, who had lived in better places, but those who were born and bred there have neither religion nor manners, and do not know so much as a letter in a book," an enlightening comment on the contemporary state of education in that part of the shore.<sup>20</sup>

With the advent of growing dissension between England and the colonies, the church found itself in an embarrassing position. The events which happened at Allentown and at Shrewsbury are typical of the impact of the Revolution on the church. During the war, the church building which had been constructed in Allentown in 1730 under the auspices of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, was used by troops as a stable and parts of it were hit by cannon shot in the hostilities preceding the Battle of Monmouth. The congregation scattered. According to the Journal of the Convention of 1810, the edifice was "in a ruinous state" and was therefore razed. Not until 1845 was another building constructed.<sup>21</sup>

As early as 1766 the church in Shrewsbury was the scene of a meeting of clergy called to consider the feasibility of creating an American episcopate. In 1769 a new church building was erected there, on the spire of which was put a copper vane, a gilt ball, and an iron crown. An early account relates that when American soldiers saw the English crown during the Revolution, "they shot at it, nicking it in many places, but did not bring it down. They finally built a fire in the church and would have destroyed it but for William Parker, a Quaker, who rushed in and smothered the flames with his coat."<sup>22</sup> The

rector at Shrewsbury during the Revolution, moreover, joined with the Tories and became a chaplain in the British Army. The congregation dissolved, and no new minister was appointed until 1788. Many years were to elapse before the Episcopalian Church could knit the wounds suffered by the divided loyalties during the War.<sup>23</sup>

### 3. *The Quakers.*

That night we got to Richard Townsends, at Cape May, where we were kindly received. Next day we had a meeting at Rebecca Townsends; and then went down to the Cape and had a meeting at John Pages, and the next another at Aaron Leamings, and several expressed satisfaction with those meetings. I lodged two nights at Jacob Spicers, my wife's brother. From Cape May we traveled along the sea-coast to Egg Harbor. . . . The meeting at Richard Sumers . . . was as large one as could be expected, considering the people live at such distance from each other.

(Portion of 1726 journal of Quaker itinerant.<sup>24</sup>)

The Quakers were a leading influence in the shore in the 18th Century, although their numbers gradually waned in the 19th Century. The pioneers of South Jersey were mostly Quakers, and they were especially strong in the southern part of the Jersey shore. Some of the Quakers who were requested to leave Long Island in the latter 17th Century made their way into what is now Atlantic and Cape May Counties. Some went into Monmouth County. In March, 1672, a group of Quaker leaders crossed the colony, one of whom, by name Bunyeate, reported he found a number of Friends in that county.<sup>25</sup>

Among this group of Quaker visitors was a George Fox from England, who kept an interesting journal. According to this, on June 27, 1672, the little party left Middletown and "rode about thirty miles into that country, through woods and over very bad bogs, one worse than all the rest, the descent into which was so steep that we were fain to slide down with our horses and then let them lie and breathe themselves before they go on. This



place the people of the place called Purgatory. We got at length to Shrewsbury and on First day, had a precious meeting there, to which Friends and other people came far."

Fox's journal is colorful, and one entertaining item tells of an accident, which "for a time was a great exercise to us. John Jay, a Friend of Barbadoes, who . . . intended to accompany us through the woods to Maryland, being to try a horse, got upon his back, and the horse fell a running, cast him down upon his head and broke his neck, as the people said. Those that were near him took him up as dead, carried him a good way and laid him on a tree. I got to him as soon as I could, and feeling him, concluded he was dead. As I stood pitying him and his family, I took hold of his hair, and his head turned any way, his neck was so limber. Whereupon I took his head in both my hands, and setting my knees against the tree, I raised his head and perceived there was nothing out or broken that way. Then I put one hand under his chin and the other behind his head, and raised the head two or three times with all my strength, and brought it in. . . . Then he began to rattle in his throat and quietly after to breathe. The people were amazed. . . . The next day we passed away and he with us, pretty well about sixteen miles to a meeting at Middletown, through woods and bogs and over a river where we swam our horses, and got over ourselves upon a hollow tree."<sup>26</sup>

The Quakers established meeting houses at various places along the coast. One of these, among whose members were a number of whalemens from Long Island, was organized in 1695 at Somers Point, Atlantic County. Other meetings were held at Japhet Leeds' at Leeds Point and at John Scull's. The oldest preserved records for Quakers in the county show that in 1726 a monthly meeting on Great Egg Harbor was held alternately at the house of Richard Somers of Somers Point and at the home of Rebecca Garretson on the Cape May County side

of Great Egg Harbor. First-day and week-day meetings were held at these houses.<sup>27</sup>

A large number of the pioneers in Cape May County were Quakers. In 1716 a meeting house was built at Seaville, where meetings were held quarterly with Friends coming from Salem to help conduct the gathering.<sup>28</sup>

In what is now Ocean County, the Quaker growth centered around Little Egg Harbor, where a monthly meeting was established in 1715. "Had earth been ransacked," exclaimed a local Tuckerton historian in the latter 19th Century, "there had scarcely been found a whole community so entirely under Quaker influence as Little Egg Harbor during the first century of its existence. . . . For seventy years no other denomination found lodgment within thirty miles of its sanctuary. No public house or tavern was kept."<sup>29</sup>

The Society of Friends continued to send proselytes from the inland communities along the shore throughout the 18th Century. One well-known South Jersey Quaker itinerant, John Hunt of Evesham, Burlington County, wrote in his journal in 1793 of a missionary trip from Alloway Creek down to Cape May. He declared in the entry of November 21st, "This is a Dissolute Road, it was a Comfort to see the least token of the Living along it even ye mark of an ox." The following day he noted "We rode ten miles to the Bay (Great Egg Harbor). Left our horsis and Cross the Bay about three miles in a Small Batto and Quite Dark. Cloudy and windy, so that the water flew over us and wet us Some. Travel'd three miles and very Dark to the Widow Sculls to Lodg." Following a "meeting at Great Egg Harbor" on November 23rd, Hunt journeyed up to Barnegat for another meeting. Later, he went to "batstow" (Batsto) where "there was a young man Near Expiring to all Appearance, tho Sensible." The darkness continued to trouble Hunt, for he wrote "We met our horsis here and Rode to Joshua through the Wilderness and about eight or nine miles it

was so Dark we could Hardly keep the Road, but got Safe Along back to Evesham."<sup>30</sup>

The Quakers had some adherents who later proved no asset to their efforts. One of these individuals was the same George Keith mentioned in the previous section as the Church of England minister who had held services in Freehold in 1703-1704. George Keith was one of the strangest and most erratic of the early preachers in America.<sup>31</sup> Born in Aberdeen, Scotland, in 1645, he planned to become a Presbyterian clergyman but when he was about to graduate from college, he renounced that church and became a Friend. He arrived in New York in 1684 and occupied the position of Surveyor of New Jersey for four years. In 1689 he removed to Philadelphia and there conducted a Friend's school, but the confinement soon palled on him. He then became a missionary and travelled to New England where he had heated controversies with Increase and Cotton Mather. He returned to Philadelphia in a belligerent mood, quarrelled with the Quakers there, partly because of his own sense of the failure of his mission to New England and partly because the Quakers wanted none of certain peculiar innovations he advocated.

Keith then journeyed to England and laid his case before William Penn, but the latter called him an apostate. He then left the Society of Friends and founded the Baptist Quakers, more properly called "Keithians," in which sect he had an opportunity to sound off his views on the transmigration of souls and the imminence of the millenium. Failing to gain adherents, Keith turned to another fold. By 1701 he had become a full-fledged and enthusiastic minister of the Church of England. He was sent by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts as a missionary into Monmouth County, and in 1704 into Pennsylvania, with the view of converting as many Quakers as possible. He later claimed that in the expedition to New Jersey and Pennsylvania some seven



hundred Friends were received into communion with the English Church. During his stay in Monmouth County he was a vehement opponent of what he considered the fallacies of Quakerism.<sup>32</sup>

Later Anglican missionaries in the same county found the beliefs and actions of the Quakers irritating. The Rev. Mr. Thompson, rector of the Shrewsbury church, declared in 1746 "There are several Quakers, which are a great body in that township, who make no scruple of being present at divine service and are not too precise to uncover their heads in the house of God." At a later time he commented more outspokenly. "As Quakerism is the name under which all those in America shade themselves that have been brought up to none, but would be thought to be of *some* religion; so these poor people call themselves Quakers, but they have no meetings, and many of them make no distinction of days, neither observing Lord's Day nor the Sabbath."<sup>33</sup>

In later years the Quakers did not maintain their early promises of growth. An historian of the region wrote in 1765: "For many years there seemed to be a great openness on the part of the inhabitants to receive the doctrines of Friends, and, a number . . . settling along the shore, several meetings were established, viz.: Egg Harbor, Galloway, Tuckahoe, and Cape May. These formed Great Egg Harbor monthly meeting. Friends having died, and others removed, none were left to sustain the meetings, and they have all been laid down or abandoned and the properties sold or devoted to other uses. . . . The meeting house at Cape May was rebuilt some years ago on a much smaller scale than formerly and is still kept in repair, but like the others mentioned, it has no congregation."<sup>34</sup>

The Hicksite division of the 19th Century split the Quakers and further limited their influence. Despite the decline in the shore counties, however, Quaker meetings in Salem, Cumberland, Gloucester, Camden and Burlington counties continued to be well attended.

#### 4. *The Baptists and the "Rogerines."*

Rev. Nathaniel Jenkins . . . became their minister . . . in 1712 . . . when he settled at the Cape. He was a man of good parts and tolerable education and quitted himself with honor . . . in the assembly, particularly in 1721, when a bill was brought in to punish such as denied the doctrine "of the Trinity, the divinity of Christ, the inspiration of Holy Scriptures," etc. In opposition to which Mr. Jenkins stood up, and, with the warmth and accent of a Welshman said: "I believe the doctrines in question as firmly as the promoters of the ill-designed bill, but will never consent to oppose the opposers with law, or with any other weapon, save that of argument."

(Account, written in 1792, of the Baptist minister at Cape May, who served there from 1712 to 1730.<sup>35</sup>)

The Baptists also established churches in the shore area in the very early colonial period. By 1668, a church of that faith had been organized in Middletown in Monmouth County, and one village in that township, later called Holmdel was referred to as "Baptist-town." Here was constructed, according to a Baptist historian, "doubtless the first meeting-house in New Jersey built by Baptists for their own use."<sup>36</sup> Baptist churches were established in other sections of Old Monmouth County during the following hundred years. In Upper Freehold Township, the first minister was the Rev. David Jones, who was ordained as pastor there in 1766.<sup>37</sup> In the southern section of Old Monmouth, in what is now Ocean County, the Baptists erected a church at Manahawkin in 1758.<sup>38</sup>

One of the more influential Baptist ministers in colonial Monmouth County was the Rev. John Burrows, who was born in Taunton, Somersetshire, England, who came to be Baptist pastor at Middletown in 1713. Mr. Burrows was said to have been "a happy compound of gravity and facetiousness . . . , the one made the people stand in awe of him, while the other produced familiarity." One episode at Middletown, recounted in a history written in

1792, indicated the extent of his influence. "As Mr. Burrows was travelling one day a young man passed by him in full speed; and, in passing, Mr. Burrows said, 'If you consider whither you are going you would slacken your pace.' The young man went on, but presently turned back to enquire into the meaning of that passing salute. Mr. Burrows reasoned with him on the folly and danger of horse-racing (to which the youth was hastening). He gave attention to the reproof. This encouraged Mr. Burrows to proceed to more serious matters. The issue was a sound conversion. Here was a bow drawn at a venture; and a sinner shot flying!"<sup>39</sup>

The Baptist churches in Old Monmouth County felt the impact of the Revolutionary War, though not as seriously as did the Anglicans. The congregation at Manahawkin was disrupted by the war and was not reorganized until 1801.<sup>40</sup> The pastor of the Middletown church, the Rev. Abel Morgan, relates in his journal that when he preached on Sunday, June 28, 1778, the day of the Battle of Monmouth, the roar of cannon was "heard during the services." The enemy "came into the village in the evening of that Sabbath, pouring down Ruckman's Hill." On July 5, 1778, the next Sabbath, he made this record: "There was no meeting on this Lord's day because of the enemy passing thro' our town the week past, putting all in confusion by their ravaging and plundering wherever they went." On July 19th he was forced to preach "At Middletown, in mine own barn, because the enemy had took all the seats in the meeting-house in town." By August 30th he had returned to the regular meeting-house, after which there is no further reference to war disturbances.<sup>41</sup>

The first reference to Baptists in Cape May County is in 1675. George Taylor conducted services in his own house at Cape May Court House until his death in 1702, and Philip Hill did the same, until 1704, when he died. The first Baptist congregation in the village was organ-



ized in 1712. Its pastor was the Rev. Nathaniel Jenkins, the subject of the quotation at the beginning of this section. The first meeting house was not built until 1715. The work was held up, in the words of a later Baptist account, because in 1714 "many of them died of a grievous sickness which had well nigh depopulated the settlement."<sup>43</sup> This severe epidemic is mentioned in the diary of Thomas Leaming in the winter of 1713-1714. Some forty or more residents died. Leaming noted that "The disease came on with a pain in the side, breast, and sometimes in the back, navel, tooth, eye, hand, feet, legs, or ear." Of this description, a county historian declared in 1897, "It can scarcely be conjectured from the above recital of symptoms what the true character of the disease could have been. It was a severe retribution in a population of some two or three hundred, and Providence alone, who saw proper to afflict, can solve the mystery."<sup>44</sup>

In 1741 a brick church was erected at the Court House. It measured thirty-four feet by twenty-six feet. Two years later a dispute arose there on the subject of baptism, the occasion being the result of an earlier "stir owing partly to the preaching of Baptist ministers and partly to the labours of Presbyterian ministers of the *New light* order."<sup>45</sup> No serious division occurred, however, and in 1751 the second Baptist church in the county was organized at Tuckahoe. By the beginning of the last decade of the 18th Century the denomination was well established. At that time, there were about ninety families attending the Court House church, mostly coming from the middle precinct of the county,<sup>46</sup> and at the Tuckahoe church about sixty families, "whereof sixty-three persons are baptized," states an early account, "and the salary of the minister is about twenty pounds."<sup>47</sup>

A temporary influence in the central section of the shore, and especially in the Ocean County area, was the eleven-year residence at Waretown of a sect sometimes called Quaker Baptists, but more frequently referred to

as the "Rogerine Baptists" in deference to their founder, John Rogers, who founded the group in 1674 in the Massachusetts Bay Colony and Connecticut. Their unusual tenets invited persecution, and they were eventually expelled from these two colonies.

The Rogerines were as much in revolt against the rigid Sabbatical laws of the Puritans as the latter themselves were opposed to the ritualism of the Church of England. They argued that the death of Christ overthrew the Jewish Sabbath, and therefore they held one day as holy as another. In the intensity of religious zeal which was characteristic of that day, they not only gloried in working on the Sabbath but insisted upon working where the church-going Puritans would be sure to see them. They took their work to the meeting houses where the women knitted and the men made basket splints during the service. They even interrupted the preachers with contradictions.<sup>48</sup>

In 1734, as New England had become too uncomfortable for them, a colony led by John Culver left New London, Connecticut, and settled in Morris County, New Jersey, on the side of Schooley's Mountain. Not finding the section hospitable, they left in 1738 and moved to what was later called Waretown, on the mainland opposite Barnegat Inlet. There they stayed for eleven years holding meetings in a schoolhouse and greatly mystifying the other residents with their way of conducting services. As in earlier years, the men made axe handles or basket splints and the women would knit or sew while the services were carried on.<sup>49</sup> The story is recounted that whenever an occasional preacher came along the shore near Waretown in these years, word was sent out in all directions for the Rogerines to attend the religious service and to bring some work with them to show their belief that Sunday was no better than other days.<sup>50</sup>

Finally they became so very unpopular that in 1748 they moved away, this time back to Morris County. One

of the group, Abraham Waier, stayed on and gave his name to Waretown. He died there in 1768.<sup>51</sup>

### 5. *The Methodists.*

On one occasion, a meeting was held in the woods, and after Freeborn Garretson had preached, Rev. Benjamin Abbott arose and looked around over the congregation very significantly, and exclaimed, "Lord, begin the work; Lord, begin the work now; Lord, begin the work just there!" pointing at the time towards a man who was standing beside a tree, and the man fell as suddenly as if he had been shot, and cried for mercy.

(Account of an Ocean County episode which took place about 1778, as described by Job Throckmorton of Freehold in the following year.<sup>52</sup>)

Although Methodism's period of greatest growth came in the first half of the 19th Century, its origins may be traced to the latter part of the present period. Methodist preachers worked in Monmouth and Ocean Counties as early as 1777 and 1778. In 1778 the Rev. Benjamin Abbott expounded the principles of Methodism to the people of Toms River, first in the house of Abiel Aikens and then in other places. At one of the meetings, according to his journal, "A Frenchman fell to the floor and never rose till the Lord converted his soul. . . ." Abbott added "Here at Toms River, we had a happy time."<sup>53</sup> The following year, the same minister wrote of preaching visits to Manahawken, Waretown, Good Luck and Toms River and to Freehold and other Monmouth towns. Private homes were opened for the meetings. In Freehold, they were held at the home of Job Throckmorton.<sup>54</sup>

In the latter 18th Century the renowned Bishop Francis Asbury, one of the founders of Methodism in this country, for whom Asbury Park was named, made a series of visits to the shore counties and particularly to Old Monmouth. His journals reveal the territory he covered and the impressions he felt he made, as well as the state of the manners and morals in some of the back-



woods communities. On September 10, 1785, he wrote, "I had the liberty in preaching to the people of Monmouth on Joshua 24-17 and felt much for the souls present." He wrote a year later, September 22, 1786, of a cool reception he received in Freehold. "I preached life and love at Leonards'. The people here appear very lifeless. I had lately been much tried and much blessed." Four days later he rode horseback down to Good Luck near Toms River, Ocean County, where he felt much encouraged. "I had many to hear me at Potter's Church." From Good Luck, he went on to Batsto, in Burlington County. In a journal entry for September 5, 1791, he happily wrote, "I rode through much rain to Monmouth [Freehold], where I preached. . . . There is some stir among the people; at Long Branch, within eighteen months, I am informed, nearly fifty souls have professed conversion."

In his travels the good Bishop was horrified by the rough customs he found in some locations. He tells of seeing a gouging match in Monmouth. "I was shocked at the brutality of some men who were fighting. One gouged out the other's eye; the father and son then both beset him again, cut off his ears and nose and beat him almost to death. The father and son were tried for breach of the peace and roundly fined; and now the man that has lost his nose is come upon them for damage. I have often thought that there are some things practiced in the Jersie's which are more brutish and diabolical than in any other of the states. There is nothing of this kind in New England; they learn civility there at least."

The Bishop continued his missionary work during the remainder of the 18th Century and into the 19th. In 1809 he visited the Ocean County area again. His schedule was a heavy one. On Sunday, April 23, 1809, he notes, "I preached at Tuckerton; on Monday, at Waretown; I was compelled by uncomfortable feeling to go to rest at six o'clock; . . . on Tuesday I preached at David Wood-

manse's (in Good Luck); on Wednesday after a rain, I set out for Polhemus' chapel (Polhemus Mills) where I preached. My friends were exceedingly kind and I was very sick. I arose unwell on Thursday and took medicine and set out for Squan river. . . . I had a noble congregation here of women and children; the men were generally gone from the neighborhood, either to the waters or to work. I was seriously unwell. On Friday, at Shark River, I had women not a few. . . . Ah! How many Marthas and how few Maryes! In the afternoon, I spoke again at P. White's. The prospects are pleasing; we have meetings twice a day and sometimes at night. The weather is severely cold."<sup>55</sup>

Thanks to the efforts of the various itinerants and to the receptiveness of the congregations, a number of churches were established in Old Monmouth County. One near Freehold, at a hamlet called Blue Ball, was organized as early as 1780. In 1793 the Freehold Circuit, including all of Old Monmouth County, was separated from the Trenton Circuit. It numbered 472 members at that time.<sup>56</sup>

In what is now Atlantic County and Cape May County, Methodism made little headway until after 1800. A congregation was established in what is now Buena Vista in Atlantic County in 1794, by Aquilla Down and Ambrose Pancoast,<sup>57</sup> and there are records of a few itinerant preachers going into the Cape May area. James Crowell preached there in 1781, and the Benjamin Abbott mentioned above also visited the area. The first Methodist meeting house in the county, however, was not built until 1803, and as in the other shore counties, the period of intensive growth of Methodism was from 1800 to 1850.<sup>58</sup>

## 6. *The Universalists in Ocean County.*

We travelled from Little Egg Harbor by the seaside to a place called Good Luck where we found a large meeting-

house, not quite finished, erected by one Thomas Potter, intended by him, it seems, for all preachers to make use of, who would preach freely, except Papists, who would not be admitted even on those terms.

(Comment of itinerant Quaker preacher, written in 1766.<sup>59</sup>)

The chance landing of a Universalist missionary on the Jersey shore had consequences of historical importance, even though his stay was brief and the denomination he sponsored never developed in the area. It was in New England that the Universalists became a sect of considerable influence, antedating the Unitarians there.

The story centers around the figures of Thomas Potter of Good Luck, a few miles south of Toms River, and John Murray, the founder of the Universalist Church in America. The meeting between the two was a matter of unusual coincidence. Potter, who was a native of the shore, could neither read nor write. He had had a varied career. Seized by a press gang in the 1740's, he had been taken aboard the flagship of Admiral Warren in the expedition against Louisburg during the third French and Indian War, called King George's War. He eventually made his way back to the Jersey shore and settled in Good Luck, where, in 1766 he built the meeting-house described above. He announced that it was open to any travelling preachers who came to Good Luck. None of those who arrived during the following four years, however, delivered the gospel with the interpretation which had been formulated in Potter's mind from the scripture he had heard read. He had hoped that "heaven would send a preacher who believed that all men were equally dear to God."<sup>60</sup> What Potter believed later turned out to be the major tenets of the Universalist Church.<sup>61</sup>

The man who answered Potter's hopes was John Murray, immigrant from England, whose ship ran aground in 1770 off Cranberry Inlet not far from Good Luck. Murray was born in Alton, in Hampshire, in 1741.



His father joined the Wesleyan group in England and was a friend of John Wesley. Murray, however, became interested in the exhortations of James Rely, who preached universal redemption for everyone. In 1759, Murray and his wife visited Rely, and Murray gradually formulated his own ideas. He departed from the old Calvinists in the belief, according to one of his later sermons, that "every individual shall in due time be separated from sin and rendered fit to associate with the denizens of heaven." He eventually emphasized the idea of the final triumph of good over evil in the universe, stressing that God in His goodness is pledged to put an end to sin and ultimately to save the whole family of mankind. To him, sin was a voluntary transgression of the law and not an inherited condition. Since the human will was free, ultimately man would conform to the will of God.<sup>62</sup>

Within a few years following Murray's visit to Rely, his child and later his wife died, and Murray, looking to America as a wilderness where he might bury his grief, set sail from Gravesend in July, 1770. Then began the series of chance happenings that brought him to Potter. The ship was headed for New York, but as it neared the coast, it met another ship, outbound, from which it was learned that the New Yorkers were refusing to allow English goods to land because of the dispute over the tax on tea. The ship then turned and headed for Philadelphia. Once there, however, it was not allowed to land for the same reason. The brig headed back to New York. The captain rounded Cape May but struck a bad fog soon thereafter. Thinking he was off Sandy Hook, he ran into what turned out to be Old Cranberry Inlet, and soon the brig grounded on the bar near the inlet. Part of its cargo was then put on a sloop from Barnegat Bay, and Murray, at the captain's request, also went aboard. The "lightening" floated the brig. The sloop was to follow the brig to New York, but the following morn-

ing, as the brig got away, a sudden shift of the wind to the eastward held the sloop inside the inlet. Supplies were low and Murray, with a few other men, crossed Barnegat Bay in a small boat to look for food.<sup>63</sup>

Murray landed on the south bank of Toms River and travelled a short distance southward. He had been directed toward Good Luck to the house of Thomas Potter, who was known to have a newly caught supply of fish which the landing party could use. When Murray arrived, he found Potter cleaning the catch. Murray explained his errand and Potter gave him a large number of fish for which he refused to take any pay. After some conversation, Potter invited Murray to spend the night, to which the latter assented since adverse wind still held the sloop inside Barnegat Bay.

After supper, Potter told Murray of his meeting house, how he had built it and how his neighbors had laughed at him and asked him where he would find a preacher. His answer to them, he said, was that the Lord would send a preacher. On learning about Murray's background in England, Potter asked him to preach in his meeting-house. Murray refused, saying that he had to return to his ship. Potter, however, was persistent and Murray finally agreed to do it if the weather held the sloop in the inlet until Sunday. It was Monday when he first met Potter, and strangely enough, the wind stayed in the east all that week. On Saturday, Murray let Potter send out word that there would be a preaching service at his meeting house the next day.<sup>64</sup>

On Sunday people came from all around the Toms River vicinity, and the first Universalist sermon was preached in America. Unfortunately no record was made of it. Murray returned to the sloop the next day and journeyed on to New York. He and Potter became good friends, and he came back a number of times, preaching also at Toms River and at Manahawkin. In most places, however, pulpits were closed to him because of his de-

parture from orthodoxy. In 1772 Murray was received in tolerant Rhode Island, and finally, in 1779, in Gloucester, Massachusetts, sixty-one persons, including some fifteen suspended members of Gloucester's First Church, united to form a congregation with Murray as minister. In 1793 he was installed in Boston as the Universalist pastor. He died in Boston in 1815.<sup>65</sup>

When Potter died in 1782 he willed his meeting-house to Murray, whose final visit to Good Luck was in 1790. A Universalist visiting the village in 1832 found persons there who still remembered Murray's sermons.<sup>66</sup> The building remained a Universalist Church until 1809, when it was sold to the trustees of the local Methodist Episcopal church for \$125. Over one hundred years after the landing of Murray, the old Potter farm at Good Luck was bought by a Universalist society and upon it was built a summer hotel and a brick church. The place was called Murray Grove, and a camp meeting was held there annually, to which came prominent Universalists, preachers and laymen, from different parts of the country. Annual Universalist conferences were held there at Lanoka Harbor in the month of August through the first half of the 20th Century.<sup>67</sup>



## CHAPTER V

### THE BEGINNNINGS OF TRADE AND INDUSTRY

Those who did not go whaling began farming their recently purchased lands and spent their time in the sounds and thoroughfares fishing, clamming, oystering, and hunting for wild fowl.

(Description of conditions on the southern section of the Jersey shore in late 17th Century.<sup>1</sup>)

In the more fertile sections of Monmouth County and along the shore road of Cape May, farming had become well established by the end of the colonial period. This was not the case in most areas of what became Atlantic County and Ocean County,<sup>2</sup> but evidences of trade and industry appeared in all the four soon after the era of settlement and continued to increase throughout the colonial period. The limitations of overland transportation forced those shore residents who carried on trade to rely on water facilities rather than roadways, which were not improved to any great extent before 1800.

#### 1. *The problem of land transportation.*

Also, a road laid out in Freehold, beginning by Richard James', att ye Indian Path, and along ye said path to ye Pine Bridge; thence as ye old Indian Path goes, to ye west side of David Stout's field, thence along ye marked trees to ye division line of ye Province.

(Record of Old Monmouth County Road Commissioners in 1708.<sup>3</sup>)

The early roads in the shore counties were primitive, rough passageways, built for the most part to give access from some settled interior area to a navigable stream. In Monmouth County, for example, the early settlers sought sites for their farms on land rendered accessible

by reason of numerous creeks and rivers flowing through the section. They found no immediate need to expend their labor on opening roads when they had highways ready for their use in "boatable" waters that reached the bays and the ocean. These waterways were also used to bring in new settlers. In the latter part of the 17th Century, for instance, one Christopher Allmy, who had come from Rhode Island to settle in Monmouth County, made trips in the summer season in a sloop, sailing from the Shrewsbury River to Rhode Island ports, carrying furs and other exports and bringing back new settlers, with such goods as could be procured in New England that were in demand in Monmouth County.<sup>4</sup>

The first roads used in the county were Indian paths which generally ran over high ground and avoided steep hills, swamps and deep streams. These gave crude connections with the interior, but were poor makeshifts. One traveller wrote in 1677 of an attempt to go overland from Middletown, Monmouth County, to the Delaware River, using an Indian guide. He wandered in the woods for three days, and was eventually compelled to abandon the overland route and go by water up to the Raritan River and thence, via New Brunswick, to follow a hacked-out overland route to the falls of the Delaware, at Trenton. On this journey, he stated, he "saw no animals in all the way."<sup>5</sup>

By 1800 a number of roads had been plotted out by Old Monmouth County authorities. Many of these led to landings along streams. Still others were planned, but not built until years later. In fact, during the first century of the existence of Old Monmouth County, dozens of roads which appear on the records as having been laid out were never actually opened and made passable. Others were partially opened and then, from want of use, grew up again with trees. Still others degenerated into mere "drift-roads" winding through the woods. The course of these were frequently changed by individuals

without legal authority as new clearings were made and new farms came into existence. Practically all the roads avoided streams of any size, because of the difficulty of bridge-building. For the most part, too, they were sandy



(Courtesy Ocean County Bureau of Publicity)

*Ocean County Courthouse, Toms River in 1951,  
with two new wing additions*

and hence were better to use in winter than in summer.<sup>6</sup>

A map was published in 1769 showing the few main roads in Monmouth County. One ran from the Highlands via Middletown and Freehold to Bordentown; another from Shrewsbury through Freehold toward Cranberry, Middlesex County; others were in Middletown and Shrewsbury Townships.<sup>7</sup> Few of importance were constructed in the Ocean County section of Old Monmouth, although a casually built one extended from Little Egg Harbor across the Pines to the Delaware, over which "oyster wagons" carted produce.

In Atlantic County four trails of the 18th Century eventually became roads. One began at Somers Point, opposite the Beesley Point ferry from Cape May points, and extended along the bank of the Great Egg Harbor River toward the tributaries of the Mullica River and thence on to Blue Anchor in Gloucester County and through to Cooper's Ferry or Camden. The second started



at the mouth of the Mullica and went in a westerly direction until it intersected the first above Mays Landing. The third began near Eric Mullica's farm, a short distance southeast of Batsto, and intersected the first about a mile south of Winslow. A fourth, an extension of a road from Cape May County, reached Atlantic County near the head of the Tuckahoe River, and followed west of the branches of the Great Egg Harbor River, to avoid the building of bridges, to the headwaters of Hospitality Branch of the Great Egg Harbor River and thence toward Blue Anchor, in present day Camden County.<sup>8</sup>

One road of considerable importance was the so-called Shore Road, which connected points along the shore. The first public highway in the county, it was laid out in 1716 but was not finished until a number of years later. It led from Port Republic, on Nacote Creek, along the shore to the ferry at Somers Point. From there travellers were taken over to Beesley's Point in Cape May County, south of Great Egg Harbor.<sup>9</sup>

In Cape May County the lack of adequate land transportation did not hamper the early settlers seriously. Their interests were largely maritime, and included whaling, shipbuilding, piloting, and the development of coastal trade.<sup>10</sup> The water route was cheaper and usually more convenient. Roads were built only by those immediately interested in them, and not for the common good. As late as 1789, for instance, a group of Cape May County residents were authorized, following petition to the Legislature, to "claw out" a public road from Thomas Leaming's shipyard and to build a bridge over the north and south branches of Dennis Creek. The road was to extend from the shipyard to the main road leading from Great Cedar Swamp to David Johnson's saw mill. Vessels, moreover, were not to moor to the bridge nor to take planks from it.<sup>11</sup>

As in the other shore counties, the first Cape May

roads followed old Indian trails. By 1700 many inhabitants were beginning to feel the need to get their cattle and produce to market. As early as 1698, in fact, a group of Cape May County inhabitants petitioned the West Jersey Assembly for a road to and from Cape May, claiming the "inhabitants of Cape May County do represent themselves as under extreme hardship for want of a road from Cape May through their County to Cohansey (later Greenwich) in order . . . (to reach) Burlington," which was then the capital of West Jersey. The Assembly thereupon resolved that "Commissioners be appointed to lay out a road from Cape May, the most convenient to lead to Burlington between this (May 12) and the 10th of September next." They ordered that the expense of the road should be borne by the inhabitants of Cape May "until such time as those lands through which the road goes are settled."

Because of the costs, which proved a heavy local burden, the road was not finished until 1707. The chief impediments were the swamp and marshes between Dennis Creek and Great Cedar Swamp Creek, although eight years earlier one George Eaglesfield had finished construction of a causeway over the marshes leading from the mainland to Cape Island and Town Bank where the whalemens stayed. By 1706 the road was completed from Great Egg Harbor at Beesley's Point to Town Bank, and in 1716 a road from Long Bridge was finished to the head of Tuckahoe Creek.<sup>12</sup> By 1790 a road was finally completed from the Dennis section north to the Maurice River. Little real improvement, however, occurred in highway construction until the era of turnpike building in the 19th Century.<sup>13</sup>

The problem of maintaining a road was always a serious one. It was not until the end of the 19th Century that the State began to assume some responsibility for through-travel routes. Constant disputes arose as to what community should assume the care of each part of



(Courtesy N. J. Council)

*Manasquan River Yacht Basin*



the road. During the colonial period in the Cape May area, for instance, the three precincts on the bay side of the county were to care for an equal portion of the main road, but the lower precinct never did anything toward its maintenance, while the middle one came through with only a small portion of the work. The bulk of the care fell upon the upper precinct, upon which the inhabitants of the other divisions claimed the charge evolved. These others, however, did not hesitate to travel the road when they wanted to use the only thoroughfare out of the county on the bay side.<sup>14</sup>

Tolls were further hindrances to travel by road. Because of the width of the Great Egg Harbor, dividing Atlantic County from Cape May, a crude ferry was established at Beesley's Point in 1692. Rates were one shilling for passengers; a pence for a bushel of grain; four pence for each sheep or hog; and one shilling per head for cattle.<sup>15</sup> Difficulty in crossing Great Cedar Swamp Creek led the Assembly in 1762 to give a group of persons the right to build a toll bridge and causeway at what was called Fast Landing. This road opened by way of Petersburg, just south of Tuckahoe, a more direct communication with the upper part of the County. Rates of toll charged included:

Wagon or ox-cart, with team and driver	6 pence
Chaise or horse-cart, passenger, horse,	4 "
Mare or gelding thereunto belonging	4 "
Every passenger with horse, mare, or gelding	2 "
Foot passenger	1 "
Cattle, etc., led over, Each	1 "
Sheep, led over, Each <sup>16</sup>	1 farthing

By 1800 Cape May County possessed two county roads of some consequence, one parallel to the seashore, the other, to Delaware Bay. Along these highways the centers of life were to be found in the small villages, which included Cape Island, Cold Spring, Cape May Court House or Middletown, Tuckahoe, East Creek or

Eldora, West Creek, Goshen, Fishing Creek, Green Creek or Seaville, and Dennisville. As yet no stage route had been established between Cape May and other counties, despite the difficulty of getting to Philadelphia, the nearest city of importance, by water in the winter. The waterway was still the principal means of transportation, and vessels were in service connecting Cape May with New York and Pennsylvania.<sup>17</sup>

The limited means of transportation in the 17th and 18th centuries forced the people who lived in the shore counties to raise much of what they used and depend little on imports from outside. As the years passed, however, there was a slow trend to lessening self-sufficiency.

## 2. *Lessening self-sufficiency.*

I planted  $1\frac{3}{4}$  acres of Indian corn in the orchard near my dwelling and it was esteemed good, especially near the house, and it yielded by measure but 27 bushels of good and  $6\frac{1}{4}$  bushels of offal corn. . . . I am much at loss to reconcile what I have sometimes heard with respect to the greater yield of corn. I am sure 20 bushels per acre may be esteemed very good corn.

(Excerpt from Jacob Spicer diary, Cape May, July 5, 1757.<sup>18</sup>)

In the earlier years, the pioneers along the shore depended very little upon materials or food from outside the area. Most of them were skilled in the mechanical arts, including blacksmithing, coopering, carpentering, shoemaking, tanning and other useful trades. They were proficient with the musket and provided their families with food from the woods and salt marshes. They also procured fish, oysters and clams from the sea and the bays. Their soil produced fair crops of corn, rye, beans, potatoes, as well as pumpkins, squashes, and turnips. Fruits and the smaller berry crops could be easily grown. Fuel could be had for the cutting of it.

Sheep were raised and the wool sheared, washed, and carded, then spun into yarn and woven into cloth. Every

farmhouse of consequence had its spinning wheel for the women. The men, during the long winter evenings, worked mending shoes or making hoe handles, baskets, ladles, and ox-bows, or moulded buck shot. Their clothing consisted mainly of a pair of leather breeches, a check shirt, a flannel jacket, and a hat with its brim cocked up into three corners.

Salt was either boiled out or evaporated from the bay water, first for home use and later for export inland, as explained in the following chapter. Cattle were raised on the salt meadows, sea islands, and upland open areas. The animals ate all summer long and in the fall were ready to be turned into beef. Hides were processed into home-tanned leather for boots and shoes made usually by the travelling shoemaker. Little cash, moreover, was needed to pay taxes in these years since the quit-rents claimed by proprietors were often ignored.<sup>19</sup>

The farmhouse by mid-18th Century was a story and a half structure, according to a Cape May historian. It had wooden sealing boards on the sides of the rooms and on the ceilings. These served in place of plaster. On the floor was a rag carpet, or sometimes clean white sand. There were no stoves. The big open fireplace functioned and the wood pile was made large by fall. During the cold weather, the farmer chopped more wood and heightened his pile for spring and summer cooking.<sup>20</sup>

The construction plans and costs for some of the houses in the same County were noted by a contemporary in his 1757 journal. "John Mackey's house," he explains, "is (to be) forty by twenty, single story, with a hip, for which Joseph Edwards is to get the timber, frame over, make the window frames, sashes, put the lights in, make the outside doors, and lay the floors, for 16 pounds, and find himself and workmen. Mackey to find the lathe sawed and shingle fit for covering."<sup>21</sup>

In Ocean County, crude makeshift dwellings gradually began to disappear and by 1750, some of the larger old



farmhouses along the Barnegat Bay shore had been constructed. Large timbers were hewn from the solid log. Siding and shingles came from the cedar swamps, the color of whose water was later referred to as "liquid rosin."<sup>22</sup> A number of local sawmills were in existence by these years to furnish sawed lumber needed. The shingles on the older houses were riven and not sawn. Glass for the windows, small panes and of a greenish tinge, was imported from England at first, although the shore region and nearby South Jersey areas produced a considerable amount of glass by the early 19th Century.<sup>23</sup>

For domestic illumination the pine knot was first utilized by the pioneers. Later, tallow candles were made. Occasionally, in sections near the whaling stations along the shore, spermaceti came into use for light. This was a waxy solid substance that was separated from the oil of the sperm whale. As late as the first quarter of the 19th Century, this was still used in some shore homes. For the most part, the families used the time-honored candle or the tallow dip.<sup>24</sup>

The families of the settlers, however, were far from being completely self-sufficient. Even in the earlier years, for instance, the pioneers trapped animals for sale outside the area. Although much of the fur was used for the family, a considerable percentage was traded in the two nearby markets of New York and Philadelphia.<sup>25</sup>

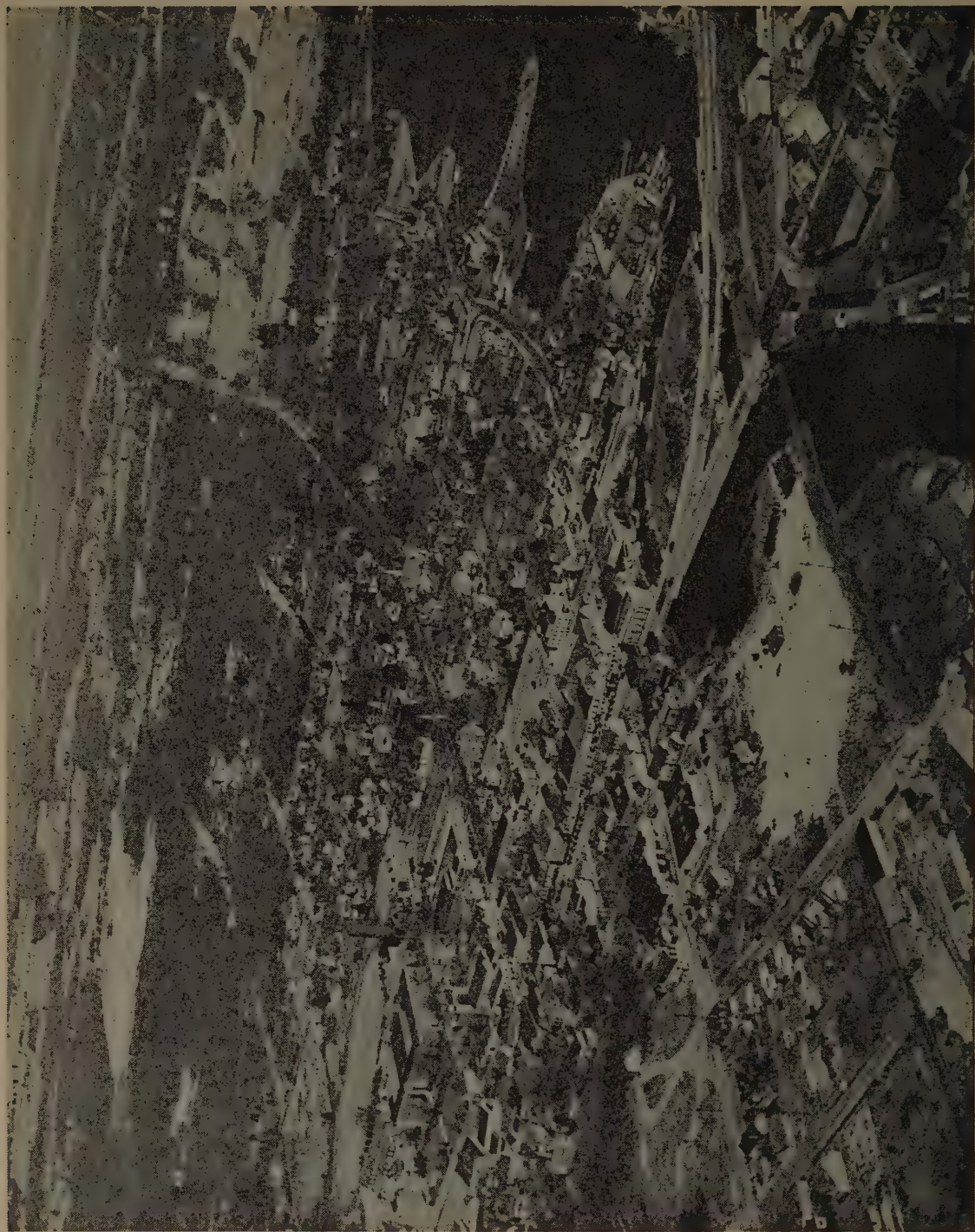
The shore sections were also affected by foreign contacts which required a certain amount of cash. By the 1740's, for instance, a new type of drink had been introduced into the southern part of the shore. Aaron Leaming of Cape May County writing in 1758 commented, with a possible sectarian slant, "I never saw any East India tea till 1735. It was at the Presbyterian parson's. The followers of Whitefield . . . brought it into use at Cape May about 1744-5-6, and now it impoverisheth the country."<sup>26</sup>

By mid-18th Century, a further decline occurred in

the shore's partly self-sufficient existence when it became evident that outside fashions were beginning to have some influence on the area. In the early 1740's, the Cape May skipper of the "Shallop," a vessel running between Cape May and Philadelphia, did Benjamin Franklin some service for which he refused to be paid. Mrs. Franklin, who knew the skipper had a daughter, sent her a present of a "new-fashioned cap." Three years later the skipper stopped at the Franklin house in Philadelphia, accompanied by a Cape May farmer. Franklin described the meeting in a letter to a friend. He said the cap was mentioned and that the skipper told "how much his daughter had been pleased with it," since when she "appeared with it at meeting, it was admired by all." But it proved a "dear cap" to the congregation for the other girls then resolved to get this type of bonnet from Philadelphia. To procure them for all, Franklin computed, would "have cost less than 100 pounds." At this point, the farmer who had come with the skipper interpolated as reported by Franklin: "I think the cap was an advantage to us for it was the first thing that put our girls upon knitting worsted mittens for sale at Philadelphia that they might have the wherewithal to buy caps and ribbons there, and you know that industry has continued. . . ." Franklin then added in his letter to his friend, "Upon the whole, I was more reconciled to this little piece of luxury, since not only the girls were made happier by having fine caps, but Philadelphians by the supply of warm mittens."<sup>27</sup>

Another factor in lessening self-sufficiency during the colonial period was the comparatively large number of cattle raised mainly on the marsh meadows and on the sea islands, especially in the southerly portions of the shore. Here on the sea islands grass and shelter were provided. For instance, in a cross section of Five-Mile Beach, on an 1857 map, areas of timber appear, then a savanna, then a swamp, then timber, and then another savanna. The woods were thick enough to afford shelter.





*Air View of Toms River*



The same situation was true also on Seven-Mile and on Two-Mile Beaches.<sup>28</sup>

By 1698, one writer declared "Cape May County, for the general part of it, is extraordinarily good and proper for the raising of all sorts of cattell, very plentiful here."<sup>29</sup> About that same year, Joseph Ludlam, who had settled near the division line between Dennis and Upper Township, purchased what became known as Ludlam's Beach and stocked it with cattle.<sup>30</sup> Ludlam's Beach later became Strathmere and Sea Isle City.

From 1690 to 1730, brands used on the cattle were called "eare-marks" in the county. These identified the ownership of stock. A large number of them were recorded in the county clerk's office. Branding continued throughout the period. On Nov. 6, 1761, Aaron Leaming wrote in his diary, "Burned cattle on 5 mile beach, Nummy Island, and on 7 mile beach."<sup>31</sup>

Even as late as mid-18th Century, the sea islands were procured at little expense, especially when compared to the situation in modern times. Spicer noted in his journal on June 4th, 1757 that he "recollected that old Mr. George Taylor . . . obtained a grant (from the proprietors) of Five-Mile Beach and Two-Mile Beach, and . . . he reconveyed it for about 9 pounds to buy his wife Margery a calico gown, for which he was derided for his simplicity."<sup>32</sup>

In the latter 18th Century, the custom of pasturing cattle on Peck's Beach, later the resort of Ocean City, caused a controversy. Certain owners of cattle, in 1788, objected to the Legislature over the erection of fences marking the property of each owner. They petitioned that body to allow the use of the whole area in common. After some discussion, the Legislature in 1789 passed a restrictive law authorizing the pasturing of only ten head of horses or cattle on every one hundred acres of the island. It was believed that the land would be overgrazed if more were allowed. Fines were to be imposed for al-

lowing horses over eighteen months of age, sheep, or goats to graze on the beach.<sup>33</sup> Cattle raising on the sea islands continued well into the 19th Century when eventually it was forced out as resorts began to develop.

The partially self-sufficient life of the shore residents limited severely the region's educational facilities. In 1758, Spicer estimated in his journal that only ninety pounds was expended that year in Cape May County for the "education of youth."<sup>34</sup> Only a few chances for formal education developed in all the shore counties. Before the Revolution, for instance, there were no schools in the entire Egg Harbor district, later Atlantic County, except for an occasional one kept by a travelling schoolmaster, a man who received such pay as he could from the parents in the neighborhood. His methods were primitive and discipline severe, while the range of study did not extend beyond the elementary branches. The books, too, were few and imperfect.<sup>35</sup>

Most children were taught by their parents in their homes. While the adults worked on household chores during winter evenings, the young were instructed in the letters of the alphabet, and in spelling, reading, and arithmetic. In many localities by the 18th Century the ministers did some teaching, especially the Baptist, Quaker, and Presbyterian leaders. The infrequent appearance of the itinerant school teacher, moreover, provided only a brief "schooling." In Cape May County the children of Aaron Leaming, 2nd, attended school for about one month in the year 1765, according to Leaming's journal. By the beginning of the 19th Century, three school teachers were in the county, going about the area "boarding out" at the homes of the parents their claims for teaching.<sup>36</sup>

In this period Atlantic County had one teacher who was widely known for his versatility. This schoolmaster, Samuel Radcliffe, who served in the British Army during the Revolutionary War, taught school at Weeksville, later known as Weekstown, in Mullica Township. Rad-

cliffe was a teacher who commanded the respect of his pupils by understanding their interests. According to local tradition, he shared in the games with the boys, gathered wild flowers with the girls, and entertained them all with anecdotes of his military career. He was also an



*Modern Court House, Cape May County, with  
Historical Museum on Lower Floor*

ardent sportsman. While walking to and from the log schoolhouse, he carried a rifle, ready to shoot any sort of game that might cross his path. Radcliffe was also a naturalist and had a collection of birds, animals, and plants, the product of his rambles in the woods. His home was a small cabin built on wild land. He had no family to care for and his books were his companions. For nearly ten years he taught reading, writing, and "ciphering" in the log schoolhouse. At length, he became restless and longed for a change of scene. He finally sold his cabin and went west to Ohio and later pushed further west to become an Indian trader.<sup>37</sup>

In Monmouth County more determined efforts were



made to develop some kind of facility for education, none of which, however, was at public expense. In the Township of Shrewsbury, for instance, a school was taught by a Mr. McGregory in the old Presbyterian Church in the years 1793-1794, and later, in the early 19th Century, a schoolhouse was erected on a corner of the Episcopal Church lot.<sup>38</sup> In Middletown Township a schoolhouse was in use by 1785 and another was built that year at what was known as Hedden's Corner. In Freehold Township, one was opened by the time of the Revolution. An advertisement in *Collin's Gazette*, March 14, 1778, announced that a Joseph Rue would "open a Latin School in Freehold at the house of Henry Perrine, where scholars can be accommodated in the best manner and at the lowest expense."<sup>39</sup> Other classical schools were taught in the vicinity a few years later, one by the rector of the Episcopal Church. Not until the 19th Century, however, did schools get a firm foothold in Monmouth and in the other shore counties.<sup>40</sup>

By mid-18th Century many shore families had to depend for a considerable portion of their living upon outside support, but journals kept by contemporary reputable residents indicate to what a limited extent this was true, particularly with the more thrifty inhabitants. The journal of Jacob Spicer of Cape May County, who died in 1765, exhibits the carefully planned way in which his household was conducted. His family consisted of twelve people. The sons were taught to cobble shoes and the daughters to make clothing and to knit. Spicer put all his plans down on paper and there is ample evidence of how carefully he budgeted his income. He observed, "It is conceived that £14 13s 4d will be adequate to furnish all the boys with leather for breeches, a vest for Elisha, a coat and vest for Jack, calico for long and short gowns for all the girls, stripe linen and stripe linsey for short gowns and petticoats for the said girls, and a tammy quilt for Judith."<sup>41</sup>

Any expenditure of cash that could be avoided was also set down in the journal: "I must supply my boys with leather for winter breeches," wrote Spicer. "About £3 8s. will be sufficient to furnish them all— 24 pounds of grey skin at 2s. per pound, and 2s. 6d. for dressing and freight of each skin. . . . I think sumac red or short grey will be most profitable to buy as the hair is almost nothing. . . . In the next place, I must buy my leather and heels, and spin my shoe thread and have all my shoes made up in the house, for I find if I even hire 'em made out, the shoemaker gains in all probability a profit of 3s. on the leather of a man's pair of shoes, waste in cutting excepted, for which I should think 4d. a large allowance, and the scraps of leather may be converted into lists; (a bordering strip to protect edges of clothes) and an eye may be seen to the cutting, and the thread may be had from the family labour. And when I am shoeing my family, it is requisite to supply each individual with two pairs, to prevent shoes being worn too green. And as a farther advantage . . . , having them made up . . . in my house, . . . I can get one of the boys instructed so as to mend shoes. . . . The shoemaker (travelling cobbler) should be obliged to do his day's work or pay for his board."

The advantages of making clothes at home also was emphasized in the journal: "I should hire a taylor and a Tayloress in the house and oblige my girls to assist in the service, for by this means, my . . . female service will become a part of the Taylor's bill. . . . Having my clothes made at home . . . (will prevent) any oversight of the cloth and cut and the loss of time in going to have clothes taken measure for and tried on. . . . The best time of hiring, I think, is such seasons of the year when the weather is not so cold as to need a fire."<sup>42</sup>

### 3. *The start of trade and industry.*

Annual consumption of foreign produce and manufacture to each individual amounts to 7 pounds, 3 shillings, 8½

pence. . . . But perhaps the populace in general may not live at a proportionate expense with my family. I . . . suppose their foreign consumption may stand at 4 pounds to an individual.

(Comment in 1758 from the Spicer journal.<sup>43</sup>)

This "annual consumption of foreign produce and manufacture" necessitated some sale of goods or services on the part of shore families. Spicer gives a good picture of the trade of Cape May County for the year 1758 and the same situation held true to a considerable extent with the other counties. According to the Spicer journal, the need for extra cash was evident. Since each bought an average of four pounds' worth of imports per year, that made a total amount of 4,400 pounds required for the county. Other cash expenditures, Spicer noted, included "160 pounds for public taxes, 60 for Presbyterian minister, 40 for a Baptist minister, 90 for education of youth, and 100 for Doctor for man and beast," making a grand total of 4,850 pounds to be spent. The total income of the county people included 1,200 pounds from "the stock article of the county," a large share of which was meat and hides from the cattle industry, plus the export of corn.<sup>44</sup> Spicer estimated that 600 pounds was garnered from "at least ten boats which carry oysters." Other sources of county income included the salary of fourteen pilots who took ships up the Delaware and who earned about "30 pounds per annum, making a total of 420 pounds."<sup>45</sup>

Still another source of income came from knitting. Spicer declared "mitten articles sold for the present year amounted to 500 pounds." This was "quite a reward to the female industry of the county," the county historian commented in 1897.<sup>46</sup> Other miscellaneous sources of income in 1758 included "cedar posts, 300 pounds; white cedar lumber, 500; boards, 200; pork and gammons (smoked ham or bacon), 200; deer skins and venison hams, 120; hides and tallow, 120, flax seed, neats' tongues,



bees' wax and myrtle, 80; tar, 60; and coal (charcoal), 30," making a total income of 4,430 pounds, as opposed to 4,850 pounds outgo. These figures caused Spicer mournfully to conclude: "In arrear, 420 pounds, to be paid by some uncertain fund, or left as a debt."<sup>47</sup>

Not included in the income for that year were any proceeds for the wampum trade. In another section of his journal, however, Spicer gives a notation of a wampum sale to buyers from the Albany, New York, market, who then sold the shells to Indian traders in the western part of that state. In the June 14, 1758 entry, Spicer declares, "I'll take in discount or barter a large quantity of wampum, both white and black, if offered and good in quality such as the pattern left with Mr. Leek and here explained: 'It must be small, round, and smooth, with square ends not broken. The black must be clear black without spots or threads interspersed, which lessens the value and renders it unsalable . . . , and it must be strung 100 on a string, with a little tuft of red at ends when tied together.'"<sup>48</sup> No mention is made by Spicer of the amount of income from wampum sales. It was probably negligible.

In Monmouth County, farming continued the principal means of livelihood, with New York a market for the produce. A description of the area published in 1765, when settlements were still scattered, stated "The lands in Shrewsbury, Middletown, and part of Freehold are most remarkably good. They raise grain, beef, sheep, butter, cheese, and other produce for New-York. . . . At the high lands of Navesink," the observer adds, "the New-York merchants have lately erected a commodious light house, for the security of navigation."<sup>49</sup> Other commodities sent to New York from the northern sections of the shore included fish, furs, salt, oysters, clams, and lumber.<sup>50</sup>

In many shore hamlets, lumbering was an important industry in this period, and with lumbering came the saw-

mills. These sawmills provided lumber for local use as well as for export, particularly in what became Ocean and Atlantic Counties. In the former, for instance, the earliest recorded sawmill was the so-called "Success Mill" built in 1734 at Colliers' Mills. Later ones were erected at Cedar Creek, in 1740; Kettle Creek, in 1742; Dry Cedar Swamp Brook, 1749; Toms River, 1759; and one on the north branch of Toms River, 1762. Others were built at Forked River, Waretown, and Oyster Creek. At Forked River, a cart-way was constructed in 1740 across the swamp to the boat landing to get lumber to the sloops. The saw and grist mill at Toms River was burned by the British in 1782, as explained in Chapter VIII.

In contrast to the situation in the 19th Century, a number of the sawmills of this period were established farther up the tidal streams and the lumber sawed by the mills was floated down to the bay in small narrow rafts. Sloops on the bay would carry the lumber to market. Old Cranberry Inlet was then open and was widely used as a passageway to get to the New York market from the upper part of Barnegat Bay.<sup>51</sup> Later, the growth of the charcoal trade and the development of steamboats, in the 19th Century, caused an increased demand for pine wood for fuel.<sup>52</sup>

The availability of lumber acted as a stimulant in the origins of the shipbuilding industry. This activity eventually became an industry of considerable importance in a number of localities, although it did not reach its height until the first half of the 19th Century.<sup>53</sup> In Ocean County, for example, in the earlier years, various types of boats were built. The Indian dugout was soon replaced by the so-called "garvey" and the scow for work on Barnegat Bay. The "garvey" inherited its name from a Jarvis Pharo or Gervas, known locally as "Garvey," who lived in the 1720's at West Creek, three miles north of Tuckerton. According to tradition, he built the type of clam and oyster boat used on the shore waters in that

area.<sup>54</sup> During the Revolution, "whaleboat privateers" were constructed at Toms River, and bigger craft were put together at Little Egg Harbor. Following the war, some commerce developed between the latter place and the West Indies, and vessels were built there for that trade. The brig was a favorite type constructed. Ebenezer Tucker, for whom Little Egg Harbor's name was changed to Tuckerton, built many vessels there. Other shipbuilders worked at Waretown, Forked River, and Barnegat.<sup>55</sup>

By 1750 a brisk coastal trade had developed in the shore area. Occasional ships were sent by that time to the West Indies and shore localities traded with Long Island, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, carrying cedar lumber to a large extent. More commerce grew with Philadelphia and New York, as noted in the following chapter. Spicer shipped considerable quantities of corn, purchased by trade or cash. He owned a vessel which infrequently went to the West Indies and more often to ports on the southern coast, for which he hired men by agreements drawn in the typically careful Spicer way. On March 1, 1760, he stated: "This day agreed with James Mickel for a year's services . . . to be paid half in cash and the other half in goods at cash prices . . . , to have 18 pounds for the year's services if employed by land and part by water along the coast, including North Carolina and up the Delaware. . . . If he is fully employed on land, he is to have sixteen pounds."<sup>56</sup>

Coastal trade also expanded in the older villages of what became Atlantic County. One trading center in that section was Chestnut Neck. Vessels from there made regular trips to New York, taking out cargoes of lumber, fish, furs, and agricultural products and returning with provisions and with the mail. During the Revolution, when the British were in possession of Philadelphia, supplies were brought into its harbor in vessels from the south, and conveyed by wagon train across South Jersey to the Continental Army then at Valley Forge.<sup>57</sup> The har-



bor was secluded by the forest and landlocked from Great Bay, and thus offered a comparatively safe rendezvous for prize vessels captured by American privateers during the war.<sup>58</sup>

During the decades prior to the war, Little Egg Harbor became a port to which rum, molasses and other products of the West Indies were brought. From there, the commodities were carted through the pines to Mt. Holly, Trenton, and Philadelphia. These were goods that were, in all probability, smuggled in despite British prohibitions concerning the West Indian trade. Otherwise the ships would have gone up the Delaware with their cargoes and saved the haul over sand roads.<sup>59</sup>

In addition to the presence of the British, another factor in a certain season of the year stimulated imports into the shore centers nearer Philadelphia. During severe winters, the presence of ice on the Delaware River hampered ships sailing up the river to that port. The smaller vessels sometimes found a temporary solution by putting in to such a location as Little Egg Harbor and there transshipping commodities by wagon to Cooper's Ferry (Camden) where ice conditions occasionally still further delayed the arrival of the goods.<sup>60</sup> Growth of traffic on the Delaware plus the increase of pollution of its waters in modern times left the river open even in hard winters.

In addition to the usual difficulties in carrying on trade in earlier times, the shore commerce was hindered by two particular influences, insecurity because of pirates or inimical privateers and clashes with British officials endeavoring to enforce trade regulations. Threats of piratical depredations occasionally made the shore trader postpone his proposed voyage. In 1722, for example, a dispatch from Philadelphia dated July 26, stated "A Pyrate Brigantine and Sloop have been cruising on and off both our Capes for about Three Weeks. . . . What Vessels they have took we do not yet understand, none of the Prisoners being set on Shore. Our Trade is entirely

stopped by them, no Vessel daring to go out.”<sup>61</sup> Again, in 1740, an item was published under an August 4th dateline from New York, stating “Captain Janney, off of Cape May, saw a black Sloop, supposed to be a Spanish privateer . . . , laying to . . . , but on seeing Janney, she . . . made up to him, but a ship appearing, she left Janney. . . .”<sup>62</sup>

Later evidences of privateering menaces to coastal shipping occurred during England’s involvement in the War of the Austrian Succession. In 1747, a newspaper declared on September 17th, “two Spanish Privateer sloops” were “at the Capes” and the same year, a July 20th dispatch announced, a “Spanish Privateer sloop” took “2 of our Pilot-boats,” and then went up Delaware Bay, landed near Bombay Hook, “took away 4 Negroes” and “shot a Woman thro the Thigh.” In the “Evening they went down the Bay again after taking everything else that they thought they wanted to the value of about 200 pounds.” They told one pilot that they had taken 13 vessels, four of which they sent home. They sunk and burned the rest. That same month, in the words of a July 21st newspaper, “They fell in with a poor Cape-May man, laden with Shingles, which they took.”<sup>63</sup>

French privateers also “stalked” the shore. The coast-wise trader was accosted by one of them “off Cape-May.” The contemporary account explained, “He was chased so near the Land that he was forced to run [the sloop] ashore and quit her; the Privateer came along the side of the sloop, broke open the Hatches, and began to throw some of the cargo overboard and by that means, got off. Next morning, Capt. Hughes came down and saw her under sail. Soon after another vessel hove in sight and they all left the sloop to go after the other.”<sup>64</sup>

Encounters with British officials trying to enforce trade regulations occurred more frequently in the decade before the Revolution. Much of the disturbance centered at Cape May. Since this place was located on the route

from the West Indies to Philadelphia, and yet was comparatively isolated, it offered opportunities for circumventing British mercantilist restrictions. The Royal Governor had appointed John Hatton as collector of customs in the Cape May district. British officials, however, soon became suspicious that Hatton had come to some kind of working arrangement with the local traders. One British inspector reported in 1769: "Since September, 1767, three Vessels entered with Mr. Hatton from Guadeloupe and one from Dominico, all in Ballast, and he has not received a Shilling Duties during that Time. . . . Every Smuggler speaks well of him as a Collector."<sup>65</sup>

Hatton was violent and overbearing and eventually he wore down the patience of his neighbors, although some said he demanded too large a share in the profits of their commercial enterprises. Whatever the reason, in November, 1770, he came into sharp collision with them. They forcibly prevented him from boarding a British vessel from which several Cape May pilot boats were engaged in unloading goods without the formality of a customs declaration. Hatton made an abortive attempt to seize one of the boats, and in the melee, he and his son and his Negro servant were summarily handled. The episode caused considerable local resentment which carried over into Philadelphia. There, his son was later set upon by a group of sailors, "tarr'd and feathered, put in a Pillory, dragged by a Rope through the Water, and left in such a Condition that his Life was despaired of."<sup>66</sup>

Hatton then charged that the local magistrates at Cape May had connived with the smugglers and declared that a group of Philadelphia merchants had made the Cape a center of contraband operations. He complained that several thousands of pounds' worth of goods had recently been illegally landed and that a wagon-load carrying the commodities while on the way to Philadelphia had actually passed by his door in broad daylight, under escort of armed men who challenged him to seize them.<sup>67</sup>



The customs officials, in close contact with their superiors in England, gave full support to Hatton, but Governor William Franklin (the son of Benjamin Franklin and the last Royal Governor of New Jersey) endeavored to smooth matters out as quietly as possible. Hatton's charges were heard and dismissed. The deputy secretary of the province wrote "the Bulk of the People and all the Magistrates of whom he has complained, are Farmers, unacquainted with Trade, and accustomed to a retired and peaceful Life." The Governor, moreover, in his report indicated displeasure by deploring Hatton's "very unhappy violent Temper, sometimes bordering on Madness, so that it is impossible that he can live long in Quiet with his Neighbors."<sup>68</sup>

Hatton, however, was retained as collector of customs, despite the ill-feeling toward him from the people of the shore. During the troubled years before the war, there was probably not much trade for him to check, but his meddling was not forgotten by shore residents. When the Revolution broke out, Hatton was denounced by mobs and imprisoned in Philadelphia. His wife was ill-treated and his shore property was confiscated.<sup>69</sup>

The coastal trade provided significant contacts between the shore region and the outside world. Particular products of the sea offered other opportunities.



## CHAPTER VI

### PRODUCTS OF THE SEA: OYSTERS, WHALES AND SALT

The commodities of Cape May County are oyl and whale-bone, of which they make prodigious quantities every year; having mightily advanced that great fishery, taking great numbers of whales yearly.

(Extravagant description of riches from the sea, written in 1698 by Gabriel Thomas.)<sup>1</sup>

'The sea continually conditioned the pattern of life for the people who dwelt along the shore. This was especially true in the early years of its history, when its people were dependent for a great part of their livelihoods on what the sea produced for them, from fish to wampum, from clams to oysters, from whales to salt. In later times, the shore people found themselves relying for the larger part of their income, either directly or indirectly, on the development of the resorts, the summer trade, the convention groups, the fishing parties, and the like. As population increased and occasional land industries found their way into the shore region, still fewer residents depended immediately upon the sea for a living.

Even in colonial times, considerable sections of the shore area relied mainly on farming for the chief source of income. This was particularly true of many sections of Monmouth County and certain strips of Ocean, Atlantic and Cape May Counties. But most parts of the three southern counties which lay immediately on the ocean, and a number of the strictly shore communities in Monmouth County, looked to the sea for their means of livelihood.

#### I. *Oyster gathering.*

Oyster beds are being wasted and destroyed by strangers and others at unseasonable times of the year, preservation



of which will tend to great benefit of the poor people and others inhabiting this province.

(Preamble to the first protective measure for oysters, passed by the New Jersey Assembly in 1719.)<sup>2</sup>

The Indians appreciated the oyster, as has already been told. The pioneers along the shore esteemed it equally. In fact the presence of the oyster "in great plenty and easy to take" was used by Sir George Carteret in enumerating the advantages which he considered would be attractive to possible immigrants.<sup>3</sup> The pioneers found oyster beds, naturally seeded, at the mouth of rivers and creeks emptying into saltwater bays and inlets. The most prolific locations were parts of Raritan Bay, Barnegat Bay, Little Egg Harbor, sections near Cape May, and the Maurice River Cove in Delaware Bay off Cumberland County.

By 1719 the General Assembly of the Province already felt it necessary to pass the first oyster conservation law. On March 27th of that year it enacted that no persons should rake or gather up oysters or shells from May 10th to September 1st. These were the weeks of warm weather when oysters, without modern refrigeration methods, would spoil before they could reach the market. Thus the restriction started against oyster-taking during the months not having an "r" in them. This law also provided that non-residents could not gather oysters at any time to take away with them. The penalty was the forfeiting of their vessels and equipment.

Appointments were made for men to execute the provisions of the law, to check the oyster boats and seize any which might be under suspicion.<sup>4</sup> Oyster inspectors for Cape May were Jacob Spicer and Aaron Leaming; for Atlantic County, then part of Gloucester County, Richard Sumers and James Steelman; and for the Little Egg Harbor area of what became Ocean County, Richard Willits and Ruddick Townsend.<sup>5</sup> The fees of the oyster

commissioners were to be half the value of the forfeitures, the other half going to the colonial treasury. There were some complaints on the restrictions imposed by the law, especially with respect to the limitations placed on outsiders. In 1723 one of the crown councillors appointed for the colony protested to the Lords of Trade in England, objecting against the harshness of the treatments of non-residents. He claimed that non-residents had as much right as the Jerseymen to take the oysters, inasmuch as the beds were not located and surveyed. The law, however, was not changed.<sup>6</sup>

The sheet-topped wagon with its ox or mule team, bringing oysters, fish, and some clams from Little Egg Harbor, Barnegat or Absecon to the farms and villages along the Delaware River section of West Jersey, or even as far as Philadelphia, became a familiar sight on the roads or sand-trails across the pines. For years this traffic centered around the Little Egg Harbor section and the vehicles became known as "Egg Harbor wagons." Many of the settlers of Egg Harbor were Quakers from West Jersey and all their connections lay in that direction. From Manahawkin north the trade tended to go by sea to New York.<sup>7</sup>

Jacob Spicer discussed the importance of oystering in Cape May in his journal in the year 1758. "There is at least ten boats belonging to the county (privately owned) which carry oysters, and admit they make three trips fall and three trips spring, each and carry 100 bushels each trip." By that year Cape May citizens were receiving six hundred pounds annually for oysters, largely from the Philadelphia market.<sup>8</sup>

Fish were also important to the economy of the region, but because of the slowness of transportation facilities they were usually consumed locally, although some were salted and exported. Plenty of edible fish were available and the early proprietors enlarged upon this advantage as an inducement to attract settlers. One of the very first

shore visitors, the explorer De Vries, wrote in his journal for April 15, 1633, when he was off "Barendegat" (Barnegat) that within two hours he caught upwards of eighty codfish, "better than those off Newfoundland," and a half century later another commentator said of the same location "Barnegate, or Burning Hole, is said to be a very good place for fishing and there are some desiring to take up land there."<sup>9</sup>

The export of oysters continued to be an important source of income. By 1700 increasing numbers of shore men were beginning to plant oysters in certain choice locations. This new development soon caused a question to arise which was taken to court and later appealed to higher courts. In fact, this was the first case carried up to the highest court of the state. Oysters had been planted in the first decade of the 19th Century in old Shrewsbury Township, Monmouth County, in the Navesink River. One planter sued two men who took a thousand oysters from his "oyster bed." The lowest court gave the plaintiff three dollars. Appeal was taken to the Monmouth Court, which upheld the lower court. In 1808 the case was tried before the highest court.

The decision was confined to one point: the question of planting oysters where there already was a natural growth. The Court found for the defendant, denying that action could be taken for oysters claimed as planted in a common navigable stream in which other oysters, naturally propagated, were found. According to the court interpretation, the throwing of oyster plants where there was a natural growth was an abandonment. They compared the procedure to a man "who should take a deer in a forest and be simpleton enough to let it go again in the same forest, saying 'this is my deer and no man shall touch it'; it would never be asked by the next taker what was the intention of the simpleton; the very act of letting it go was an abandonment."<sup>10</sup> Later, however, in 1858, the question arose in a case from Cape May concerning



the right to plant oysters where no natural growth occurred. In this situation the Court decided the oyster would be the exclusive property of the planter. With reference to the problem of whether the oyster was a wild animal or a tame one, the inference from the 1858 decision was that an oyster from a natural growth bed was a wild animal and one from a planted bed, a tame one!<sup>11</sup>

More colorful than the prosaic raking up of oysters, but less influential as a continuing means of livelihood, was the whaling industry. According to one authority, whaling for many turned out to be unprofitable, while the "abundance of oysters" in many localities attracted settlers.<sup>12</sup> The supply of whales was eventually depleted, but the production of oysters generally increased in the 19th Century.

## 2. *"Thar she blows."*

Sell none of ye land that lies convenient for whale fishing till ye hear further from us, for that wee will not sell.

(Directions given agent for West Jersey proprietors in 1692.)<sup>13</sup>

The whaling industry had a marked influence on early life in the shore area, although it employed only a small proportion of the early pioneers. It provided an incentive for the first groups of people to settle along the actual seashore, rather than on the mainland. In all probability the first white men to come to the Ocean County shores were fishermen who landed on the beach to cure their fish or to try the oil from the whales that they had harpooned. In 1678 licenses were granted to a group of newcomers, "twelve persons or more," which allowed them to take whales "or like great fish" from Barnegat to the eastern end of the province (Sandy Hook).<sup>14</sup>

The waters off the Jersey shore were considered a good hunting ground for whales. In 1633 the explorer De Vries, then proceeding north along the coast, wrote

that he and his crew had speared seventeen whales, but had captured only seven because of poor harpoons.<sup>15</sup> Another 17th Century chronicler, Thomas Budd, wrote that whales were being taken off the Jersey shore from Sandy Hook to the Delaware Cape before 1685.<sup>16</sup>

The demand for whales was stimulated by the need for whale oil for lamps and whale bone for commercial uses.<sup>17</sup> Whaling continued into the 19th Century, and in 1833 a visitor to Long Beach Island, Ocean County, wrote "Stephen Inman and his family have never ceased to be



(Courtesy New Jersey Agricultural Society)

*Inman harpoon at Barnegat*

whale catchers along this coast. They devote themselves to it in February and March. Generally they catch two or three of a season, so as to average 40 to 50 barrels of oil. Whalebones of a large size are seen bleaching about the sand."<sup>18</sup>

Although whaling was carried on off all the Jersey shore counties, Ocean and Cape May Counties were the most important. Occasional references concerning the presence of whales in Monmouth County appeared in contemporary newspapers. On January 21, 1754 a New York paper announced "We hear from Sandy-Hook that on Friday last some Whale Men struck and drove ashore a little to the Southward of the High-lands, two Whales, one of which was a very large One, which they had struck several Times before they kill'd it. 'Tis said they have bargained with some of our Pilots to assist in bringing them into a safe Harbour."<sup>19</sup>

Two weeks later the same New York paper carried the sequel to the story of these two whales. Only one, "supposed to be between 15 and 20 feet long" was "brought into New York Harbour." The larger one, the "Cow," it was reported "was not seen after the last North-Wester."<sup>20</sup> A dispatch to a Philadelphia paper, however, under the same dateline gave a different version of the story. According to this account the smaller whale "was found floating near the Shore by some Men who were there Clamming. . . . This whale, with another much larger, were both kill'd by some Whalers about a Fort-night ago off Sandy Hook, but were drove out to Sea by the hard Weather we had at that Time; 'tho 'tis now currently reported that the latter is also found, and said to be very valuable."<sup>21</sup>

Long Beach Island off Ocean County was one of the most important locations for whaling. The first patent to land on the island was granted in 1690, and in the early 1700's this was sold to Aaron Inman from New England, a whaler who raised three sons to follow that venturesome calling. Other whalers and their families later joined the Inmans.<sup>22</sup> The Inman home was in back of the dune away from the surf. Near the outside line of sand-dunes a tall pole with a crow's nest was erected. Here watch was kept during the whaling season. The pole was pierced with holes at regular intervals and round sticks were fastened into the holes to serve as a ladder up which the whale-watch could climb to his perch. If a whale or shoal of whales was sighted, men were summoned from all over the island. If the whale was captured, it was usually towed ashore and cut up on the beach. The news soon reached the mainland villages and men, women, and children would come to the island to see the strange monster. Whaling settlements, each of which had its lookout, were to be found on the island above and below what was called the "Great Swamp" (present-day Surf City).



Three miles north was "Harvey's Whaling Quarters," now Harvey Cedars.<sup>23</sup>

The whalers who used these stations were for the most part men originally from Nantucket and New Bedford, Massachusetts, who brought their whaling barks into nearby waters each fall for the season's catch. Some of the whale-boats used on these vessels were made on bay shore villages such as Tuckerton. They were "double-enders," with a pronounced sheer which enabled them to ride safely in rough weather. Others were thirty feet long with a six-foot beam. The smaller whale-boats were swung out from the vessel on wooden davits. Each boat had a rudder and an auxiliary steering oar nearly as long as the boat itself, and each carried a half mile of two and one-half inch manila rope coiled in two tubs.<sup>24</sup>

The usual crew in the whale-boat numbered six men. The mate headed the boat and steered when approaching a whale. The bow oarsman was the harpooner. After he had thrown it, he changed positions with the mate, whose duty it was to lance and kill the whale. Oftentimes the whale would tow the boat for many miles, while the members of the crew paid out as much line as they dared. If a kink or a snarl developed, disaster ensued. When the whale was eventually played out, they hauled the boat closer and then the mate poised the lance, sinking six feet of iron into the leviathan. This usually started another run, followed by a recovery, and then another lancing. Finally the whale rolled over in the water, fin up, and died. The mother ship made fast the body and either cut it up there or towed it to shore. Only the smaller whales were towed ashore by the Long Beach whalers to be cut up on the beach, the larger ones were too heavy and difficult to handle in shallow water and a large part of the blubber would have gone to waste through inability to turn the body over when they stripped it.<sup>25</sup> Two types of whales were taken, the sperm whale and the Greenland whale. The sperm whale was considered the

prize, but a dangerous one, for he had long teeth, on his underjaw only, and fought "with both ends." His chief value lay in his oil, which he held in a large repository in his head. A large sperm often yielded 30 barrels of "spermaceti." The Greenland whale had no teeth. He strained his food through a great bone sieve and his main value lay in this bone. His oil was not valuable. He fought with his flukes alone, and was considered less dangerous to capture than the sperm.<sup>26</sup>

Whalers also gained some success off the shore of what is now Atlantic County. In 1718, for example, a Boston newspaper, which carried the news since many of the whale-men came from Massachusetts, announced "We are told that the Whale Men catch'd . . . twelve Whales at (Great) Egg Harbour."<sup>27</sup> Whales were also harpooned off Absecon Beach. In 1792 a Boston paper spoke of a whale which drifted ashore there as a "valuable Fish with near 7 foot Bone, with 2 or 3 Irons in her."<sup>28</sup>

Occasionally whales found themselves stranded off the shallow approaches to Absecon Island. In 1803, it was reported "an immense whale was stranded on Absecon bar and was towed into the inlet." It is interesting to note, however, that "while the men were congratulating themselves on their lucky find, a man by the name of Inman came from the Great Swamp (on Long Beach in Ocean County) and demanded half of the oil and bone. He alleged that he and his brother had killed the whale and proved his assertion by identifying a piece of the harpoon that had broken off in the whale. The men refused to divide and Inman appealed to the courts and won his suit, gaining "between four and five thousand dollars."<sup>29</sup>

The whaling activities for the Jersey shore centered off Cape May County, particularly off the Delaware Capes. Thomas Leaming, who died in 1723 at the age of forty-nine, recounted in his journal "I came to Cape May in 1692. . . . In the winter of 1693 I went whaling and

we got 8 whales and five of them we drove to the Hoar-kills (near Lewes, Delaware) and we went there to cut them up and staid a month." In a 1695 entry Leaming notes, "In the winter I went a whaling again and got an old cow and a calf."<sup>30</sup>

The whaling in Delaware Bay resulted in the first settlement in Cape May County. Cape May Town, or Town Bank, near the point of the Cape, developed on the Delaware Bay shore, for the accommodation of the whalers, a considerable number of whom came from New England and Long Island to settle permanently.<sup>31</sup> Town Bank included fifteen or twenty houses in close contiguity upon the shore, which led an historian writing in 1857 to infer that "the adventurous spirits preferred in the way of their profession to be near each other and to make common stock of their operations of harpooning."<sup>32</sup> Town Bank eventually was washed away by the sea.

There are numbers of accounts in early newspapers concerning whaling activities off the Cape. The Boston paper mentioned above announced on March 17, 1718, under a Philadelphia dateline, "We are told that the Whale Men catch'd six Whales at Cape May." The *Pennsylvania Gazette* on March 11, 1735, noted "On the 25th of February last, there were two Whales killed at Cape May. The one is ashore on Cape-Island, and the other on the upper end of the Cape, on the East Side; 'tis suppos'd they will yield about 40 Barrels of Oil each; the one was 3 Years old, and the other a Yearling; the Whalemen are in hopes of killing more, for they have lately seen several on the Coast, near the Cape."<sup>33</sup>

In the earlier years, attempts were made by the province to gain some income from whaling. In 1678 a stipulation in licensing a group of fishermen to take whales from Barnegat to Sandy Hook was the provision that the whalers were expected to turn over to the provincial proprietors one-twentieth of the oil taken, but little oil was ever collected.<sup>34</sup>



Later a larger share was demanded. In 1693 the West Jersey Provincial Assembly passed an act aimed especially at outsiders, probably New Englanders. The Act declared "Whereas the whaling in Delaware Bay has been in so great a measure invaded by strangers and foreigners,



(Courtesy New Jersey Agricultural Society)

*Large blubber pot from Surf City; three fireplace kettles*

that the greatest part of oyl and bone received and got by that employ, hath been exported out of the Province to the great detriment thereof: Be it enacted, that any one killing a whale or whales in Delaware Bay or on its shores, to pay the value of 1/10th of the oyl and bone to the Governor of the Province."<sup>35</sup> Three years later Governor Andrew Hamilton appointed George Taylor his agent to collect the one-tenth of the "oyl" and whale bone and "to take possession of all wrecks or Drift Whales or other Royall fish that shall be Driven on Shore any where upon the Coste of Cape May, Egg Harbour or within Dillawaer River as far as Burlington."<sup>36</sup> The whalers, however, followed the line of passive resistance, and little was ever realized from the law.

The whale-men, moreover, had troubles of their own. Conflicting claims to harpooned whales became sources of

litigation in the court. In 1685, for example, when Cape May County hearings were held in the court at Burlington, one of the more publicized cases involved a whale whose ownership was in doubt. In this case, a Caleb Carman sued one Evan Davis. Evan Davis claimed to



(Courtesy New Jersey Agricultural Society)

*Whale blubber cauldron from Surf City*

have bought a fish of an Indian called Nummy. A witness for the plaintiff named Pynde declared he went with Davis to see the fish and according to the court record “comeing to ye s’d ffish sayth it was a whale ffish,” and Pynde declared he “saw an Iron, with warp thereat, in ye said whal ffish,” but Pynde testified he knew the “Iron and Warp . . . to belong to Caleb Carman.” Pynde declared that Davis invited him to see the fish and have a share in it but that he would have nothing to do with the matter. Davis, said Pynde, then “seized upon ye s’d whale ffish and Tackling and hid ye same from s’d Carman.” A warrant was then issued, but Davis failed to appear in



Court when required to on March 12, 1686. He therefore forfeited his bond, and the case went to Carman.

Two years later, however, this same Carman and "sonnes" found themselves indicted by the Grand Jury for "taking, breaking up and disposing of . . . whales on this shore, contrary to Lawe." Carman appeared before the bar and in the language of the court reported "Pleads not guilty, referres himself to God and ye Countrey, whereupon ye Jury . . . are called and all accepted and attested." In court, Carman claimed he had sold no whales except when he had permission from one Thomas Mathews. One witness said a man named Throp bought a whale of the Carmans, who claimed to own it. Conflicting testimony came from another witness who testified other men had sold their parts of the whale to Throp. Still another witness declared he "heard said Carmans say that all drift whales that came ashore there belonged to them by Thomas Mathews' order." Finally, in the words of the court record, "ye jury finde him not guilty in manner & forme as he stands Indicted, and he thereupon afterwards was clared by P'clamation."<sup>37</sup>

The question of who owned whales killed at sea which drifted ashore was also mentioned in contemporary newspapers. On March 13, 1729, the *Pennsylvania Gazette* observed that on March 5, "Whale came ashore dead about 20 Mile to the Eastward of Cape May. She is a Cow, about 50 Foot long, and appears to have been killed by Whale-men; but who they are is yet unknown. Those who think they have a Property in her are advised to make their Claim in Time."<sup>38</sup> Another paper commented in April, 1742, "A Whale came ashore about 15 miles to the Eastward of the Cape; she had about 4 Foot and a half Bone, had a Hole in her, supposed to be made by an Iron, and was therefore concluded to be kill'd by Whale-Men."<sup>39</sup>

The heyday of the whaling period along the Jersey shore extended from the latter part of the 17th Century



through the first half of the 18th Century.<sup>40</sup> The activity appeared to have been reasonably profitable until the time of the Revolutionary War. As late as 1775 leases were made for special locations where the whalers liked to stay temporarily. For example, on February 28, 1775, Aaron Leaming of Cape May County leased Seven Mile Beach (now Stone Harbor and Avalon) "to whalers for 30 days."<sup>41</sup> Following the Revolution whalers became more and more rare off the Jersey shore, and by 1810 the industry had been given up.<sup>42</sup>

### 3. *The production of salt.*

"Drawd II Baskets Salt this evening."

(Excerpt of journal written August 11, 1780, by owner of salt works on Great Egg Harbor.)<sup>43</sup>

Another means of livelihood along the shore was the production of salt. Although the occupation employed comparatively few shoremen, it received wide publicity and during the Revolutionary War it helped to provide the American forces with a commodity of primary importance. Occasional efforts at the production of salt from seawater, mainly for home consumption, were made before the Revolution. In 1754, according to one authority, "it was recorded that Samuel Worden had a salt works at Forked River, Ocean County."<sup>44</sup> Other clandestine establishments were constructed on the bay meadows in violation of the loosely enforced British mercantilist prohibitions.<sup>44</sup> These early attempts did not on the whole prove financially successful because a superior product was imported from abroad, which competed with the domestic product both in price and in quality.<sup>45</sup> Moreover, before the Revolution, salt was obtainable from other colonies, particularly Virginia and Massachusetts.<sup>46</sup>

With the outbreak of the war, however, the production of salt along the Jersey shore boomed. No salt could come from abroad and difficulties of transportation brought

about a drop in competition from Virginia and Massachusetts. The war itself caused an increase in the demand for salt. It was needed by the patriot army not only for food but the making of gunpowder.<sup>47</sup> As the war scarcity raised the price of this essential commodity, numerous evaporating works sprang up all along the shore, despite the fact that labor for them was hard to procure. There were more alluring occupations than being sun-broiled and mosquito-bitten while tending the vats. Moreover, storms and Tories frequently destroyed the equipment, but the promise of gain was so inviting that the industry persisted.

It is evident that the opportunities for profit were large. Substantial businessmen repeatedly braved the heat, the mosquitoes, and the poor roads to acquire salt for resale inland where it was at some times and places as good or better than money. Their gains were large. Washington and the Congress deplored the profiteering. One who benefitted greatly by this trade was John Neilson of New Brunswick, who in 1780 became deputy quartermaster general for the state of New Jersey. In May, 1779, Neilson's partner, Major John Van Emburgh, bought salt at Toms River for fifteen dollars a bushel and sold it at Morristown for thirty-five. In the letter to Neilson in which Van Emburgh announced the sale he added that he had found nothing else in the past few days "Worth Speculating in. If I had, shou'd have Interested you therein. If anything offers with you expect you'll think of me."<sup>48</sup>

Because of these high profits, property owners along the shore began to speculate in their land a whole century before the growth of the summer recreation industry. A miniature land boom was evident as owners of land on bays and river estuaries advertised their property for sale as being "as well situated for the manufacturing of salt as any land in New Jersey."<sup>49</sup>

Both the Continental Congress and the Province of

Pennsylvania subsidized salt production along the Jersey shore. In 1776 the former constructed works on the north bank and at the mouth of Toms River, at an expenditure of six hundred pounds continental money, which of course, had not depreciated as much then as it did later. On June 24th, 1776, the Pennsylvania Council of Safety voted four hundred pounds to Thomas Savadge to build similar works at Toms River. These were constructed at Coates Point, which was named about that time for a Philadelphia merchant by that name who was interested in the works.<sup>50</sup> Pennsylvania also subsidized the construction of works at the mouth of Goose Creek, Barnegat Bay, a few miles from Toms River.<sup>51</sup>

Other works, privately owned, were started during the period of great demand. Among these were some in Ocean County, one at Forked River and at Waretown, two at Barnegat, one on Upper Barnegat Bay, and others at Little Egg Harbor and on the south banks of the Manasquan River near its mouth. In Monmouth County, works were set up on the north bank of this same river, and also on Shark River, near its mouth.<sup>52</sup> Others included ones laid out in Atlantic County, on Absecon Beach and the Friendship works on Great Egg Harbor, and one near Townsends Sound in Cape May County. A total of nineteen were constructed during these years.<sup>53</sup>

Two dangers faced the owners, one coming from natural causes, the other from the war. Heavy storms often caused considerable destruction and impeded production. The *New Jersey Gazette*, for instance, observed in its issue of April 1, 1778, "The late storm destroyed many of our small salt works along our shore with all the salt in them."<sup>54</sup>

Much more serious, however, was the effect of British depredations on the defenseless Jersey coast. The English had control of the sea off the Jersey shore, and could make unexpected landings at important locations. Both the Continental Congress and the Pennsylvania Council of Safety



appreciated the seriousness of the threat. On November 2, 1776, for example, the latter body passed a resolution that "an officer and twenty-five men be sent to its salt works at Toms River as a guard, and twenty-five spare muskets, and two howitzers and a sufficient quantity of ammunition to defend in case of attack."<sup>55</sup> The Continental Congress also made efforts to prepare defenses for the establishments, and requested the President of the Congress "to write Governor Livingston of New Jersey for two companies of militia to guard the salt works near Toms River."<sup>56</sup>

The first enemy attempt to destroy the Toms River salt works occurred in 1777, under the leadership of a Tory group, but this proved ineffective, thanks to the influence of Tory investments there. It was explained later that certain Tories owned interests in the operation of the works at that location, although the Loyalists gave as their reason for not carrying out the project the fact that an "R" had been affixed to the buildings by order of the "Royalist Refugees," a Tory brigade, and the "R" was supposed to have stood for "Royalist" and hence the works should be saved.<sup>57</sup>

A more serious attack came in April, 1778, when the salt works established at Toms River by the Continental Congress and the State of Pennsylvania were burned by the British. The expedition then sailed out through Cranberry Inlet and up the coast to the mouth of the Manasquan, where they burned the works on both sides of the river. The next day they set fire to two at the mouth of the Shark River.<sup>58</sup>

Owners of works in the more vulnerable areas of the shore made every effort to protect their establishments. Three months prior to the British attack on Toms River, David Forman of Old Monmouth County sent to Washington a memorial setting forth that with his partners he was erecting extensive salt works on Barnegat Bay, which would be of great value in supplying the army with the

much prized necessity, and which would be made larger if he could be assured of a military guard to secure them against raids from the sea.<sup>59</sup> Washington was favorably impressed and transmitted the memorial to Congress without specific recommendation but with implied approval. Meanwhile he permitted Forman to retain at the salt works as a guard a group of Continental militia who were in that vicinity.<sup>60</sup>

Shortly thereafter some of the neighboring citizens began to complain. One of them, who had been involved in a dispute with Forman over the ownership of the land on which the works were being built, protested about the use of troops. After listening to various testimonies, including that of Forman, the legislators declared that they could not see "that the Troops so stationed have been of any use of the Publick; but that they have been employed in collecting Materials, and erecting buildings to promote the private Interest of Individuals." The works were not yet producing salt, they said, and added that such stationing of troops was "aiding the Purposes of a private interest," and hence improper and burdensome to the public. Forman wrote to Washington defending his actions but on March 25th, 1778, Washington replied, "I am induced to direct (that the troops now at the works) . . . may for the present join and act with Colo. Shreve's Regiment, in the purpose of common defence."<sup>61</sup> Forman may have used the troops for more than defense, but his need for aid was real, for it was only the next month that the British attacked and burned the works.

Threats of destruction by the British did not prevent the continued production of salt. The works built by the Continental Congress and those belonging to Savadge, which had been subsidized by Pennsylvania, were completely rebuilt and others were re-established. The demand for salt was so insistent that the price continued to rise. Indeed, because of the steady increase, the New Jersey Legislature felt it necessary to attempt some price-

fixing. The Assembly eventually established a price of three pounds, ten shillings for one bushel of salt, with a measure of fifty-five pounds of salt to the bushel.<sup>62</sup> From five hundred to eight hundred bushels per year was considered a satisfactory yield for the average works.<sup>63</sup>

Various methods were used in producing salt from sea water. One early method was to select locations on salt meadows which, because of their dearth of vegetation, seemed to indicate an unusual salt impregnation of the soil. Here shallow holes were dug into which the sea water seeped. This was then dipped out of the holes and boiled until a deposit of salt remained. This was the procedure used in Cape May County by Aaron Leaming, who used kettles to boil down the water, which was boiled until a thick brine remained. This was then put into wicker baskets and hung up, so that the remaining liquid could drain off, leaving the salt.<sup>64</sup>

A more common method, later adopted by all the counties along the shore, involved both solar evaporation and the boiling process. Sea water was admitted from the bays into large shallow trenches on the meadows. The sluice gates were then closed and the water slowly evaporated under the heat of the sun. In the more elaborate establishments, large shallow vats were made out of wooden planks, and the sea water was pumped in either by windmills or by hand. In some locations shallow storage ponds were excavated, into which sea water was admitted at high tide through narrow ditches and the sluice gates then closed.<sup>65</sup> The final part of the process took place in the boiling house or "saltern," into which the concentrated brine was either pumped or dipped from the sun pans or from the vats. The house was a covered wooden building, open on the sides, containing large boiling pans. Wood was used for fuel, and a considerable supply from near-by regions was required.

At the works owned by Congress at Toms River, a wind mill was used to pump the water from the bay to



the evaporating vats. When most of the water had evaporated, the brine was dipped up and boiled.<sup>66</sup> In at least two of the establishments, the Pennsylvania Works at Toms River and the Friendship Works on Great Egg Harbor, special sun-pans were used. The brine was led



(Courtesy New Jersey Agricultural Society)

*Shallow salt kettle at Barnegat*

into these pans from shallow pans where some solar evaporation had already occurred. These sun pans caused further concentration of the brine.<sup>67</sup>

It was necessary to take special precaution to prevent rain from falling into the vats and sun pans. Frequently this was done by building large wooden sheds, arranged so that they could be moved back and forth over the vats as necessity required. This activity provided employment for several men in each salt works.<sup>68</sup>

The problem of securing adequate labor for the salt works became more difficult as the war continued, especially as the demand for the local militia increased. On April 8, 1777, the Continental Congress passed a resolution asking the Governor and Council of Safety of New Jersey not to call into service the forty militia men who were "necessarily employed in the salt works now erecting in their State by the Governor of Pennsylvania." New Jer-

sey replied that under her militia laws, the request could not be granted, but if Pennsylvania would send her own troops to carry on the works, "care shall be taken to have them exempted as above" even though their residence in New Jersey would make them liable to militia service.<sup>69</sup>

Some exemption was eventually allowed by the New Jersey Assembly. The majority of men employed in the works were local residents and were subject to the State's militia call. Salt-making, however, was essential to carrying on the war. A series of petitions were sent to Governor William Livingston, and upon his recommendation the State Legislature passed a law giving exemption from militia service to "one man at each salt works for every five hundred gallons the boiling vessels held."<sup>70</sup>

A vivid picture of life at the salt works and of transportation problems in the latter 18th Century is given in a journal written in 1780 by Thomas Hopkins, a Philadelphia resident who had an interest in the Friendship Salt Works on Great Egg Harbor mentioned in an earlier paragraph. A short excerpt from this journal appears as the quotation at the beginning of this particular section. He made frequent references to the hardships of travel, difficulties of salt production, and the annoyances of mosquitoes. These insects were especially troublesome to the woodsmen who were cutting fuel for the works.

In the entry for August 11, 1780, Mr. Hopkins writes, "Left home and crossed Coopers Ferry . . . lodged at Haddonfield . . . rose by daylight . . . and proceeded to the Blue Anchor (a tavern in what is now lower Camden County) where we fed our horses and got breakfast. . . . Then set off for the Works where we arrived by Six O'-Clock through the Shoals of Musquetoos althe (*sic*) way who attacked us on every quarter with great Venom. . . . Three Wood Cutters at the Works . . . came in and said they could not stand it any longer, the Musquetoos being so very thick."<sup>71</sup>

Two days later, Mr. Hopkins noted, "Very fine Tide,

the Water very good; opend the Gates and filled the Pond. . . . In the evening drawd II Baskets Salt." The following day, he spent much time "Getting Waggon in Order to go to Philada," but more time was consumed in "pacifying" the woodcutters, who "returned after Dinner and said they would work no more as the Weather was so hot and Musquetoos so thick." This situation made Mr. Hopkins lament: "Am fearfull unless we can employ some immediately, shall ob'd (obliged) to stop the works."

Fuel troubles persisted. In his next entry, Mr. Hopkins wrote, "Nine O'Clock P. M. The Pickle not boil'd down yet, Owing to green wood." Moreover, the insect attacks continued. "The Musquetoos and flies Exceeding plenty, so that I can scarcely write." By September 8th, however, note was made that the weather was "clear and pleasant, no flies nor Musquetoos."

One of the most serious problems facing the management of salt works was securing provisions for the employees. The difficulty of procuring meat was especially great. Mr. Hopkins was worried about this when he wrote on August 24th: "N. B.: Broach'd our last barl Poark." The next day, however, comes this reassuring news: "Bought some fresh beef and salted it." This new supply did not last long, however, for the September 8th entry states "our Meat Intirely out, lived on Clams to Day." Finally, on October 9th, Mr. Hopkins "Bot a Bull of Jaffett Leads for Eight Pounds Hard Money." Hard money was preferable to the depreciated Continental currency. The new owner "Kill'd the Bull and brought the Bull to the works." It weighed about four hundred pounds.

A good market for the salt was found in Philadelphia. The September 5th, 1780 entry notes, "Got up at Day-break . . . to set Nicks Hart and John Young of (off) for Philada with 9 Flaxseed Casks salt containing Eighty Buss (Bushels) and  $\frac{1}{2}$  which was all that was made." The price established by the New Jersey Assembly as



noted above did not have to be followed in Philadelphia.

The difficulties of travelling from Philadelphia to the shore in those days are shown in a reference for October, 1780, when Mr. Hopkins relates: "Left home on horse-back about 2'Clock P. M. . . . crossed River to Sam Cooper's, fed my horse with 3 Quarts Oats and sett off at 3 O'Clock and Arrived at . . . Long Comeing (Long-a-coming is now Berlin, Camden County) where I fed the horse and got Supper and went to bed. Arrosee @ five, fed the horse, paid my Reckoning, 50 Dolls (paper money, evidently) and got to Blew Anchor, Breakfasted, fed my horse 2 Quarts Corn, paid Reckoning 24 Dolls, stop'd at Secar (Cedar) Bridge, fed my horse and paid 8 Dolls, set of (off) through very heavy Rain most of the way and arri'd at Works at 5 O'Clock in the evening."<sup>72</sup>

Following the Revolutionary War, the introduction of salt from mines and its importation from abroad so reduced its price that most of the works along the coast were abandoned gradually.<sup>73</sup> Their existence during the war period had averaged from six to seven years.<sup>74</sup> Sporadic attempts were made in the 19th Century to resurrect the industry. The stringencies brought on by the War of 1812 were a boon. In that year, Zadock Bowen built an establishment on Absecon Island, now Atlantic City. This continued in production for a number of years but was destroyed by a severe storm tide in 1825.<sup>75</sup> After the War of 1812 small works on Great Egg Harbor continued briefly, but these were strictly local in character and of little importance outside the immediate region.<sup>76</sup>

In 1816, one Daniel Thatcher from Massachusetts introduced at Tuckerton salt making by evaporation of sea water. An observer who visited the village in 1823 noted there "a windmill to make salt." He added, "This last article is made with much success and profit. The work cost \$4,000."<sup>77</sup> By 1844, however, another commentator observed, "This business has gone down."<sup>78</sup>

By 1800, salt from the Jersey shore was no longer an

important staple of trade. An evaluation of its production indicates that, from the viewpoint of size of export, little success was obtained. During the time when the commodity was vitally required, however, the shore works filled a real need.<sup>79</sup>

## CHAPTER VII

### THE BATTLE OF MONMOUTH

"For God's sake, General Lee," said Washington with great warmth, "what's the cause of this ill-timed prudence?"

"No man, sir," replied Lee, quite convulsed with rage, can boast a larger portion of that rascally virtue than your Excellency!"

Dashing along by the madman, Washington rode up to his troops, who, at sight of him rent the air with "God save great Washington!"

"My brave fellows," said he, "can you fight?"

They answered with three cheers. "Then face about, my heroes, and charge." . . . This order was executed with infinite spirit.

(Interpretation written in 1800 by the itinerant preacher, Mason Weems, of the Washington-Lee episode at the Battle of Monmouth, June 28, 1778.)<sup>1</sup>

By the time of the American Revolution, the Jersey shore was still thinly settled. The settlements of Cape May County stretched northward in patches to Great Egg Harbor. Between this point and Little Egg Harbor lay scattered groups of dwellings. North of the marshes of the Mullica River extended the woods and shore of Old Monmouth County, sparsely inhabited except in the comparatively fertile northern area. For the most part, contacts between the shore and the outer world were comparatively scanty until the war suddenly thrust the whole area into a position of some prominence.<sup>2</sup>

The shore was affected by the war in various ways. The battle of Monmouth and its subsequent ramifications; the brisk American privateering efforts with the British retaliation; and finally, the effects of the "bad blood" between Loyalists and patriots, culminating in a near-civil war in the latter years of the conflict comprise the material for this chapter and the one following.



I. *The story of the battle.*

'Twas a quiet Sabbath morning, nature gave no sign of  
warning  
Of the struggle that would follow when we met the Briton's  
might,  
Of the horseman fiercely spurring, of the bullets shrill  
whirring,  
Of the bayonets brightly gleaming through the smoke that  
wrapt the fight;  
Of the cannon thunder-pealing, and the wounded wretches  
reeling,  
And the corpses gory red of the dead.

(Poem read in 1878 at the centennial anniversary of the  
battle.)<sup>3</sup>

On a bronze plaque affixed to the outside wall of the Old Tennent Church, to which some of the wounded were brought at the time of the battle of Monmouth, the Monmouth County D. A. R. Chapter calls this battle "the turning point of the Revolution," despite the fact that the Mercer County chapter notes on a similar plaque at Washington Crossing above Trenton that the battle of Trenton was the "turning point of the Revolution." Although many historians view the battle of Saratoga in that category, the fact remains that, viewed from the angle of local and regional history, the battle of Monmouth has given rise to a host of stories and presented opportunities for observing anniversaries of the conflict as well as for constructing commemorative monuments in the area, all of which has influenced people who lived in the vicinity in later decades.

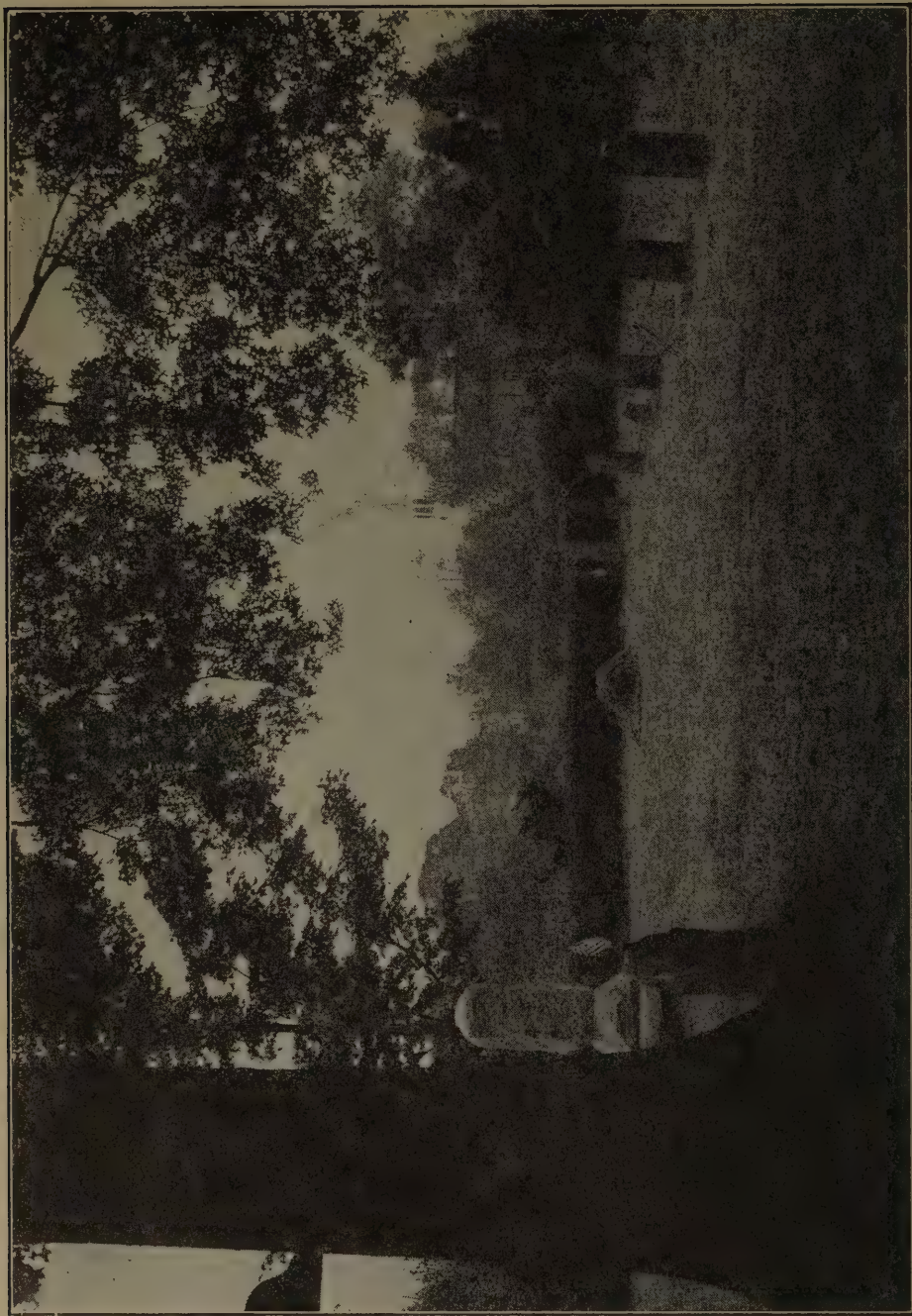
The battle occurred in the middle of the Revolution, following the advent of the French alliance, when the British, under Clinton, decided to evacuate Philadelphia and the Delaware Valley and march overland across New Jersey to New York. Washington, who was still at Valley Forge, held his army in readiness to follow. By June 18, 1778 the last of the British garrison had crossed into New Jersey at Cooper's Ferry, now Camden, from which

point they began their slow straggling march across the state headed for Sandy Hook. The long baggage train, heavy with plunder, led the march, with most of the main army following behind the wagons. Because of the fact little forage and few supplies were available in the Pine Barrens, the force of approximately 15,000 men followed a circuitous route through Mount Holly, Crosswicks, Allentown and Freehold and Middletown to Sandy Hook. Progress was slow and the troops lived off the land to a large extent. Even though the distance by road between Cooper's Ferry and Freehold was but sixty miles, the main part of the British army did not arrive at the latter point until June 27, nine days after it had finished crossing the Delaware.<sup>4</sup>

Part of the delay stemmed from the activities of the New Jersey militia. The latter started to snipe at the British as early as June 19th and continued to stall the enemies' progress by tearing up bridges in the line of the march. Further delay occurred as skirmishes at Crosswicks and on the road between Allentown and Freehold also slowed down the enemy. Attempts were made, moreover, to instill fear into the retreating army. The British found scrawled conspicuously at various places along their line of march the threat that they would be "Burgoyned" as had another army at Saratoga. Little real effort, however, was made to put into effect this possibility. Indeed, the failure to hamper Clinton effectively became particularly striking in view of the fact that according to the reports by militia officers in the vicinity, his line of wagons was more than two miles long, the flanks of his columns extensive, and many of his camp followers unarmed.<sup>5</sup>

The weather, nevertheless, did its best to make up for American deficiencies. For the first two or three days of the march, a heavy rainfall did nothing to improve poor roads. The wet spell, moreover, was followed by a heat wave of uncommon intensity and unprecedented duration, all of which set the stage for what later became the





(Courtesy of New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce)

*Site of Battleground at Monmouth Court House, Freehold*



oft-told tale of Molly Pitcher. Hundreds of the men, still wearing heavy European uniforms, collapsed under the strain, and many more deserted along the line of march. Despite the order from Clinton against plundering and destruction, houses were burned, personal goods were stolen, and horses and cattle were driven along with the invaders. In fact, the conduct of the soldiers became so outrageous that Clinton commented later on the situation in his general orders of July 5: "The irregularity of the Army during the March reflected much disgrace on that discipline which ought to be the first object of an Officer's attention."<sup>6</sup>

As soon as it became evident that the British move to the Jersey side of the Delaware was not a ruse, Washington set the American army into motion from Valley Forge. By June 22, his force, amounting to approximately the same number of troops as Clinton's, had crossed to New Jersey at Coryell's Ferry, now Lambertville. Washington then faced a difficult decision. To expose the still none-too-efficient army to possible destruction in the lowlands of central New Jersey, where no friendly mountains offered a refuge in case of defeat, was a course concerning which Washington needed advice before deciding. On the other hand, however, to permit the enemy to make his way across the state unscathed might lower such prestige as Washington's motley fighters still enjoyed. On June 24, he referred the matter to his advisers and it was decided that no general engagement should be risked but that 1,500 men should be sent to harry the left flank and the rear of the enemy, in conjunction with other Continental troops and militia already on the spot totaling approximately 5,000 men. The main body, it was decided, should hold a position enabling it "to act as circumstances may require."<sup>7</sup> Lafayette was put in general command of the advanced party with instructions to give the enemy "every degree of annoyance." Furthermore, he was advised to

attack with his entire force should a suitable opportunity present itself.<sup>8</sup>

Lafayette's assignment had scarcely been made when General Charles Lee demanded that he be placed in charge of the special force on the grounds that as second in command of the army he would be slighted if he were passed over. Washington was embarrassed by the request, but seemingly solved the problem by sending out a further reinforcement under Lee and by giving him command over the entire advanced corps, with the sole proviso that he should not interfere with any plan already formed by Lafayette for attacking the enemy. Hence it so happened that two days later when the Americans had drawn close enough to the British retiring army to attack it in force, the man in charge was not the energetic Lafayette, but the unstable Charles Lee, who had already been in supposedly treacherous communication with General Howe while a captive and who made no secret of his disapproval of the very enterprise he was now undertaking.<sup>9</sup>

The battle began on Sunday, June 28th, 1778. During the two days and nights that preceded the memorable Sabbath, the British army had occupied Freehold, then called Monmouth Court House. It held a strong position with its right extending about a mile and a half beyond the Court House, at the parting of the roads leading to Shrewsbury and Middletown, and its left along the road from Allentown to Freehold, about three miles west of the Court House.<sup>10</sup> This comparatively strong British position was later used at Lee's court-martial, in defense of Lee's famous order. He claimed his withdrawal tactics were justified since the enemy forces held better ground.<sup>11</sup> By the day before the battle, the advance American division, under command of Lee, was about two and a half miles west-northwest from the Court House while the main body of the Continental army was about three miles beyond Englishtown and less than seven miles from the camps of the British center.<sup>12</sup>

Washington realized that the last opportunity to strike the enemy must come before the British reached the rolling country around Middletown, a few miles from Freehold. There they would be comparatively safe from molestation. Under these circumstances, notwithstanding the fact that Clinton's force was now arranged in much more formidable order than at any other time in the course of the long march, with the baggage protected by a strong rear guard, Washington ordered Lee, early in the morning of June 28th, to attack, telling Lee that he was "marching to support him."<sup>13</sup>

The conflict opened with a series of skirmishes at several points at the west, northwest, and northeast of the village of Freehold. One of them was in full view of the old Court House and not more than 400 yards from it, near the site of the present-day monument commemorating the battle. Other encounters took place to the west and northwest of the site, and by eight in the morning, Lee after some delays, finally brought his men into contact with the enemy.<sup>14</sup> Until this time, Clinton had expected to be able to retreat to Middletown Heights without being compelled to risk a general engagement. Now that Lee's forces were crowding close upon the rear and flank, he resolved to turn and give battle.<sup>15</sup> Already the British picket guards had repulsed an attack by Lafayette's cavalry, forcing the horsemen to fall back.<sup>16</sup>

Before the battle was well underway, Lee began retreating with part of his force, to the amazement of his subordinates in charge of other detachments. The latter had no choice but to abandon good positions and retire along with their general. Although Lee, when afterwards placed on trial by court-martial, said that he intended to fight Clinton and that the retreat before the advancing British was commenced without his orders, it was known he believed that the British veterans to be invincible, calling them "the finest troops in the world."<sup>17</sup> The British pressed on and threw the bewildered American troops



into confusion, as no word came from Lee to make a stand. When Colonel Stewart of Wayne's brigade asked General Lee where he should take his men, the general replied according to later testimony "Take them to any place to save their lives" and pointed to an orchard nearby.<sup>18</sup> The Americans fell back for almost three miles, reaching a point about seven-tenths of a mile from Tennent Church where they were met by Washington advancing with the main army.<sup>19</sup>

Whatever may be said for his failure to fight as Washington had expected him to do, credit was due Lee for his evident purpose to bring his soldiers away in safety. The troops had marched under conflicting orders, or no orders at all, during seven or eight hours of extreme heat and were now worn out from exhaustion and fainting from thirst. As the Monmouth County historian later declared, "It cannot be denied that the retreat to the old (Tennent) meeting-house was a victory of courage . . . and endurance."<sup>20</sup>

The noise of the conflict in the vicinity of the Court House during the forenoon of Sunday, June 28th, had been heard by Washington as he approached Freehold at the head of the main American army. He at once hurried forward the advance. His troops dropped every incumbrance to hasten their march. A short distance beyond the old Tennent Meeting House, however, Washington began to meet some of the retreating soldiers. The first was a mounted farmer, then came a frightened fugitive fifer and later a Major Ogden who told Washington's aides that General Lee and his troops were "flying from a shadow." Soon detachment after detachment came into view, saying that just behind them was "the whole British army." As he did at the battle of Princeton, Washington took personal charge of affairs, not without uttering, however, what Lee later called "very singular expressions."<sup>21</sup>

Soon the commander-in-chief was able to rally and

re-form his men and check the advance of the enemy. When Clinton then attacked the American left, Lee's men, with Stirling's artillery, drove the British back. Then, when Clinton tried the American right, he was repulsed by General Green's troops and Knox's artillery on Combs Hill. Finally, when the British grenadiers pushed toward the center into the so-called crescent, they were caught by the fire of "Mad Anthony" Wayne's riflemen, hidden by a barn, and by artillery fire from both flanks. It was here, near Old Tennent Church, that the British Lt. Col. Monckton, the grenadiers' commander, fell with his men lying around him.<sup>22</sup>

Washington at once tried to make preparations for a counter-attack, but the sun was now near the horizon. The long summer day, finally drawing to a close, had been one of the hottest ever known and the troops were worn down with fatigue. Darkness began to render further operations impracticable and unwillingly Washington decided to delay the offensive until the following morning. He ordered two brigades to keep their places on the British flanks during the night, to be ready for the assault at dawn. The other troops were to lie in readiness with their equipment on the field. Washington, who had been in the saddle nearly the whole day, lay down on the field and passed the night in the midst of his soldiers wrapped in his cloak.<sup>23</sup>

The returning daylight of Monday, June 29th, dispelled his hopes, for not a scarlet uniform, save those of the dead and wounded, could be seen. The troops of Clinton had stolen away in the early part of the night. So quiet had been the movement that the American troops watching the British flanks knew nothing of the departure. Washington was chagrined to find the British had eluded him. He realized, however, that it was useless to attempt any further movement against them, for they would reach the heights of Middletown before they could be overtaken.

A scouting party was sent out on that day, the 29th, to observe Clinton's movement. It returned to English-town in the evening of the 30th and reported to Washington: "The enemy have continued their march very precipitately. The roads are strewn with knapsacks, firelocks, and other implements of war. . . . Today (the 30th) they are at Sandy Hook, from whence it is expected they will remove to New York."<sup>24</sup> The prediction came true. When Clinton's forces reached Sandy Hook Bay, they found there Admiral Howe's fleet which had sailed from Delaware Bay for that purpose. Clinton's troops embarked and the fleet took them to New York.<sup>25</sup> Following the battle, Washington reported that the British left 249 dead on the field; the American dead he numbered at 69. Clinton later made a smaller estimate of his dead. Undoubtedly the excessive heat killed a number on both sides<sup>26</sup> and many wounded were left at the Court House and the Episcopal Church in Freehold and at the Old Tennent Church.

General Lee, now thoroughly disgraced, was later tried by court martial. The court found him guilty of "disobedience of orders, in not attacking the enemy . . . agreeable to repeated instructions" and of "misbehaviour before the enemy . . . by making an unnecessary and in some few instances a disorderly retreat." He was sentenced to be suspended for twelve months from any command in the armies of the United States. This was considered by authorities to be a mild punishment, but one that ended his career.<sup>27</sup>

After the engagement at Freehold, the shore counties except for the continuance of a certain amount of privateering relapsed into temporary quiet. Even before the enemy had quit Sandy Hook, the assembled militia, anxious to return to their farm work, dispersed in spite of all the efforts of their commanders to hold them. Washington moved slowly northward through Newark to Paramus and later into Westchester County in New York State.



Various episodes of the Battle of Monmouth gave rise to new interest in certain sites and particular people, such as the Old Tennent Church near the battle field a short distance from Freehold, and near the place where Molly Pitcher displayed her heroism. The site of the battleground in Freehold, moreover, provided a place on which a large monument was later constructed. This location became the center for subsequent noteworthy anniversary celebrations. These topics constitute the remainder of this Chapter.

## 2. *The Old Tennent Church.*

At the time of the battle, a person, while sitting on a grave-stone in the yard, was mortally wounded by a cannonball. He was carried into the church, and there died. His blood stained the floor and remains plainly visible to the present-day, a melancholy memento, in this house of God, of those dark and troublesome times.

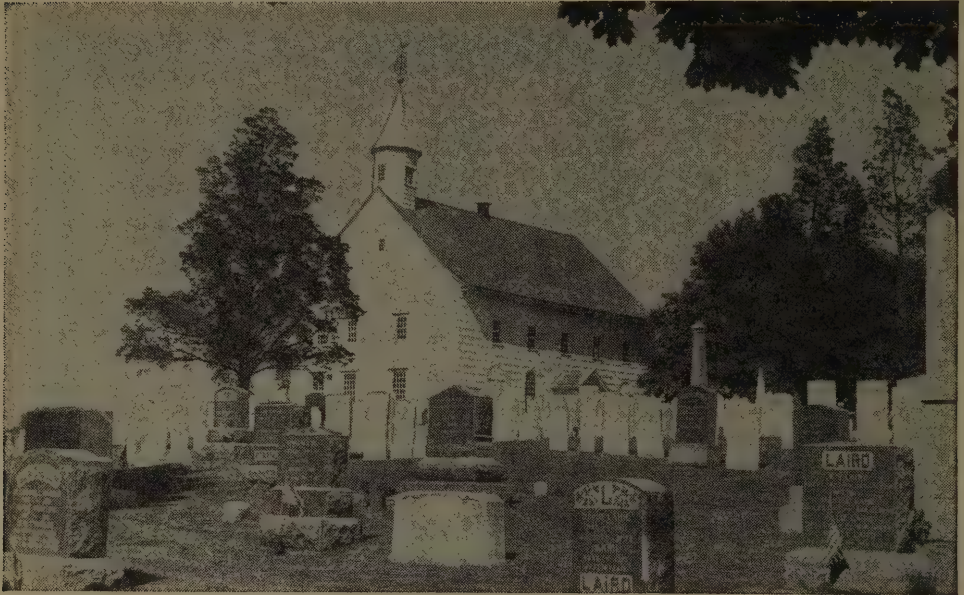
(Comment written in 1842.)<sup>28</sup>

The grounds of this famous church nearly four miles from Freehold became the resting place not only of Americans, but also of British Col. Monckton, who was killed nearby, and was, according to this same 1842 account, "buried within six feet of the west end of the church." The observer then adds "He was a gallant officer. . . . No monument is there, but his name, rudely cut on the building, marks the spot."<sup>29</sup>

The church possessed an unusual background. Constructed first in 1731 for the Scotch Presbyterian groups in the area, it was enlarged to an edifice forty feet by sixty feet in 1750 thanks to the efforts of the man for whom it was re-named in 1859. The old oak frame was covered with shingles. A number of wooden pegs were placed in the panel work back of the pulpit; on these, the preachers used to hang their hats and coats. Leaning against the pulpit were many long and slender rods, at the end of each were suspended silk bags terminating in a tassel.

These were used by the deacons to take up collections and were found especially convenient for the long pews which had high backs and narrow seats.<sup>30</sup>

This pulpit had several times been occupied by the celebrated evangelist, Rev. George Whitefield, during the



(Courtesy N. J. Dept. of Conserv. & Econ. Devel.)

### *Old Tennent Church*

so-called "Great Awakening." The famous Indian missionary, Rev. David Brainerd, also preached there, notably in 1746. The church, however, was most closely associated with the man for whom it was named, Rev. William Tennent, whose life was long and productive of episodes on which oft-told stories were woven. One, written by his biographer in approximately 1806, concerned the time when Tennent was "thrown into a remarkable trance and remained apparently dead for a number of days."

Tennent had come to America from Ireland in 1718, going to New Brunswick to study for the ministry under his brother, Rev. Gilbert Tennent. One morning, his biographer recounts with gruesome details, Tennent was

“conversing with his brother, in Latin, on the state of his soul, when he fainted and died away. After the usual time, he was laid out on a board . . . and the neighborhood were invited to attend his funeral on the next day. In the evening, his physician returned from a ride in the country . . . (but) he could not be persuaded that death was certain . . . . He put his hand . . . at the heart and affirmed that he felt an unusual warmth, though no one else could. He had the body restored to a warm bed and insisted that the people who had been invited to the funeral should be requested not to attend. To this the brother (Gilbert Tennent) objected as absurd,—the eyes being sunk . . . and the whole body cold and stiff. However, the doctor finally prevailed and all probable means were used to discover symptoms of returning life; but the third day arrived and no hopes were entertained of success. . . . The people were again invited, and assembled to attend the funeral. . . . Just before the funeral, the doctor discovered that the tongue was much swollen; . . . he was endeavoring to soften it by some emollient ointment . . . when the brother came in, and . . . mistaking what the doctor was doing for an attempt to feed him, . . . said in a spirited tone, ‘It is shameful to be feeding a lifeless corpse,’ and insisted that the funeral should immediately proceed.”

“At this critical moment, the body, to the great alarm and astonishment of all present, opened its eyes, gave a dreadful groan, and sank again into apparent death. This put an end to all thoughts of burying him, and every effort was again employed in hopes of bringing about a speedy resuscitation. In about an hour, the eyes again opened, a heavy groan proceeded from the body. . . . In another hour, life seemed to return and a complete revival took place, . . . to the no small astonishment of very many who had been ridiculing the idea of restoring to life a dead body. . . . Mr. Tennent continued in a weak . . . state for six weeks. . . . By degrees his recollection was restored; . . . his memory completely revived and he could speak



the Latin as fluently as before his sickness. . . ."<sup>31</sup>

In the latter part of 1733, William Tennent was invited to be pastor of the church near Freehold, and he remained there for forty-three years. He had been engaged at a salary of one hundred pounds a year, but also attached to the parsonage was a large farm from which the minister was supposed to supplement his income. Tennent however, trusted the farm work to an inefficient group of hired help, and soon he found himself in debt. A friend suggested, according to an account written later, that he should find himself a good wife. Tennent replied he knew nothing about such matters. It was soon arranged, however, that the pastor should go to New York and get introduced to the sister-in-law of the friend who made the suggestion. Tennent went to New York a few days later. It was recounted that since his time was precious, he proposed to the lady at once, and within one week from the time she first saw Tennent, she was installed in the parsonage. This lady by her tact and good management, rescued the farm from debt and proved a good wife.<sup>32</sup>

Thanks to Mr. Tennent's evangelism a revival occurred at the church in 1757. Since a number of persons rode horseback or came by wagon a long distance, it was the custom to have two services on Sunday separated only by an intermission of half an hour for picnic lunch. During this short interval, Mr. Tennent usually prayed under some trees near the church. One Sunday, he "swooned and fell senseless" it was recounted, "Time passed; eventually the elders found him there, and carried him to the church and assisted him to the pulpit. It was on this occasion that he preached a memorable thrilling sermon which he always after delighted to call his 'harvest' and which was the direct means of the conversion of thirty persons."<sup>33</sup>

On March 8, 1777, Mr. Tennent died at the age of seventy-two, more than a year "before . . . the smoke of battle rolled around his church and home."<sup>34</sup> He was

deeply affected by the war, however. On the day that he died, it is told, Tennent addressed a statement to a Monmouth County member of the patriot legislature, then meeting in Haddonfield, which he is said to have stated in measured language "I have no wish to live . . . unless it should be to see a happy issue to the severe and arduous controversy my country is engaged in."<sup>35</sup> He was buried under the floor of the central aisle of the church. He had never even heard the name of Molly Pitcher.

### 3. *The Molly Pitcher story.*

As we turned on flanks and centre, in the path of death to enter,

One of Knox's brass six-pounders lost its Irish cannoneer;  
And his wife who 'mid the slaughter, had been bearing  
pails of water

For the gun and for the gunner, o'er his body shed no  
tear—

"Move the piece!"—but there they found her loading,  
firing that six-pounder,

And she gaily 'til we won, worked the gun.

Loud we cheered as Captain Molly waved the rammer—  
then a volley.

Pouring in upon the grenadiers, we sternly drove them  
back;

Though like tigers fierce they fought us, to such zeal had  
Molly brought us,

That though struck with heat and thirsting, yet of drink  
we felt no lack—

There she stood amid the clamor, busily handling sponge  
and rammer,

While we swept with wrath condign on their line.

(Another portion of the poem read in 1878 at the centennial anniversary of the battle of Monmouth.)<sup>36</sup>

Not only the old Tennent Church, but also a woman known as Molly Pitcher, became famous because of the battle of Monmouth. About her a legend soon arose which has since received considerable elaboration. Molly's deeds have been perpetuated on the bronzes at the battle monu-

ment in Freehold, and tourists still visit the Molly Pitcher well. Some dispute occurs over the exact location of the latter. Some historians say it was buried when the railroad was graded. Others aver that the present "site" has been removed, for convenience's sake, from a low-lying section beyond an underpass of the nearby railroad to the main highway right beside the track.

Various interpretations have been given of the episode, and the accounts of her life are varied and conflicting. According to the commentator of 1842, the story of Molly at Monmouth "is founded on fact." He explained "Many of both armies perished solely from heat. The tongues of many soldiers were so swollen as to render them incapable of speaking." Molly, who was the twenty-three year old wife of a cannoneer, constantly ran to bring her husband water from a neighboring spring. While passing to his post she saw him fall; she dropped her bucket, and on hastening to his assistance, found him dead. She then heard an officer order the cannon to be removed from its place, complaining he could not fill his post. . . . "No," the intrepid Molly is said to have said, "the cannon shall not be removed. . . . Since my brave husband is no more, I will use my utmost exertions to avenge his death."<sup>37</sup> From the point of view of Molly's educational background, it is fairly certain she did not use these very words. It should be explained, moreover, the reference to the death of Molly's husband, John Hays, is erroneous. After the war the couple returned to Carlisle, Pennsylvania, where he died in 1789.<sup>38</sup>

Another version of the episode declares that Molly had been carrying water to Americans faint with thirst from the 96-degree heat. She had caught up one of the artillery buckets and brought water from the nearby well. The soldiers, having heard her called "Molly" by her husband, were said to have shouted: "Here comes Molly and her pitcher!" This won her the sobriquet of "Molly Pitcher" and thus she lived on in story.<sup>39</sup> This same inter-



pretation, moreover, declared that she had found her husband disabled, and another of the gun crew slain. She then seized the swab and worked the rest of the day sponging the gun, keeping up its fire, and giving courage to the entire battery.<sup>40</sup>

Probably the most authentic account of the incident was written in the journal of Doctor Albigece Waldo, in New Brunswick, dated July 3, 1778, in which he refers to Molly as "One of the camp women I must give a little praise to," and then goes on to relate the same story as in the preceding paragraph, based on a report from an officer whose wounds he dressed after the battle.<sup>41</sup>

Most interpretations agree that on the following morning, Molly barefooted and in her powder-stained dress was presented by General Greene to General Washington who praised her for her bravery, and later conferred upon her a commission of either sergeant or lieutenant.<sup>42</sup> After the war, Molly lived for some time in the highlands of the Hudson, in the locality of Forts Montgomery and Clinton. One historian recounted that when he visited General Hamilton's widow, who died in 1854, she told him that she had often seen "Captain Molly" and described her as a "stout, redhaired, freckle-faced young Irish woman with a handsome piercing eye." She added, "The French officers were charmed by the story of her bravery . . . and made her many presents. She would sometimes pass along the French lines with her cocked hat and get it almost filled with crowns."<sup>43</sup> Some of the residents there remembered Molly. They referred to her as the "famous Irish woman," who "generally dressed in the petticoats of her sex with an artillery-man's coat over."<sup>44</sup>

This account cannot be entirely accepted because it is known that Molly was not Irish. Her father, a sturdy German peasant from the Palatinate, had come to America in 1730, settling on a small dairy farm near Trenton where Molly was born in 1744. In 1769 she went to work

as a servant in the family of a doctor at Carlisle where she married John Caspar Hays, a barber, that same year. In 1777 the latter joined the Seventh Pennsylvania Regiment, and when it was ordered to follow Clinton into New Jersey, Molly went to her parents' home near Trenton and from there later moved on to Monmouth.<sup>45</sup> It was the custom of some American women to follow their husbands in the campaign. They nursed the sick and assisted in the cooking.<sup>46</sup>

Eventually Molly and her husband made their way back to Carlisle, Pennsylvania where the latter died in 1789, whereupon Molly married one George McCauley, a union which proved unhappy. According to an interpretation written in 1902 from her home town of Carlisle, Pennsylvania, Molly made her home there during the last years of her life. She obtained a livelihood as a scrub-woman and caring for children. The Pennsylvania Legislatures in 1822 granted her the munificent sum of \$40 a year for her services during the Revolution. She died in 1832 and, in the words of the hometown account, "At the head of . . . [her grave] stands a heavy slab of marble, pure white, solid and substantial, like the character of her whose resting place it marks."<sup>47</sup>

Whatever may be the definitive story about Molly, she received wide fame for the Monmouth episode. When the monument commemorating the battle was erected in Freehold and finally dedicated after much delay in 1884, one of five scenes on the bronze tablets was devoted to the Molly Pitcher exploit. According to the official description of the monument, written in 1884, "The head and figure of the heroine of Monmouth is an ideal woman of great muscular power. Her dead husband is at her feet and General Knox is seen in the background directing his artillery. A wounded soldier uses his right hand, instead of the left, in thumbing the vent. This, it is readily seen, improves the composition of the picture. The old Tennent Church . . . is seen on the extreme left of the relief."<sup>48</sup>

#### 4. *Echoes of the battle.*

Following the laying of the cornerstone of the monument . . . , by half-past four, crowds of people began to seek the stations, and train after train bore away the thousands who had visited us. As the setting sun painted the western skies with gorgeous rainbow tints, his lurid glare fell upon Monmouth's battle plains, not as a century before, steeped in human blood, but clothed in their "daisy-sprinkled" garments of sweet scented clover. The very clouds which strove in vain to obscure the glories of the sinking sun, seemed a foreshadowing of America's future. They seemed to prophesy that though storms of foreign war and fierce internecine conflict might sweep over our land, still the great Republic would proudly stand. . . .

(Glowing account of 100th anniversary celebration of the battle of Monmouth, in local paper, July 4, 1878.)<sup>49</sup>

The battle of Monmouth was not only an important Revolutionary War encounter to the local historian, it also served to give publicity to the Freehold section as a site of historic importance, to be visited and commemorated. A number of times in the 19th Century, the battle ground proved a drawing card to Freehold and vicinity. Special ceremonies were held at the time of the fiftieth anniversary, in 1828; the seventy-sixth in 1854, the hundredth, in 1878; and finally, at the formal dedication of the battle monument, in 1884. At the first important celebration on June 28, 1828, the principal feature was a 'sham battle, simulating as nearly as practicable the real one. No figures have been recorded concerning the number of troops participating, but local accounts called it an impressive sight.<sup>50</sup>

A day that received considerable local attention, however, occurred on the seventy sixth anniversary, in 1854. A newspaper published at Trenton, the *Trenton American*, referred feelingly to the "insufferable heat which was experienced" on that June 28th, 1854, finally "relieved by a delightful shower." Various guards from different cities and towns including New York, Brooklyn,



Trenton, Newark, Hoboken, and Amboy, were scheduled to re-enact the major phases of the battle. After the crowd had "waited long and patiently for the signal for attack," however, they were "disappointed when it became known that the fight was not to come off." It was explained that "several soldiers had been affected by sun-stroke."

The "festivities of the day," continued the *Trenton American*, were considerably "marred . . . by the sad accident which occurred in firing a salute in honor of the arrival of the Governor." It was explained that, while loading the cannon, "the person attending to the hole . . . incautiously allowed the air to get in while the charge was being rammed." A member of the Lafayette Guards of Newark had his left hand "very much shattered, which rendered amputation necessary." Another guard was badly burned about the face and arms.

The viewing of the troops by the Governor caused favorable comment: "The graceful demeanor and excellent horsemanship of our worthy Governor<sup>51</sup> was greatly admired and formed a theme of universal expression of delight." A large multitude attended the celebration. "Many thousands . . . were transported back and forth" by railroad, and "trains started every fifteen minutes" from the Freehold station at the end of the day.<sup>52</sup>

One story about the celebration, published in a metropolitan paper, roused some local resentment. It was "falsely charged," stated the County history, by a reporter for the *New York Herald*, that "the people of Monmouth County, farmers and others, embraced the occasion as an opportunity for money-making by bringing various articles of refreshment to Freehold and selling them at high prices."<sup>53</sup> The committee-in-charge, two days later, printed a card in the local paper, declaring "We wish to cast back with indignation the statement. . . . None of the farmers . . . had any articles for sale, but generously gave, to all who needed, of whatever they had." The

Committee then added, "Thanks to P. T. Barnum, Esq., of New York . . . for the loan of flags used on this occasion."<sup>54</sup>

It was on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the battle that the battleground became the mecca for thou-



(Courtesy N. J. Dept. of Conserv. & Econ. Devel.)

*Monmouth Battle Monument, Freehold*

sands of visitors. According to the stirring description in the local newspaper, "A great event like the battle of Monmouth needs a great celebration, and in the present instance, the people of old Monmouth were fully equal to the emergency. The procession was a magnificent one. As it passed down Main Street, the horsemen mounted on gaily prancing, richly caparisoned steeds, the white-plumed Knights Templar, the white-aproned Masons, the sun-browned soldiers with their glittering muskets, the Zouaves with their bright red costumes, the elegant carriages filled with civilians, made a gorgeous and brilliant spectacle. The Masonic ceremonies at the laying of the corner-stone of the battle monument were of a deeply solemn nature."<sup>55</sup>

Crowds came by railroad. "By nine o'clock, 20 carloads of people had landed at the F. and J. station from the eastern parts of the County," noted the same paper. "The Freehold and New York road reported sixty carloads of people and some of the cars were more than comfortably filled. . . ." At 10 o'clock General McClellan (of Civil War fame), Governor of New Jersey, was received under the shade of Seminary Hall. "There were many, many speeches, a bountiful dinner, and more speeches followed by the laying of the cornerstone of the monument."<sup>56</sup>

Casualties occurred at the celebration, though in lesser degree than at the battle a century earlier. "No great event," explained the local paper in a tone of justification, "is entirely unaccompanied by accidents and misfortunes." Even in horse-and-buggy days, traffic snarls occurred. "A carryall wagon, drawn by two mules, belonging to Pat Donahay of Illsdale and filled with a party of young people, backed into a one-horse vehicle belonging to William Francis of Francis Mills. Both wagons had their right hind wheels broken. Mr. Francis and his daughter were violently thrown out upon the ground . . . , the carryall party escaped unhurt."<sup>57</sup>

The weather was also warm in 1878 as it was one hundred years earlier. "Two, if not three, soldiers were overcome by the heat" remarked the local paper. The problem of water for the people was considered carefully, with thoughts, perhaps, of Molly Pitcher in mind. "The railroad stations," explained the local paper, "had barrels filled with ice-water, the F. and J. station consuming nearly a ton of ice. Ten men were employed by the committee in charge and equipped with badges reading 'cold water free.'" Like later reincarnations of Molly, "They passed to and fro giving all who were thirsty a cup of cold water." Finally the correspondent of the newspaper complacently concluded, "Result: less intoxication than ever before known on a similar occasion." Indeed, even



"the various stands for the sale of lemonade were forced to sell at a low rate, some losing much by stock left on hand."<sup>58</sup>

The large influx of outsiders gave rise to special opportunities for criminal elements. "Thieves and pick-pockets were plentiful," chronicled the paper. "Many persons were relieved of watches and many dwellings were robbed of their valuable contents while the owners were occupied with the pleasures of the celebration." The Superintendent of the New York City police "was in town, with a detective and four assistants," and they "did all in their power to keep the light-fingered in order." However, "While walking in the street, Mr. Jacob A. Wyckoff of Freehold had his gold watch picked from his pocket, as did also Dr. Bean of New Egypt. 'Aunt Betsey' Osborn and Mr. Curtis, both of Manasquan, were robbed, the former of a gold watch and chain, and the latter of a pocketbook containing \$300." During the celebration, three houses in Freehold and one in Marlborough were broken into and ransacked.<sup>59</sup>

After the laying of the cornerstone at this observance in 1878, little work was done on the monument until the 1880's. In 1882, Congress appropriated \$36,000 for the construction of the monument ninety-four feet high. Because of delays, the committee could not dedicate it on the exact anniversary of the battle and the ceremonies finally took place on November 13, 1884. Again the citizens of Freehold and surrounding countryside made a gala affair of it, building triumphal arches across the streets. According to the highly-colored description written for the county history in 1887, "The three heavy hoar-frosts just preceding the day, some thought were a sure sign of rain, but the day came and . . . Old Phoebus rose in a cloudless sky. . . . Shaking his golden locks, he . . . bathed old Monmouth's battle-plain in one vast wave of light. The hoar-frost gleamed whitely on the sere brownsward. . . . A western breeze, which coyly played

with the rich-hued autumnal leaves still lingering on the trees, was as mild and balmy as those which sweep over violet beds in the flowery month of May.”<sup>60</sup>

Again, many people arrived, mostly by rail. It was “estimated that from fifteen to twenty thousand people were assembled to witness the ceremonies. The Pennsylvania Railroad and the Freehold and New York Railway each ran five special trains and five regular trains each way. The former ran 85 coaches and the latter about 50 coaches each way, and every coach was crowded full of people.” Again the governor of the state came, this time, Governor Abbett. There followed an elaborate parade with many troops and speeches at the monument. “The day was perfect,” concluded the contemporary account. “The streets and roads were entirely free alike from mud and dust. The weather was neither hot nor cold. . . . Good feeling and good order prevailed. Scarcely any intoxication was to be seen.”<sup>61</sup>

Following the actual battle of Monmouth, a few militiamen were stationed, during the summer of 1778, in Monmouth County to watch British shipping. Aside from this handful of soldiers, there were few signs of military activity in the state, and New Jersey, after two years of alarms and excursions, settled down to a brief period of comparative tranquillity,<sup>62</sup> which was not interrupted until later when the British made landings on the shore’s “nests of pirates” in reprisal for the attacks by American privateers.

## CHAPTER VIII

### PRIVATEERING AND CIVIL WAR

The Town (Toms River) . . . consists of about a dozen houses in which none but a piratical set of banditti reside.

(British comment, 1782.)<sup>1</sup>

The thinly settled shore offered enticing opportunities for profit during the latter years of the Revolution. Small villages like Toms River and Little Egg Harbor found themselves catering to more and more vessels and their streets busy with adventurers, teamsters, and even business men. Although salt manufacturing may have helped, the main basis for this brief flush of prosperity was privateering.

Harbors that lay behind shallow inlets through barrier beaches now found themselves conveniently close to trade leading to New York from the West Indies and even from Europe. These harbors, moreover, proved ideal retreats. The Americans were familiar with the channels. The inlets thus offered a good refuge to the pursued and high hazards to the pursuers. British men-of-war might chase a privateer as far as the entrance to the passageway, but their commanders knew better than try to follow it in. The privateer drew less water and its captain would surely lead the British ship aground and to ultimate capture. Both Barnegat and Cranberry Inlets gave ready access for vessels into Barnegat Bay; the "Old Inlet" south of Long Beach did the same for small armed boats wishing to enter either Little Egg Harbor or Chestnut Neck.<sup>2</sup>

#### 1. *Privateering.*

The Busy season for the People on the Shore since the late Captures has made them Negligent of anything but dividing & determining their Shares in prizes.

(Excerpt of letter dated May 20, 1779, written by a sponsor



of privateering ventures, following a visit to Toms River.)<sup>3</sup>

By 1778 and 1779, no vessel bound for New York was safe from attack unless escorted by a warship or itself heavily armed. The Jersey seahawks proved no respecter of persons. A brig from Ireland laden with butter and linen, a brigantine belonging to the British navy freighted with a sizable contingent of Hessian mercenaries and their officers, and disabled by storm, all received the same strong-armed treatment. In fact, the personal baggage of protesting German officers was ransacked as ruthlessly for prizes as the belongings of any petty trader.<sup>4</sup>

At the height of the privateering activity, Little Egg Harbor and Toms River were the two leading centers. The former, by 1778, claimed to have about thirty armed sloops operating from it.<sup>5</sup> This was probably the chief base. Toms River was also a thriving focus point since it then enjoyed quick access to the ocean through Island Beach by way of Cranberry Inlet.<sup>6</sup> Other locations participated to a lesser degree in the profitable though risky activities. In Cape May County the privateers based their operations mainly on the Tuckahoe River and Great Egg Harbor, in Atlantic County, at Chestnut Neck near the mouth of the Mullica River.<sup>7</sup>

In Cape May County, privateering reached its zenith in 1779, although the County's first contact with the war occurred soon after the outbreak of hostilities on June 29, 1776, when the captain of a patriot brig, en route to Philadelphia from St. Croix and St. Thomas in the Virgin Islands, ran his vessel ashore at Cape May to avoid capture by six British warships pursuing the ship. The cargo consisted mainly of powder and arms for the Continental Congress, and a large part of this was removed under cover of fog. Once the fog lifted, boats from the British ships drew near, preparatory to boarding the brig. The captain wrapped fifty pounds of

gunpowder around the mainsail, among the folds of which he started a fire. Then he abandoned ship. The British small boat crews boarded the vessel and took possession of her with three cheers. Within a brief time, however, according to a contemporary account, "the fire took the desired effect, and blew the pirates forty or fifty yards into the air" much to the enjoyment of the watchers on the beach. The next day, the residents counted the corpses and "the great number of limbs floating and driven ashore." Meanwhile, some of the local people, aided by men from two small American vessels, mounted a gun on shore and exchanged shots with the British. It was during this cannonade that one American, an officer, was killed, and a boy wounded, the first war casualties in the State.<sup>8</sup>

Later in the war, Cape May County residents profited from prizes driven ashore through poor navigation and fog. On June 2, 1779, for instance, a brigantine from Tortula in the West Indies, to New York, mounting twelve guns with twenty-nine hands aboard, came ashore on Peck's Beach, now Ocean City. The cargo consisted of eighty hogsheads of rum and some sugar. The local militia took possession of both vessel and cargo and sent off the crew under guard to Philadelphia. It is interesting to note that many years later, about 1820, one of the cannon thrown overboard by the British in the attempt to get the vessel off the bar, was found when the tide was very low and placed in the finder's front yard. There were three cannonballs in it.<sup>9</sup>

It was from privateering, however, that the Cape May citizens derived high returns. On June 23rd, 1779, a privateer called the "Skunk" brought into the mouth of the Tuckahoe River at Great Egg Harbor a vessel with a valuable cargo. This was the nineteenth prize taken since the "Skunk" was fitted out. Earlier in 1779, this same ship came close to capture. The privateer thought it had discovered a fine prize off Great Egg Harbor, when

a good-sized vessel approached. The "Skunk" gave it the gun. A momentary pause ensued and then the merchantmen became transformed into a "British 74" and in another moment she gave the "Skunk" such a broadside that, as the captain later expressed it, "The water flew around them like ten thousand whalespouts." The privateer suffered considerable damage in her sails and rigging but by hard rowing made good her escape.<sup>10</sup> In a later instance, in 1782, the year before hostilities ceased, Captain Hand of the "Enterprise" and Captain Willits of another boat, both from Cape May County, chased ashore near Great Egg Harbor, a Tory vessel called the "Old Ranger" with 25 men aboard, bound for the capes of the Delaware. They afterwards drew near a schooner laden with corn and another with lumber, both of which they seized.<sup>11</sup>

Vessels and their contents were usually sold at public auction and the proceeds divided among the privateersmen. At Great Egg Harbor occurred a number of sales of prize captures. One of these sales, for instance, was advertised in the Pennsylvania "Packet" of Philadelphia, March 11, 1777, when notice was given that "the brigantine, the 'Defiance,' with all her tackle, apparel and furniture, now lying at the mouth of Tuckahoe River in Great Egg Harbor Inlet, and the cargo . . . consisting of molasses, sugar, coffee, cocoa, salt, cotton, etc., and sundry whaling tackle, will be sold at public vendue, at the house of John Somers, jun., at Great Egg Harbor, in the county of Gloucester, on Wednesday, the 12 instant. . . . The cash to be paid on the delivery of the goods"<sup>12</sup>

In what is now Ocean County, there were probably more men engaged in harassing the British on sea than on land with Little Egg Harbor and Toms River the main centers. Big profits were possible, but with correspondingly big risks. Not all privateersmen using the harbors, moreover, were Jersey men. The "New Jersey Gazette"



for August 5, 1778 announced "Lately brought into Little Egg Harbor by two New England privateers . . . a brig and a sloop loaded."<sup>13</sup> The same issue carried the story of a sloop from Jamaica, bound for New York, that was brought into Little Egg Harbor by a number of Americans. This group had been captured at sea, landed at Jamaica, and were being transported to New York as prisoners. As they voyaged north up the Jersey coast, they overpowered the crew, took possession of the vessel, and brought it in as a prize. The cargo was a valuable one, consisting of rum, sugar and other Jamaican products.<sup>14</sup>

Despite the British raid on Little Egg Harbor in October, 1778, the story of which is told in the next section, the port continued as a center for privateers. In August, 1779, for example, the schooner "Mars," pursued by British vessels, escaped over the bar and into Little Egg Harbor. In the escape, however, the captain of the schooner lost two prizes he had captured earlier, a scow and a packet together with 45 prisoners, all recaptured by the British. The next month, in September, he set out again from Little Egg Harbor and seized another British vessel aboard which was a Hessian Colonel and 214 privates, in addition to a valuable cargo of dry goods. This was a big capture equalling, perhaps, the taking of the ships "Venue" and "Major Pearson" the year before, which feat was presumably the direct occasion of the expedition against the port in October, 1778.<sup>15</sup>

The port offered refuge, also, during 1780 to the schooner "Shark," brought there by her owner, Edward Giles of Philadelphia, who had recaptured her from a British prize crew. Earlier, Giles had been taken by an English ten gun sloop. A prize crew of four British sailors had started with his vessel to New York, with Giles a prisoner on board. The story goes, however, that he treated his unwelcome guests "handsomely" to some "good liquor" on board, got them all intoxicated, and then ran his schooner into Little Egg Harbor.<sup>16</sup>

Not all expeditions brought home prizes. On August 29, 1778, for instance, the sloop "Susannah," with eight guns and thirty-five men, fitted out at Little Egg Harbor, attacked off Long Beach a British man-of-war tender, with ten guns, convoying two merchantmen. The latter escaped "up the beach" and the tender also made her escape thanks to her superior speed, although her commander and several of the crew were killed. One aboard the "Susannah" was killed.<sup>17</sup>

Two privateersmen, both from New Brunswick, received wide publicity along the shore, one at Little Egg Harbor and the other at Toms River. The venturesome Captain William Marriner of New Brunswick took nine men out in a large boat into Raritan Bay and recaptured the privateer "Blacksnake." With this vessel, he put to sea for prizes. He met off Long Beach Island the British "Morning Star" which carried six swivel guns and thirty-three men. Marriner captured her, after killing three of her crew and wounding five. He then ran both prizes into Little Egg Harbor.<sup>18</sup>

The other well-known privateersman was Captain Adam Hyler, who resided at New Brunswick during the latter part of the Revolution. His center of operations was mainly Raritan Bay and the Sandy Hook area although he frequently sailed off Long Beach Island. He generally depended upon whale boats or large barges, rowed by skilled crews consisting of about a dozen or fifteen men, selected for their endurance and courage. The men were able to row about 12 miles an hour. Each was armed with cutlass and pistols. Hyler concealed his craft either in small streams emptying into Raritan Bay or in the Barnegat Bay rivers that could be reached from Cranberry Inlet.

One patriot newspaper wrote of him on June 19, 1782:

The members of the crew are taught to be particularly expert at the oar and to row with such silence and dexterity as not to be heard at the smallest distance, even though

three or four boats be together. . . . Their captures are made chiefly by surprise or strategem. . . . There was a droll instance of some weeks ago as one of the prisoners . . . late captain of one of the captured vessels relates it himself. Said he, "I was on deck with three or four men, on a very pleasant evening, with our sentinel fixed. Our vessel was at anchor near Sandy Hook, and the "Lion," man-of-war, about one quarter of a mile distant. It was calm and clear and we were all admiring the beautiful and splendid appearance of the full moon. . . . While we were thus attentively contemplating the serene luminary, we suddenly heard several pistols discharged into the cabin and turning around, perceived at our elbows a number of armed people, fallen as it were from the clouds, who ordered us to "Surrender" in a moment or we were "dead men." Upon this, we were turned into the hold and the hatches barred over us. The firing, however, had alarmed the man-of-war, who hailed us and desired to know what was the matter. As we were not in a situation to answer, at least so far as to be heard, Captain Hyler was kind enough to do so for us, telling them through the speaking trumpet that "all was well," after which, unfortunately, they made no further inquiry.<sup>19</sup>

Toms River was also a large center for privateering. Opposite Cranberry Inlet, it offered another safe refuge into which larger British vessels could not easily penetrate because of the shoals near the Inlet. In May, 1778, Captain Peter Anderson in an armed boat with sixteen men, seized the British sloop "Hazard" off Island Beach and brought her into Toms River. The vessel was loaded with Irish beef and pork. The Admiralty Court, which sat at Allentown, in Monmouth County, ruled for the claims of the captors and much profit was made.

A few months later the English ship "Love and Unity" from Bristol ran ashore near Cranberry Inlet. The militia of Dover Township seized the valuable cargo including 80 hogsheads of loaf sugar, several thousand bottles of London port, and a large quantity of Bristol beer and ale. The militia re-floated the vessel, brought her inside Cranberry Inlet, and finally into Toms River. Under orders from the Court of Admiralty meeting at Trenton Court



House, the portion of the cargo ordered sold at Toms River consisted of "Bristol beer, cider, porter, salt, flour, cheese, red and white wine, queen's and delft ware, wine glasses, tumblers, etc."<sup>20</sup> Later on September 2nd, the rest of the cargo was sold at Manasquan.

The seized vessel was renamed the "Washington" armed as a privateer and sallied forth, anchoring first in Barnegat Bay just inside Cranberry Inlet. On September 18, however, two British men-of-war and two brigs appeared off the Inlet and lay there all night. Between 7 and 8 o'clock in the morning, they pushed through the passageway in seven armed boats and retook the ship along with two sloops that were lying alongside. Most of the crew of the "Washington" escaped, but sloops' crews were made prisoners.<sup>21</sup>

Other vessels came ashore near Toms River and were captured. On December 9, 1778, in a bad winter storm a richly laden British vessel stranded near Barnegat Inlet. Members of her crew were saved by the local militia and sent as prisoners across the pines to Bordentown. The goods salvaged from the wreck and sold by the finders amounted to a total of 5,000 pounds sterling.<sup>22</sup>

During the following February, 1779, Major John Cook of Toms River, referred to as a "redoubtable privateer," captured two British vessels, a sloop and a schooner. Their cargoes, sold at Toms River, by order of the Admiralty Court sitting at Allentown, included pitch, tar, and salt. The next month, in a fog, the sloop "Success" came ashore on Island Beach between Barnegat Inlet and Cranberry Inlet. The crew was sent to Princeton as prisoners of war, and the cargo of rum, cocoa, molasses and coffee, was sold at Toms River, by the State's Marshall. On April 26th, the Marshall, by order of the Court, advertised for the appearance of all the men who had helped seize the prize on the beach to meet him at Toms River on the following May 13th, to receive their proportion of the prize money.<sup>23</sup>

Early in 1780, another British vessel came ashore in a snowstorm at Cranberry Inlet. The ship was bound from New York to Muskmelon Creek, Delaware. The cargo, which included rum and other articles, was sold at Toms River.<sup>24</sup> Still another vessel was captured under unusual circumstances the following year. The brig "Dove" from the West Indies, bound for New York, fell short of water and provisions. The Captain, however, mistook the Island Beach coast for that of friendly Long Island, New York. He sent a boat with four men ashore to obtain supplies. The men were retained and Captain Samuel Bigelow, who lived on Wrangle Brook, a short distance from Toms River, manned two boats which set out and captured the "Dove" and brought her into Toms River. The cargo of 140 "puncheons" of rum was sold by the Marshall on January 3, 1781, and on the 25th of that month, the claims for prize money were distributed.<sup>25</sup>

Finally, on March 19, 1782, five days before the British raid on the port, the privateer "Dart" out of Salem, Massachusetts, brought into Toms River a prize sloop which had been taken from an enemy convoy that had included a brig. The next morning, the captain of the "Dart" set out beyond Cranberry Inlet with seven men to capture the British brig. But he failed to return to Toms River. It was August before he came back to claim his prize money and to tell his history. Instead of taking a prize, he was captured himself. The British then took him as prisoner of war to Halifax, Nova Scotia. Eventually he was released on parole. He made his way back to Salem; thence in August to Toms River.<sup>26</sup>

One of the last prizes to be brought into Toms River was the schooner "Speedwell" nearly new and about 22 tons burden, which was seized in 1782. The sale of the vessel and its contents took place on June 20 of that year at Freehold rather than at Toms River. Approximately three months prior to the sale, Toms River had been burned in retaliation by the British. It is probable that

because of the fire there were too few houses in the village to accommodate persons who might desire to purchase the "Speedwell" or its cargo, and thus the sale was held at Freehold.<sup>27</sup>

## 2. *British retaliation.*

The enemy have made their appearance and are coming in. They are to the number of twenty sails, two frigates, several brigs, sloops and schooners, and three-row-gallies with lattine sails. Several sails are here and nothing to protect them. All possible assistance is expected from you.

(Letter to Continental Congress authorities from Chestnut Neck, dated October 5, 1778 prior to attack on that settlement.)<sup>28</sup>

It was a natural reaction for the British to endeavor to destroy the lairs of the privateers, those "nests of pirates" as they called the places which harbored the patriots.<sup>29</sup> Every royal man-of-war passing along the shore tried to capture whatever craft, peaceable or predatory, heading for one of the inlets,<sup>30</sup> but once inside the passageway the privateersmen felt comparatively safe. The first British offensive took place in October, 1778, when the neighboring hamlets of Chestnut Neck, on the south side of the Mullica, Bass River on the north side, and Little Egg Harbor were attacked from the sea. A few years later, in 1782, Toms River was attacked and burned, despite the fact that by this time the war was obviously over.<sup>31</sup>

The strike at Chestnut Neck was long-planned. There a thriving business was being carried on by wagon men who hauled to points on the Delaware the valuables captured and brought into the refuge.<sup>32</sup> To protect the place from possible British attack from New York, a small fort had been built on Chestnut Neck at a point called Fox Burrows. A number of cannon had been purchased for the fort. For this, in September, 1777, the New Jersey





(Courtesy of New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce)

*Monument at Chestnut Neck*

On the Road from Toms River to Absecon Commemorates Battle Fought Here October 6, 1778

legislature had passed a resolution to pay the builders 430 pounds, one shilling, three pence in depreciated State currency.<sup>33</sup>

Other factors influenced the British to attack Chestnut Neck. Earlier in 1778, when the British were in possession of Philadelphia and Washington, with his army of hungry patriots was in Valley Forge, certain supplies had been brought there in small vessels from the South and conveyed by wagon train across the state to the Continental army at Valley Forge. Furthermore, up the river above Chestnut Neck at old Gloucester furnace and at Batsto, cannon balls were being moulded of bog iron ore for use in the American Army, and it was hoped that these small production centers could be razed. Then, too, the harbor at the Neck was a safe rendezvous for prize vessels captured by American privateers.<sup>34</sup> All of these influences were factors, also, in the British desire to destroy Little Egg Harbor.

A British fleet including three sloops, two galleys, and four armed boats left New York, September 30, 1778, with 300 soldiers and 100 New Jersey Loyalists. Their flagship was the frigate the "Zebra." That same day, Governor Livingston of New Jersey received information of the departure and immediately called a meeting of the Council of Safety and express riders were sent to arouse the inhabitants of the shore. When General Washington was informed he despatched Count Pulaski and a body of Pennsylvania troops. On October 5, the British squadron appeared off the shoals at the inlet about a mile above Brigantine Inlet. This was the so-called "Old Inlet," mentioned in Chapter I. On the morning of October 6, 1778 high winds prevented the enemy from getting their sloops over the shoals. Captain Patrick Ferguson, the leader of the expedition then resolved to fill the galleys and armed boats with his soldiers and start through the Great Bay-Mullica River passage in the direction of Chestnut Neck, on the south side of the mouth of that

river. He had been informed that there was a storehouse for prize vessels and their goods there.

The Neck was obscured by a thick fog, but when Ferguson came near enough, he discovered the shipping there and prepared to land. As the men reached the shore, they were met with a show of resistance.<sup>35</sup> A small body of militia fired from behind the breastworks. Thanks to a covering fire from the galleys, however, the landing of the British proceeded and the only casualty to them was the wounding of one man. The enemy then charged the breastworks and the militia retired into the adjoining woods. The British returned to the anchorage where they found the privateers' prize ships. They scuttled and dismantled the two largest. In addition, there were in the anchorage eight sloops and schooners, together with some large whale boats, making a total of thirty vessels. These the British burned. The village, consisting of twelve houses as well as several barns, was plundered and burned. Near the wharf was the storehouse which was stripped of its goods and burned, as also were the breastworks.<sup>36</sup> Only three of the settlers eventually rebuilt their houses at Chestnut Neck. The others moved back to what was then called Gravelly Landing, on Nacote Creek, and built the first dwellings of what later became the village of Port Republic. The name, Gravelly Landing, was still later used for a location on the north side of the mouth of the Mullica.<sup>37</sup>

Later, on that day, the British moved a short distance across the Mullica River to the mouth of a tributary, Bass River. From sympathetic Loyalists they had heard of a small salt works at that location. They pushed across the shallow Mullica in barges, steered to the landing of Eli Mathis, disembarked, and proceeded to destroy the Mathis' dwelling, nearby farm buildings and their contents, the salt works, a sawmill and a dozen houses in the neighborhood.<sup>38</sup> The following day, Wednesday, October 7, the smaller expedition returned to the Chestnut Neck



anchorage where they found their larger vessel had gone aground on the bar at the entrance to the inlet. This was the frigate "Zebra."<sup>39</sup>

Since one definite objective of the British expedition had been to burn the shipping and the fort at Chestnut Neck, they would probably have left the area, according to one local historian, but because of difficulties in re-floating the "Zebra" more time could be spent in burning and pillaging farms and vessels, on the Wading River, and other tributaries of the Mullica, and in making an attack on nearby Little Egg Harbor.<sup>40</sup>

Batsto might have been destroyed during this week but for an agile militia defense. A detachment of British regulars was sent up the Mullica River toward Sweetwater, just below Batsto. Sweetwater later was called Pleasant Mills. There, a group of militia was stationed. The British encamped for the night in a pine grove along the river road, and an American scout, following their trail, hastened on to Sweetwater to warn the militia. The latter's leader, Captain Baylin, broke camp and marched down the river road. He then placed his troops in thickets along the roadside and waited the arrival of the enemy. The heavy fog of the morning had not yet risen when the British troops came in sight. A volley was fired upon them when they were opposite the American ambush, followed by another volley; the British ranks were broken by the unexpected attack and they retreated to Chestnut Neck followed by the patriots.<sup>41</sup>

In the meantime, Pulaski, and his group of over 300 men officered largely by Europeans, and including a troop of horse, had hurried from Philadelphia to the defense of Chestnut Neck and Little Egg Harbor. The former, however, had been destroyed before Pulaski left Philadelphia so he marched to the vicinity of Little Egg Harbor. He learned that the British were still in the bay and expecting that an attempt would be made to burn that privateers' port of refuge, he took up his position between

the town and the enemy. This was on October 14th, about one week following the destruction of Chestnut Neck. He encamped with most of his force on the west side of Tuckerton Creek, at what later was called "Down Shore," but sent a detachment of between thirty to fifty men, under command of Baron DeBosen to act as an outpost on the farm of John and Jeremiah Ridgway, in the path that the enemy was expected to take. There were two houses on the farm, and most of the men located at the one further from the village, under command of Lt. De la Borderie while DeBosen stationed himself at the John Ridgway house some distance away.<sup>42</sup>

At an hour before midnight on October 14, 1778, Captain Ferguson, accompanied by Loyalists guides, left the British fleet with a detachment of about 250 men composed of British regulars and a group of Jersey Loyalists, plus a group of marines attached to the war vessels. They rowed in galleys over ten miles to what the English called Monhunk Island, but which was better known locally as Osborn's Island, a tract of land that had been in the hands of a Quaker family since the time of settlement of Tuckerton area.

At high tide, between three and four A.M., October 15, the British landed on the island. The Osborn house was seized and the son was forced to act as guide over the causeway and bridge to the mainland. Here, according to the authority on the affair, "they found no sentinal, a criminal neglect of DeBosen when he knew the enemy was so near."<sup>43</sup> The British commander, Ferguson, left fifty men there at the bridge to secure his retreat and then quietly proceeded about a mile over a rough corduroy road across the salt meadows north of the bridge. At the bend of Island road, on the upland, they suddenly came upon a single sentry, whom they captured before he could discharge his firelock.

The British thereupon quickly surrounded the outpost of the Americans. Thomas Osborn, the unwilling

guide, had concealed himself in a low-lying meadow and from his hiding place, he later recounted he could distinctly hear the massacre that then followed. The American infantry, awakened by the shouts of the British party as it surrounded the two Ridgeway houses, seized their weapons and prepared to make a defense. In a desperate effort to break out from the cordon of the enemy Lt. Col. DeBosen led his men from the houses. A man of great personal bravery, he fought with both sword and pistol. One loyalist, accompanying the invaders, however, was said to have recognized the officer and shouted for the British to kill him. His body was soon pierced with many bayonets. At that, the men in the houses cried out for quarter, but in the fury of the fighting, their appeals for life were disregarded. In all, some forty men, including the two officers, were overpowered and killed. Only five men were taken away as prisoners. The British Captain Ferguson later reported that the very few who tried to escape were "almost cut to pieces."<sup>44</sup>

Meanwhile, the discharge of firearms was heard at the headquarters of Pulaski, scarcely more than a half-mile distant. The main group followed by a number on horseback dashed down the short wood road to give aid to the outpost, but they were too late. The British had retreated quickly to the bridge toward Osborn's Island. When Pulaski and his troopers came to the picket post they saw the dead bodies of the murdered officers and men lying near the burning houses. Without stopping they hurried on after the retreating foe, cutting off a few stragglers near the bridge. The British, however, after crossing the bridge had quickly torn up the planking. The tide was still high and the waterway was not yet fordable by horses. A small detachment of riflemen and a few light infantry succeeded in getting themselves across the narrow passageway, whereupon they began to fire on the retreating enemy, though their volleys did little damage. When it was found that the cavalry could not make their



way across to support them, the men were recalled.

The American force then returned to the scene of the massacre and buried the dead on a knoll on the southern end of the farmhouse lot. The reluctant guide, Thomas Osborn, now made his way to Count Pulaski and told his story. In the excitement of the moment no one believed the tale of his compulsory service. Angry militiamen seized him, fastened him to a tree, and commenced to flog him. Officers soon interfered. Feeling ran high, however. Following the British departure from Osborn Island, a party was sent over to seize Thomas' father, Richard Osborn. Both were then conveyed to Trenton and lodged in the jail. Two weeks later, these two Quakers against whom no treason could be proved, were released from jail and allowed to return to their home, under protection of a pass from Count Pulaski.<sup>45</sup>

The British left Osborn Island about ten o'clock in the morning of that same day, October 15. Two of their soldiers had been killed and four slightly wounded. The enemy embarked hurriedly after receiving news from a Tory informant that Col. Thomas Proctor, a Pennsylvania artillery expert, with a detachment armed with two brass twelve-pounders and one three-pounder, was about two miles in the rear of the British, and was well supported by the fully-aroused militia of the Little Egg Harbor vicinity. The British had no artillery to oppose them, and did not dare risk another encounter under these circumstances. They fully realized that their opponents were deeply stirred by the killing of the Americans, and so they abandoned the effort to destroy Little Egg Harbor. By ten in the morning the enemy were off the island and by the middle of the afternoon, they had rejoined the fleet, which immediately weighed anchor and headed out for the inlet to the open sea.<sup>46</sup>

As the flagship "Zebra," however, was for a second time passing over the inlet bar, against which she had struck earlier and had finally refloated, she again ran

aground. The men tried in vain to get her off. The men on board were then transferred to the "Nautilus" and the "Vigilant." The Captain of the fleet thereupon ordered the "Zebra" to be fired, rather than let her fall into the hands of the waiting Americans. It was recounted that all the neighborhood heard with considerable grim satisfaction the explosion as the "shotged guns were heard to discharge when the flames enveloped the vessel."<sup>47</sup> By October 22, 1778, the British fleet was back in New York,<sup>48</sup> and Little Egg Harbor started to resume privateering activity, which "was as bad as ever (for the British) in a few weeks' time."<sup>49</sup>

The attack on Toms River, the other main privateering center, did not occur until 1782, four years after the raids on Chestnut Neck and Little Egg Harbor. By this time, the war was really over. Cornwallis had surrendered at Yorktown and military operations had reached a virtual standstill. In March, of 1782, however, General Clinton, in New York, let the expedition get organized.<sup>50</sup> The Board of Associated Royalists, presided over by William Franklin, Tory son of the famed Benjamin, decided in New York to wipe out the rebel town.

Various reasons for the attack have been given. A basic cause was the fact that the harbor of Toms River had been a rendezvous for privateers for many years.<sup>51</sup> A more immediate reason was closely related to the bitter antagonisms that emerged between the Loyalists and the patriots in Old Monmouth County, a topic investigated in the next section. In this case, a leader of the patriots, Joshua Huddy, was stationed at Toms River. He had been a thorn in the side of the Royalists of Old Monmouth County who sought to capture him.<sup>52</sup> Moreover, one authority claimed that a Tory outlaw named Davenport and his gang of Refugees, who had made that region their "stamping ground," probably yearned for a chance to plunder the homes of the Toms River patriots who had kept the Refugees hiding in the swamps in the hinterland.

Still another factor probably was the influence of a desire of revenge on the part of one William Dillon, the Tory guide at the time of the raid. He may have helped stir up the attack. His home was on Dillon's Island (later Island Heights) and he came with the British expedition as a pilot for one of the lead vessels. Earlier, Dillon's vessel, which had been carrying contraband from Little Egg Harbor to New York had been seized near Toms River by the privateer "Dart"<sup>53</sup> mentioned in the previous section.

On March 22, 1782, the British expedition, composed of about forty "Refugee Loyalists" in addition to approximately eighty troops of the British army, under the command of Lt. Blanchard, proceeded in armed whaleboats from New York to Sandy Hook under convoy of a brig. There they were detained by unfavorable winds until the morning of March 23. Passing successfully through Cranberry Inlet on Island Beach, the expedition approached Toms River at midnight that same day.<sup>54</sup> Before dawn on Sunday morning March 24, they crossed Barnegat Bay and landed at so-called Coates Point near the mouth of Toms River. They then marched furtively up the road under guidance of William Dillon. With him as guide, the British surrounded each house along the road, made the men prisoners and threatened the women with death if they tried to scatter the alarm. In this way, they hoped to reach the blockhouse which had been built by the local militia.<sup>55</sup>

One man, however, had seen the enemy's landing and hurried to the village to inform Captain Joshua Huddy, who was in charge of the defense. Huddy then assembled those of the village militia who were at hand and sent a scouting force down the road to harass the British. By this time, however, the British had been joined by the outlaw Tory, Davenport, and his band of so-called "Refugees." Under their advice, the enemy made a detour to the north. At daylight, they made their appearance to-



ward the village from the northern, or exposed side. By that time, Huddy had rounded up about twenty-five men to defend the blockhouse.<sup>56</sup>

A description of this post defended by the Americans later appeared in a British account of the fight. The outpost, noted the report "was about six or seven feet high, made with large logs with loop-holes between, and a number of brass swivels (small cannon) on the top, which was entirely open. Nor was there any way of entering but by climbing over."<sup>57</sup>

The enemy surrounded the blockhouses at once and demanded Huddy and his men to surrender. The demand was defiantly refused. The British, aided by the Tories, now outnumbered the defenders about five to one. An assault was then ordered by Lt. Blanchard. The gunpowder of the Huddy's troops soon gave out and the Americans resorted to pikes and bayonets but to little avail. The British report stated that nine rebels were killed and twelve were made prisoners. "The rest escaped in the confusion."<sup>58</sup> Three of the British had been killed in the assault, and seven wounded.

Once the blockhouse had fallen, Toms River village lay open to the enemy. More than a dozen houses together with a grist and saw-mill were burned to the ground. One house that belonged to William Dillon's relative, Aaron Buck was spared.<sup>59</sup> An iron cannon was spiked and thrown into the river. A large barge owned by Capt. Hyler, the famous privateersman, and another vessel used for the same purpose were seized and taken away by the English. The British report concluded with the statement, "Some other attempts (raids) were intended to have been made, but the appearance of bad weather and the situation of the wounded, being without either surgeon or medicines, induced the party to return to New York, where they arrived on the twenty-fifth."<sup>60</sup>

Among the prisoners captured by the British was Capt. Joshua Huddy. The story of his subsequent mis-

fortune is so closely tied up with civil war in the area that a recounting of it will be saved for the last section of this Chapter. The Ocean County historian declared "That Huddy's murder was deliberately planned by the Board of Directors of Associated Loyalists cannot be doubted any more than we can doubt that it was winked at by British officers of high standing."<sup>61</sup>

### 3: *Civil War.*

They have plundered friends as well as foes; . . . they have warred on decrepit old age and upon defenseless youth; they have committed hostilities against the ministers of religion. . . . They have butchered the wounded . . . , mangled the dead . . . and refused them the rite of sepulchre; suffered prisoners to perish for want of sustenance; violated the chastity of women . . . and in their rage profaned edifices dedicated to the worship of Almighty God.

(Governor William Livingston, 1777, message to Legislature on the conduct of lawless bands of so-called "Pine Woods Robbers.")<sup>62</sup>

Most grievous of all the influences of the Revolutionary War upon the inhabitants of the shore region was the effect of the sporadic outcroppings of civil war, with neighbor fighting neighbor, armed bands making quick descents upon opposing groups, retaliations and counter-retaliations. The Loyalists or Tories included all classes of citizens from clergymen, lawyers, physicians, merchants, farmers, mechanics and laboring men to unprincipled men who took advantage of the opportunities given by the war to plunder and murder. The better class of Tories were too honorable to engage in midnight marauding expeditions. Many of them served in the First Battalion of New Jersey Royal Volunteers, commanded by an ex-Sheriff of Monmouth County.<sup>63</sup> The more criminaly inclined elements in the population robbed and pillaged. Perpetrators of this latter form of activity were given

such names as "Piney Outlaws" and "Refugee gangs."<sup>64</sup>

Outcroppings of internecine struggles appear in all the shore counties, with the least in the southerly part of the shore in Cape May County, more in Atlantic County, then part of old Gloucester, and the most in Old Monmouth County which then included Ocean.

For Cape May County, on June 5, 1777, the legislature appointed two commissioners to seize Tory property. The only recorded incident in the County, however, was the seizure of the estate of John Hatton, the Loyalist official mentioned in Chapter V who tried to prevent colonial smuggling.<sup>65</sup> The record in the Adjutant-General's office shows that Jesse Hand, agent for Hatton's forfeited estates, paid into the state treasury on May 9, 1785, the sum of 125 pounds, 13 shillings and 4 pence, the money derived from the sale of Hatton's property.<sup>66</sup>

To protect themselves against incursions of British as well as the Tory "Refugees," the citizens of Cape May armed and manned a number of boats. Because of depredations of Tory-owned "picarooning boats" along Delaware Bay, Congress sent the packet "Mercury" to assist local authorities in "chasing off the marauders."<sup>67</sup> "They had most to fear from refugees, as their names were synonymous with burglary, arson, treachery and murder," noted the County historian in 1897. Only two, as far as is known, were from Cape May County, and these were finally taken prisoners.<sup>68</sup>

In Atlantic County, a band of outlaws, called by the patriots, "Refugees" terrorized many inhabitants. Their activities centered around a location called "The Forks," about five miles from the present village of Elwood, near the headquarters of the Mullica River, at the head of navigation. Here the remains of prize cargoes captured by privateers were taken across the pines to the Delaware valley as mentioned earlier. To guard against these bands of "piney" outlaws a small force of militia was stationed there under command of Col. Richard Wescoat, not far



from present day Wescoatville between Hammonton and Batsto.

A Refugee group led by one Joseph Mulliner, was long a threat to patriots living in the vicinity. The group sometimes numbered nearly a hundred men. Mulliner, whose favorite rendezvous was an inaccessible marsh known as Cold Spring Swamp, has been described as an Englishman of attractive personal appearance. His wife often gave information that helped him. She lived in a cabin in the swamps on the southern side of the river nearly opposite to her husband's hideaway. He owned a dog which he trained as a courier to fetch messages from her.

Mulliner employed clever tactics. He often used camouflage in getting his group across the river unseen. He would procure a large log, to which he fastened the tops of a number of cedar trees. This gave the appearance of a type of small growth common in the swamps. These cedars formed a sort of arbor in which one or more men could sit and paddle the improvised canoe across the river. The procedure was especially effective where the river was already studded with small cedar islands. If there was danger of detection, the oarsman could paddle his cedar-covered log-boat to the edge of an island and wait there, seemingly a part of the island, until danger had passed.

It was not until the latter years of the war that Mulliner was finally hunted down by an armed force, arrested and imprisoned in Burlington. At the trial he was convicted of high treason and sentenced to be hung on August 16, 1781. A letter dated that day from Burlington and printed in the *Pennsylvania Packet* stated "This fellow had become a terror to that part of the country. He made a practice of burning houses and robbing and plundering all who fell in his way."<sup>69</sup>

It was in Old Monmouth County that the civil war reached its height. One local authority claimed "It is

generally admitted that no county in our State suffered more than did old Monmouth. In addition to the outrages its citizens were subjected from the regular British army, they were continually harassed by depredations committed by regularly organized bands of Refugees and by the lawless acts of a set of outcasts known as Pine Woods Robbers, who, though pretending to be Royalists, yet, if opportunity offered, robbed Royalists as well as Americans."<sup>70</sup>

As early as 1776, when the British threat to New York became actual, long-repressed Loyalists began making active preparations to assist the British. On June 26th, the Legislature decreed the arrest of several of them in Monmouth County, but disaffection against the new government was too widespread to be quelled by a few arrests. In fact, the combined efforts of authorities in the district throughout the years of the war could not tranquillize the area. By July, many Tories had taken up arms, and were assembling in the cedar swamps. In answer, four hundred of the militia were dispatched to suppress the incipient counter-rebellion. This force easily dispersed the armed Tories who probably numbered scarcely more than a hundred. Dispersion, however, was not conquest and plots and counter-plots smouldered underground.<sup>71</sup>

Much of the opposition centered in the town of Shrewsbury which, before its subsequent subdivisions was large in area. The more prosperous farmers there found a ready market, thanks to the extensive shoreline and communication with British vessels offshore, for provisions for the newly arrived royal forces. When General Howe came into the vicinity of New York, a group of active Loyalists, mostly from New York, journeyed to Shrewsbury and kept fairly regular communication service between the British vessels and the city of New York, which kept the invaders posted on the activities of the American army.<sup>72</sup>

The lukewarm attitude of many of the local residents eventually forced the colonel of the Shrewsbury patriot militia to resign his commission. He complained, to a contemporary observer, "So few of the people . . . are ready to turn out, hiding themselves and deserting their houses whenever marches . . . (are made) to defend the shores."<sup>73</sup> The situation was so serious that the few brave patriots were often afraid to do guard duty in the neighborhood, fearing betrayal by unfriendly neighbors into the hands of British landing parties. One militia captain was told by residents living along the Deal shore that "they did by no means thank him for guarding them, and that they would much rather have the Regulars than the Yankees there."<sup>74</sup>

A few of the Loyalists, some of whom may have found the country too hot for them, joined the royal forces for actual military service. Before the British fleet had been off the coast a week, sixty men arrived from the vicinities of Shrewsbury and Upper Freehold ready to enlist with the enemy.<sup>75</sup> Other Loyalists became members of roving bands, which increased the feeling of insecurity on the part of the patriots. The Monmouth County militia, in fact, when asked to go to the assistance of Washington in 1777 in his abortive defense of Philadelphia, stated their willingness to go out but added that they had become so alarmed by recent minor pillaging raids into their territory that they had persuaded the legislature to forbid their being called away from their own county.<sup>76</sup>

Loyalists in the area, moreover, eager to make profit by trading with the enemy, continued clandestine shipments. By 1777, Washington felt it necessary to send a party of some three hundred militia to be stationed on the shore to check illicit trade with the British. The leader, Lt. Col. David Forman, was well acquainted with the two routes through the County to Sandy Hook, over which horses were being taken to the British post at the Lighthouse. He reported that he dared not station permanent



guards to block the roads for fear the men might be surprised, and he added that he had no artillery with which to defend such works as he might erect at strategic posts.<sup>77</sup>

By 1778, the Shrewsbury district, according to one of Washington's spies in New York, was supplying the enemy that year with "not less than One Thousand Sheep, five Hundred Hogs and Eight Hundred Quart or upwards of good Beef, a large Parcel of cheese,—besides Poultry."<sup>78</sup> This particular type of trade, received one blow at least, in June, 1780, when an American privateer, disguised under British colors, ran among fifteen Shrewsbury traders fishing off Long Island and captured about a dozen of them.<sup>79</sup>

The threat of depredation was constantly present. In 1777, after parties of British and Loyalists burned various salt works they appeared suddenly in May at Middletown Point, destroyed the grain storehouse of John Burrowes, the so-called "Corn King," and hustled off the well-to-do owner into captivity.<sup>80</sup>

Following the battle of Monmouth, June 28, 1778, the attacks of the Piney Robbers or Refugees became increasingly serious. In September of that year on the south side of the Manasquan River, four miles below so-called Howells Mills, one Jacob Fagan, and two accomplices came to the dwelling of Major Dennis when the latter was away on business. The plan was to seize some valuables that had been brought there from a privateering expedition. The two Dennis children on seeing the approach of the outlaws ran to a nearby swamp. Mrs. Dennis stayed to protect the house. When questioned, she refused to give information about any of the hidden valuables. The Refugee Robbers thereupon took her outside and with a bed cord suspended her by the neck to a young cedar tree. In her struggles she finally freed herself and escaped. One of the children, the daughter, still hiding in the swamp then noted a neighbor approaching in her

father's wagon, two hundred yards away. As she ran to warn him, the robbers fired at her but missed. The neighbor, John Holmes, quickly abandoned the wagon and escaped into the woods; the robbers then plundered the wagon and went off. The next day, Major Dennis removed his family to Shrewsbury under protection of a guard. In Shrewsbury, Dennis was warned that the criminals were planning to return that next night. An ambush was prepared and Fagan was killed. Later indignant citizens exhumed the corpse and hung it from a large chestnut tree about a mile from Freehold, on the road to Colts Neck. There it remained as a warning to other robbers until birds of prey picked the flesh from the bones.<sup>81</sup>

The next year a unit of British and Tories on a nocturnal landing expedition descended upon the village of Tinton Falls on April 26th, fired the houses of two militia officers and gutted the other dwellings there. The marauders then made away with the horses and cattle in the neighborhood. A few weeks later, a band of two dozen Loyalist "Refugees," under command of the Jerseyman, James Moody, made another attack on the same village, destroying a magazine of powder and carrying off supplies which later sold in New York for more than 500 pounds sterling. Although pursued by militiamen, they inflicted nearly a dozen casualties and made good their retreat.<sup>82</sup>

The assault on the Russell family on April 30, 1780 was an outstanding example of the plight of the local non-combatants. A party of Refugees from British-controlled Sandy Hook landed that day at Shrewsbury. John Russell later recounted that he saw through the window the band of seven men approaching. He told his father he could kill four of them. The latter, however, persuaded him not to fire. When the plunderers broke into the house, the father fired and missed. He was then killed by the marauders. John was wounded and fell to

the floor pretending to be dead. The Refugees then proceeded to sack the house, robbing it of everything of value. A child in bed who cried out was badly wounded. In the group of pillagers was a man named Lippencott who figured prominently in the execution of Joshua Huddy. Philip White was another member of the band, who was later taken prisoner. John Russell was subsequently one of the guards of Philip White. The latter's death later was an influence in the Huddy execution.<sup>83</sup>

Various outlaws from the more criminal elements of the Refugees held sway over particular sections of what is now Ocean County. According to one authority, Davenport and his men had Dover Township for their stronghold, John Bacon and his group "worked" from Cedar Creek to Parkertown near Little Egg Harbor; around the latter place and south of it Joseph Mulliner, already mentioned, and one William Giberson were the leaders with their headquarters along the works of the Mullica where they sallied forth on their predatory expeditions. These men do not appear to have left their respective districts except to aid their confederates.<sup>84</sup>

William Giberson, in the latter 1770's, made an appearance with his band at Little Egg Harbor. They felt safe enough to settle down at Falkinburgh's tavern to have a good time and in the words of one account, "they began by making the night hideous with their bacchanalian revels."<sup>85</sup> The frightened villagers sent word north to the Manahawkin militia and a half dozen men set out in a farm wagon to capture or disperse the outlaws. Giberson, however, was informed by a Loyalist that the militia were after him. He retreated toward the boat landing, and found a good defensive position there, from which his band poured a volley into the ranks of the oncoming militia, forcing them to retreat. The militia jumped into their wagon and drove back, followed by Giberson and his men who pursued them north to West Creek bridge where the Refugees halted. As the militia



were crossing the West Creek bridge, the wagon-tongue of their vehicle broke; the outlaws had another chance to fire upon them, but no one was killed.

Later Giberson was wounded in an affray and hid in a house in Little Egg Harbor. There the militia captured him. The next day, however, he escaped by a ruse. This was the first of two escapes. He was subsequently recaptured and taken to the jail in Burlington where, according to tradition, Giberson escaped with the assistance of his sister. She obtained permission to visit him and while in the cell exchanged clothes with her brother who strikingly resembled her. He finally escaped to New York, and then went to Nova Scotia; he returned after the war to Atlantic County where he settled down in the middle 1780's to a peaceful life.<sup>86</sup>

The Refugee leader named Davenport confined most of his operations to the limits of the old township of Dover. The militia stationed at Toms River was active enough to force Davenport and his band to plunder dwellings only at a distance from the principal settlements, a factor which made Davenport willing to guide the British and Loyalist expedition on March 24, 1782, against Toms River.

On June 1st, 1782, Davenport and his men landed with eighty men ten miles below Toms River on the north side of Forked River. He plundered the houses of Samuel Woodmansee and his brother and then proceeded across the south branch to the home of Samuel Brown, an active member in the old Monmouth militia. They ransacked that dwelling, insulted the family, and then burned the small salt works there. The band then boarded barges and slipped down Forked River to its mouth. One barge turned north up Barnegat Bay and the other, with Davenport in it, journeyed south to endeavor to destroy the salt works at Newlin's at Waretown, as well as other salt establishments along the bay. Davenport had no sooner reached the open bay, however, when he noticed a boat heading for

him. The vessel seemed small and he stood by to fight. The American boat, however, had on it a cannon, which was fired with such effective aim that Davenport was killed at the first discharge. His crew waded ashore since the water was but four feet deep. They landed near the mouth of Oyster Creek and escaped, scattering themselves in various directions in the woods and swamps.<sup>87</sup>

One of the more notorious outlaws was the Refugee named Capt. John Bacon, called by one authority the second "most effective Loyalist leader in our State."<sup>88</sup> On December 30, 1781, Bacon with his band started on a plundering expedition in Ocean County, heading for Manahawkin. The militia learned of what was coming and prepared a reception. After waiting until three o'clock in the morning, they concluded it was a false alarm and retired to rest, taking precautions, however, to put out sentinels. Just before daylight the Refugees moved down the road on their way to West Creek. Even though the alarm was given, the militia was forced to retreat since the enemy enjoyed superiority of numbers. As they left, they fired a volley; one of the patriots was killed and another wounded.<sup>89</sup>

A short time later, Bacon and his band made one of his "picarooning" or raiding expeditions with the goal the dwelling of John Holmes at Forked River in Ocean County. The party approached during the night, camped in the woods until daybreak and then struck at the house, demanding money. In expectation of such an event, Holmes had buried many of his valuables in the garden. The outlaws prodded him with a bayonet and threatened to kill him; his wife then delivered up some money she had; they then ransacked the house, took provisions, and retreated. Later, after plundering a few other homes, the robbers seized Holmes' team, and forcing his son, William, to drive it, they proceeded to Waretown and took possession temporarily of a public house there. Finally

they retreated with their plunder to one of their secret rendezvous in Manahawkin swamp.

Later, Bacon descended upon Waretown again and attacked the house of Joseph Soper who lived about half way between Waretown and Barnegat, at a place then known as Soper's Landing. Soper built vessels, and fearing that a Loyalist named William Wilson would inform Bacon, he divided his money into two parcels; a small amount in one, the larger part in another; he then buried both in separate places not far from the house. A few days later, Bacon and his gang visited the house, piloted by Wilson. Soper took refuge in the nearby swamp and the house, by the time the outlaws arrived, was occupied only by women and young children. The culprits pushed their way in, flourished their weapons in a menacing manner, jammed bayonets into the ceiling and doing other similar acts to frighten the captors. Their threats eventually compelled the women to lead them into the garden above the spot where the smaller amount of money was buried. They dug that up. Thinking that constituted the whole amount, they then returned to the house and made a clean sweep of provisions, clothing, and other transportable articles, including one of Soper's shirts which Bacon took and which he was wearing at the time of his death.<sup>90</sup>

One of the most reprehensible outrages committed by Bacon and his band occurred October 25, 1782, when a British cutter ran aground on Barnegat Shoals. An American galley, the privateer "Alligator," with a dozen or more men aboard, seized the vessel on a Saturday night, taking a quantity of Hyson tea and other valuable articles. Word was sent across the bay and a party of unarmed men, including the Joseph Soper mentioned in the preceding paragraph, and his son Reuben, set out to the barrier island to assist in bringing in the cargo. The party worked hard while there getting the goods through the surf onto Long Beach. That night, tired and wet, they



built fires on the beach, about a mile south of Barnegat Inlet, and eventually went to sleep. One of the group may have been a secret Loyalist, for it was later supposed that one of them arose quietly, got a boat, and rowed off to the mainland to inform Bacon how matters stood. Bacon and nine of his men then descended upon the sleeping group and killed and wounded all the party except four who escaped. Mr. Soper's son, Reuben, was among those murdered.

Finally, the Governor and Council of New Jersey offered fifty pounds sterling reward for Bacon's capture, dead or alive. It was not until after the cessation of hostilities, however, that the outlaw was at last run down. At length, news came to a group of militia that Bacon had secretly separated from his men for a short time and was at a public house owned by William Rose, between West Creek and Little Egg Harbor. On the evening of April 3, 1783 the militia stealthily approached the house. They were led by a Captain Stewart. Through the window they discovered a guard sitting with a gun between his knees. The house was forced and in an ensuing scuffle, Bacon was brought to the floor. He asked for quarter, which was granted. One of the militiamen, however, whose brother had been murdered by the outlaw stepped forward and gave Bacon a bayonet thrust. Bacon fell, and shortly thereafter, attempted to escape by the back door. Captain Stewart pushed a table against it, whereupon, Bacon hurled the table aside and reached the door, but was shot and killed by Stewart.<sup>91</sup>

Involved as defender against one of the Tory plundering expeditions in Monmouth County was the Captain Joshua Huddy, later captured at the blockhouse at Toms River in 1782. In 1780, Huddy's place of residence was in Colts Neck, five miles from Freehold.<sup>92</sup> According to a letter from Monmouth County, dated September 9, 1780, and published in a Philadelphia paper, a party of about seventy "Refugees" had attacked the dwelling a

few days earlier. Huddy was alone, except for the presence of a servant girl about twenty years old. Several muskets were in the house, left by the guard usually stationed there. With the servant girl loading the muskets, Huddy appeared at different windows and discharged them to good effect, giving the impression that there were several defenders. At length, however, the marauders set fire to the house and Huddy, finding the flames fast increasing, agreed to surrender, provided the outlaws would extinguish the fire.

This was done, and the house plundered. The Refugees, fearing the return of the militia, retreated at once, carrying off Huddy along with several cattle and sheep from the neighborhood. The animals, however, were lost when the band had to ford two creeks. The enemy then proceeded to embark in their boats near Black Point between the Shrewsbury and Navesink Rivers with the militia in close pursuit. As the boats pushed off the shore, Huddy struck down a Refugee guard and jumped overboard. But the militia failed to recognize their friend and shot Huddy in the thigh. The latter thereupon waved one hand, yelled who he was, swam to the shore and escaped.<sup>93</sup>

But the next time, following his capture in 1782 at Toms River, he was not so fortunate.

#### 4. *The Huddy affair.*

Up goes Huddy for Phil White.

(Statement supposedly made by a Tory at the time of the hanging of Huddy, April 12, 1782.)<sup>94</sup>

With the fall of the Toms River blockhouse on March 24th, Joshua Huddy was again taken prisoner. This time, he had no chance to escape. He was brought to New York, in company with other patriot leaders who were later exchanged for two Refugees.<sup>95</sup> In New York, Huddy was put under the control of a Tory, Captain Lippencott. According to the information obtained later from a British

court-martial trial of Lippencott, the latter claimed he appeared in New York before the Board of Directors of Associated Loyalists on April 8th. At that time Lippencott told the Board that a Loyalist prisoner, a Captain Tilton, was being held at Freehold and that he was afraid the Americans would hang the prisoner unless he could have some hostage to hold for Tilton's security.

The next day, Lippencott again appeared before the Board and according to testimony given at the later investigation, took a paper from his pocket and showed it to Governor William Franklin. This paper, it was stated, was the label which later was fastened to Huddy's breast when he was hanged.<sup>96</sup> Another witness said at the same investigation that Governor Franklin had told him that they were not only to hang Huddy, but if the rebels hanged any other in retaliation for him, the Loyalists should continue retaliating, hanging man for man. If necessary, Franklin promised he would give up, for that purpose, all the prisoners taken at Toms River.<sup>97</sup>

On this same day, the 9th of April, Captain Lippencott and his party of twenty-three Loyalists took Joshua Huddy aboard a sloop and sailed from New York for Sandy Hook, where they lodged him on the British man-of-war "Britannia." Early on the morning of April 12th, Lippencott came for the prisoner. The Captain of the "Britannia" asked what they intended to do with Huddy and Lippencott replied he planned to carry out the orders of the Board of Directors of Associated Loyalists. At the Lippencott court-martial it was brought out that Lippencott had also declared that if one Philip White, a Refugee who had been taken prisoner by the patriots, had been murdered as reported, then Huddy would be killed in retaliation.

Huddy had no opportunity of saving himself. A rope was borrowed from the "Britannia" and the group then left for the Highlands with the victim. He was rowed across the water to the Highland shore. A gallows was



erected, consisting of three rails and a barrel. Huddy was then allowed to make his will, using the barrel for a desk. He wrote it on a half sheet of foolscap paper, leaving his estate to his two children, Elizabeth and Martha Huddy.<sup>98</sup> He was then forced to mount the barrel and a label was put on his breast, bearing the following inscription:

We, the refugees, having long beheld with grief the cruel murders of our brethren, and finding nothing but such measures daily carrying into execution; we therefore determine not to suffer without taking vengeance for the numerous cruelties, and thus begin, having made use of Captain Huddy, as the first object to present to your view, and determine to hang man for man while there is a refugee existing.<sup>99</sup>

Lippencott shook hands with Huddy as the latter was standing on the barrel. The party, following the hanging, left by water. News soon reached the Americans at Freehold and late in that afternoon they came to the scene of the hanging. They cut Huddy's body down, took it back to Freehold and buried it there.<sup>100</sup>

Since Huddy's chance for life was so closely tied to that of the Tory, Philip White, a brief account of the latter's activities is necessary here. Lippencott, incidentally, had a wife who was half-sister to Philip White.

On March 30, 1782, Philip White was captured by the patriots near Long Branch. He was ordered to be taken by a militia guard to Freehold where it was expected he would be tried and probably hanged for his participation in the murder of John Russell two years earlier. Before starting, he was told if he attempted to escape, he would be shot down. According to testimony given soon after by militia members, White slipped off his horse when on the road between Colt's Neck and Freehold and made for the woods. The guards called him to stop; he refused to halt and they fired on him. He fell wounded, and then got up and ran again for the woods. One guard leaped a fence on horseback and headed

White off when he tried to get to a bog. The guard then jumped from his horse, dropped his gun, and pursuing White with drawn sword, overtook him. The guard struck White with his sword and White died soon thereafter. Evidence from those who saw his body in Freehold showed that White had received no other wounds but the gun shot in his breast, which probably killed him, and cuts of a sword across his face. But he was considered by the Loyalists, at least, to have been murdered,<sup>101</sup> and so, to them, Huddy was killed in retaliation.

When the news of Huddy's execution spread, many Americans were stirred to action. So thoroughly aroused were the patriots in New Jersey that demand was made that an officer of equal rank who was prisoner of the Americans suffer the same consequences. The matter was brought to Washington's attention with the request that such an officer be chosen by lot from among the prisoners of war. On April 19, 1782 Washington wrote to Congress stating he deemed the murder of Huddy so barbarous as to require retribution. Congress approved of his plan.

In the meantime, Washington wrote to Sir Henry Clinton in New York demanding the surrender of Lippencott. Clinton, who questioned the validity of Huddy's execution, had ordered a trial of Lippencott before receiving Washington's letter since certain British officers had already denounced the hanging as a "reproach to the name of Englishmen."<sup>102</sup> At the trial, which was held in June, 1782, Lippencott asserted that Governor Franklin had promised him if he would execute Huddy without a written order that Franklin would answer the consequences to the British commander-in-chief. This assertion was substantiated by evidence of others.<sup>103</sup> Franklin soon fled to England and Clinton's successor, Sir Guy Carleton, dissatisfied with the Board of Associated Loyalists, ordered its dissolution.<sup>104</sup>

Lippencott was never surrendered. An attempt was

made nevertheless, to kidnap him. Captain Adam Hyler, the intrepid privateer from New Brunswick, whose exploits have been discussed, learned that Lippencott was then living on Broad Street, New York. With a crew disguised as a British press gang, Hyler left late one evening from Arthur Kill, between Staten Island and the mainland, and quietly arrived at Manhattan Island. Leaving his boat in charge of a few men, the group then proceeded directly to Lippencott's house. As luck would have it, however, it was found that Lippencott had gone that evening to watch the cock-fighting at the Cock Pit. Although Hyler and his men came back home without their man,<sup>105</sup> they kept true to form. While coming down the Narrows, they seized on their way back a British vessel.<sup>106</sup>

In fairness to Lippencott, it is evident that he was, in a way, a victim of circumstances. Born in New Jersey in 1745, he was living on his farm in Shrewsbury when the Revolutionary War began. A staunch Loyalist, he went at once to New York and, sanctioned by the Board of Associated Loyalists, raised a company of men. Because of this activity, his property in Shrewsbury was confiscated and sold at auction at Tinton Falls, March 29, 1779. He appears to have had many relatives among both patriots and loyalists. The Episcopalian clergyman who settled in Shrewsbury in 1751, Rev. Samuel Cooke, testifying at the British trial of Lippencott declared "His character stood as fair as that of any refugee within his Majesty's lines."<sup>107</sup> After the Revolution, Lippencott went to England to claim compensation for his losses and services. He obtained half pay of captain for life and a grant of 300 acres of land at York (now Toronto) Canada, where he settled about 1794. In the 19th Century, Lippencott's grandson, George Dennison, then living in Canada, wrote "He was true to his Sovereign both in property and peril."<sup>108</sup>

When Washington failed to get the surrender of



Lippencott, he ordered, on May 13, 1782, one man to be chosen by lot from among the British officer prisoners in Pennsylvania and Maryland. At that time, Captain Charles Asgill, then nineteen years old, of noble family in England, had been captured at Yorktown and confined at York, Pennsylvania. When the lot was cast, he was the victim. He was brought to Philadelphia and later removed to Chatham, New Jersey to await hanging. His friend, Major Gordon, secured temporary suspension of the execution after appealing to the French minister to the United States, and to Count de Rochambeau. He also sent messengers to influential Whigs throughout the Colonies, and according to one authority, so eloquent were his appeals that "even the family of Captain Huddy became themselves suppliants in Asgill's favor."<sup>109</sup> Lady Asgill, whose husband was an invalid, applied to George III and then to the Count de Vergennes, French Foreign Minister for aid for her son. The latter laid the appeal before the King and Queen of France and was then directed to write to Washington to request release of Asgill. For seven months his fate was uncertain. This was the particular period when Benjamin Franklin, John Jay and others were trying to arrange a treaty of peace with England, and largely at the intercession of the French, Asgill was finally released November 7, 1782.<sup>110</sup>

By the beginning of March, 1783, peace was imminent and in mid-April the entire shore area celebrated the end of war. Various towns had services of thanksgiving and celebrations in the form of bonfires or grand balls. Yet the war had left its scars on the shore region. The lives lost could not be replaced. Plundered villages had to be rebuilt. Isolated farms from which livestock as well as household goods had been stolen, now must be made to produce again. The quick money made possible by privateering now was no longer available. All kinds of ill feelings engendered by civil war still burned deep in the hearts of the shore residents. Petitions poured in upon

the State Legislature, especially from Monmouth County. One, for example, urged the governor not to permit refugee Tories, the "Bloodthirsty Robbers" and "Atrocious monsters," to return to their former homes.<sup>111</sup>

By 1800, however, the seeds of discord and hatred fell more and more upon barren ground. The shore, still dependent upon the transportation facilities furnished by stagecoach, wagons, and waterways, was in the throes of new developments, considered in Part III.





## PART III

### THE AGE OF THE STAGECOACH AND WATERWAY, 1800-1850

From the bog-iron furnaces and those of the glasshouse, fed by the wood of the forest, a considerable portion of the . . . wealth of the district is derived; and if we add to these, the cordwood and lumber, and vessels built upon its . . . waters, we shall have enumerated the chief sources of the prosperity of the peninsula.

(Report on economic conditions in the southern section of the Jersey shore, written in 1834.)<sup>1</sup>

By the end of the 18th Century, the Jersey shore had passed through its infancy. Farms had been carved out of the forest, villages had been established, trade and industry begun, and religious denominations started. It had weathered the hard knocks of the Revolutionary War, and by 1800 it faced a new era, in which the foundations were laid for its coming of age in the years between 1850 and 1900, when the railroads were built and the shore resorts developed.

In the period from 1800 to 1850, the shore continued to rely on the horse and on the waterway for contacts with the outside. The riding horse had been one of the principal means of conveyance during the previous period, as had been the waterway, but in these decades they were supplanted in importance by the stagecoach. The first railroad in New Jersey was built in 1834, but the railroads did not begin to reach the shore until 1854, and along with boats on the waterways, the stagecoach continued to be an indispensable means of getting to and from the shore until long after the mid-century mark was passed.

It is evident that one phase of shore transportation did not end abruptly at one particular date and another begin immediately thereafter. Inevitably one fragment

of its history overlapped the developments of another period. This is true not only with reference to the stagecoach, but also with respect to the growth of the railroad in the next period. Although the first rail line reached the shore in 1854, many portions of the four shore counties were not favored by rail facilities until much later. Thus the stagecoach and "Jersey wagon" continued as a main means of contact with outside places in those sections of the shore that were not on railroad lines until far into the period 1850-1900.

Similarly, it is impossible to set definite dates for the beginning and ending of certain industries to be discussed in Part III. The bog-iron ore establishments reached their height before mid-19th Century, but were not snuffed out in 1850; rather, they declined gradually in the years which followed the spread of the railroads. Their whole story, however, is told in Part III, for obvious reasons. The beginnings of the recreation industry can be traced to the emergence in the first half of the 19th Century of such resorts as Long Branch, Tuckers Beach and Cape May, and therefore its story deserves inclusion in a discussion of the period between 1800 and 1850. Its great growth, however, appeared with the coming of the railroad to the shore, and hence wider and more intensive treatment of the emergence of the resorts that dotted the shore is given in Part IV, which covers the years from 1850 to 1900.

While the railroad eventually displaced the horse for long distance hauling, for local transportation the horse held his own until the 20th Century brought the "horseless carriage." Thus, in one respect, the "age of the horse" continued throughout the 19th Century.

Before the spread of the railroad network through the four shore counties, life was conditioned not only by the limitations of the stagecoach, but also of the heavy freight wagon and the small trading vessel. This was the day of the horse and the sloop; of self-contained village

life; of the tavern and the country store and the annual "training day"; of shipbuilding, charcoal making, cordwood sales, of bog-iron ore production. These years marked the faint beginnings at the shore of what was to become in the next half-century the greatest development of all, the resort business. Finally, toward the end of the period, there emerged in the northern part of the shore area, a short-lived experiment in communal living, the North American Phalanx, whose activities caused considerable local comment and whose procedures became the subject of much discussion. An investigation of these topics constitute Part III of this history.





## CHAPTER IX

### THE MAINLAND VILLAGES

Tuckerton is located on a narrow tongue of land projecting into the marsh . . . , on Mill Branch six miles from the bay on Little Egg Harbor. . . . It has a large business done in timber and cordwood. Wood scows and flats ascend to the town. . . . The town is frequented during the summer season by many persons for the benefit of sea-bathing, etc. . . . A stage plies regularly between it and Philadelphia.

(Description written in 1834.)<sup>2</sup>

During the first half of the 19th Century the villages on the mainland became the centers of intellectual, religious, social and economic activity in the four shore counties. The few seashore resorts of the period, such as Long Beach, Tuckers Beach, and Cape May, were not large enough to offer serious competition to life in the self-contained mainland villages. Not until the coming of the "iron horse" and the consequent growth of shore resorts did the towns and cities actually on the ocean, such as Atlantic City on Absecon Island and Asbury Park in Monmouth County, threaten the leadership of the mainland villages.

Long Branch is an example of the importance of the inland village in these years. The section later known as West Long Branch, away from the actual seaside, developed first, with a church set up there by the Methodists at the end of the 18th Century. This section soon was known as the Upper Village. Nearer the ocean, a mile to the east, was Lower Village, a summer settlement.<sup>3</sup> According to Gordon's *Gazetteer* for 1834, the inland village had "twelve to fifteen houses, one tavern and two stores," while, he stated, "on the Atlantic is the well-known and much frequented sea-bathing place which takes its name from the tributary stream of the Shrews-

bury River and from the hamlet above mentioned." On his 1834 map, Gordon designated the inland village as "Long Branch," while the shore front he marked simply "boarding-houses."<sup>4</sup>

1. *The days of the stagecoach.*

Then on to Penny-Pot, where sand was encountered so deep that the wheels sank to the hubs. Bark was scattered to enable the coach to proceed.

(Account of a mid-19th century trip from Absecon to Philadelphia.)<sup>5</sup>

The shore was off the beaten track with reference to the great post roads that crossed the colony of New Jersey from New York to Philadelphia. Little in the way of stagecoach facilities developed in the 18th Century. By 1759 a regular coach line had been organized from Cooper's Ferry (now Camden) to Mount Holly, Shrewsbury, Middletown, and out onto Sandy Hook, where sailing vessels completed the trip to New York. In the early 1790's a stage line connected Monmouth County with Bordentown, where boats took the passengers down the Delaware to Philadelphia. This stage stopped at Smithburg, the half-way mark for a midday dinner. But most of the shore in that period was far away from such opportunities of reaching the main paths of transportation. For news of the outside the residents depended largely upon the sailors who journeyed to and from New York or Philadelphia, and from itinerant artisans and peddlers, who brought not only news of the large cities, but also gossip from places not more than twenty miles distant, and whose arrival was eagerly awaited by every household.<sup>6</sup>

Between 1800 and 1850 newly established stagecoach lines brought the residents of the mainland villages into contact with interior centers. The early 19th Century stagecoach was a covered Jersey wagon holding about



twelve people and drawn by four or six horses. The seats were arranged crosswise. The entrance was at the front of the vehicle. This made it necessary to climb over the forward benches in order to reach the seats at the rear. The light baggage was put under the benches and the trunks were strapped on behind the stage.<sup>7</sup> At the beginning of the second quarter of the century improvements were made, and a modification of the Concord stagecoach came into wider use in the state.<sup>8</sup>

Often a combination of stage and vessel was used. In Old Monmouth County during this period, even though the road was for the most part but a "streak of white sand through the pines," stages were established from Tuckerton to Toms River and on to Freehold, and then on to Middletown Point, or to some other place where packets sailed to and from New York.<sup>9</sup> The fares charged seem high, when purchasing power of the dollar at that time is considered. In early 1852, for instance, the fare from Freehold to Bergen Iron Works (now Lakewood) was fifty cents. It cost seventy-five cents to go from Freehold to Toms River, a dollar and a half to reach either Barnegat or Manahawkin. The rate to West Creek was one dollar and seventy-five cents, and to Tuckerton, two dollars.<sup>10</sup>

Cape May County, because of poor road conditions, found it more convenient especially in the summer season to use the waterway, and the first summer visitors to the Cape early in the century employed vessels to get there. More frequent communication of course was available in the summer months. At other seasons of the year, and especially during the winter, the long and arduous stage route to Philadelphia was used.

Stages were available also in the summer season. In 1801, thanks to the attraction of the seashore, a line was established to Cape May. In June of that year a boarding-house owner announced in an advertisement in a Philadelphia newspaper, that "the public is respectfully in-

formed" that "A Stage starts from Cooper's Ferry (Camden) on Thursday in every week and arrives at Cape Island on Friday. It starts from Cape Island on Friday and Tuesday in each week and arrives in Philadelphia the following day."

In the same announcement the boarding-house proprietor also gave information for "Gentlemen who travel in their own carriages." They were advised to "observe the following directions: Philadelphia to Woodbury is 9 miles, then to Glasshouse, 10 (present-day Glassboro), to Malaga Hill, 10; to Lehman's Mills (Millville), 12; to Port Elizabeth, 7; Dennis Creek, 12; to Cape May (Court House), 9; to the pitch of the Cape, 15." The trip, it was explained, covered a total of eighty-four miles, "and the last 18 is open to the sea shore." Other means of transportation was available. The advertisement concluded, "Those who choose water conveyance can find vessels almost any time."<sup>11</sup>

By 1850 two stage routes had been established in the County. One route served the Delaware Bay shore towns. From Cape Island it went north to Bridgeton and thence to Philadelphia, passing through Cold Spring, Fishing Creek, Dias Creek (Dyers Creek earlier), Goshen and Dennisville. The other line, called the Tuckahoe stage, passed through the seashore mainland villages, going to Mays Landing and thence to Philadelphia. The fare from Cape May to Philadelphia at that time was \$3.50. The route via Bridgeton left Cape May twice a week, on Mondays and Thursdays, at five in the morning, winter and summer. The stage arrived at Bridgeton that same afternoon at four o'clock, and there the passengers changed stages and went on to Philadelphia. The returning days were Wednesdays and Saturdays, which gave the team of horses a day's rest between times.<sup>12</sup>

As stagecoach lines grew, the people in Cape May became more insistent in their demands for better mail service. Although the first post office in the County had

been opened on January 30, 1804, mail communication continued to be limited. As late as 1857 complaints were registered that no daily mail service was available. One county paper spoke of the situation that year and stated, "We have no direct mail communication between Cape May and Cape May Court House, but once a week. A letter written here (Cape May) on Wednesday may go direct to the Court House on Thursday, and an answer be returned on Saturday by the Bridgeton (stagecoach) mail, but at any other time in the week, our letters must be sent up by the Bayside mail, on Mondays, Wednesdays, or Fridays to Tuckahoe, and there stopped till the next (stage) down mail to the Court House, thus performing a journey of nearly fifty miles, while the distance from here to the Court House is only thirteen miles."<sup>13</sup>

In that part of Old Monmouth County which later became Ocean County, other services in addition to connections with Freehold developed. One of the earlier stage coach routes was one established in 1823, to a large extent to accommodate those who wished to reach the ocean for a vacation. On July 12th of that year one stagecoach driver made the following announcement in a Philadelphia newspaper: "Seth Crance respectfully informs the public that he has commenced running a stage between Mt. Holly and Mannahawkin for the accommodation of persons disposed to visit the Grouse Plains (for the hunters), Mannahawkin, or Tuckerton. The Stage will leave Mannahawkin every Monday and Thursday mornings at six o'clock and arrive . . . in Mt. Holly same afternoon at four o'clock. . . . At Mannahawkin . . . Ladies and Gentlemen can be accommodated with genteel Boarding and Lodging at the moderate rate of \$3 per week. . . . The through Fare is one dollar and seventy-five cents."<sup>14</sup>

In what is now Atlantic County one of the earliest stagecoach lines was one that left Leeds Point "once a week . . . at four o'clock in the morning from the tavern



of Japhet Leeds." It stopped at Gravelly Landing post-office on Nacote Creek, then went on to Port Republic where it stopped at the old Franklyn Inn near the dam. It then went along the Mullica River to Clark's Mills tavern, then by Indian Cabin to Blue Anchor tavern and to Long-a-Coming (Berlin), and finally on to Cooper's Ferry. This stagecoach was considered a large one, since it held twelve passengers and was drawn by four horses. One of its primary objects was the transportation of mail. After it was established mail arrived and departed once a week. Usually the whole populace of the village gathered on the arrival of the coach. The passengers got out and partook of refreshments at each stop, while the mail was being given to the postoffice keeper, frequently the man who ran the tavern.<sup>15</sup>

A recollection of a journey to this section in the 1840's depicts the vicissitudes of travel by stage at that time. To get from Absecon to Philadelphia was a long day's affair. The stage left Absecon between three and four in the morning, stopping for passengers en route. The rack of the lumbering vehicle had been strapped with luggage and the "boot" filled with smaller bundles and "possibly a bandbox or two." Once away from Absecon, the stage went to Somers Point, and then back to Mays Landing. Upon request the route was changed "for the convenience of people desiring passage" and probably to the inconvenience of possible passengers waiting for the stage on the former route. Sometimes the route led from Somers Point by Doughtys Tavern or by English Creek and Catawba. Breakfast was eaten at Mays Landing at eight o'clock and horses were changed there.

The route then went on to Weymouth, a prosperous town "with iron works, church, store, homes for employees and for the manager." From Weymouth the coach pushed on to Penny-Pot, where sand was encountered "so deep that wheels sank to the hubs." Bark was scattered over the road to enable the coach to proceed. New Ger-

many (later Folsom), a new settlement at that time, was the next stop. "There," recalled the one-time passenger, "men and women were engaged in clearing the land and houses were being built of logs and huts made of slabs." The stage then pushed on to Winslow with its glass works,



*Old Franklyn Inn at Port Republic Built about 1700. It was a stop  
for Stages between Philadelphia and Leeds Point.  
Now owned by Mrs. Harriet S. Sander*

and to Blue Anchor Tavern, then to Cross Keys. Dinner was served at three o'clock at Long-a-Coming. Then on through White Horse and Haddonfield, and from there, on a gravelled pike, later the White Horse Pike, into Camden. Then by ferry into Philadelphia. In early summer, when the days were long, the journey was ended at sun set. The fare from Absecon to Philadelphia was \$5. The stagecoach made the return journey the next day, leaving Camden in the early morning and arriving at Absecon at nine o'clock in the evening. The route both ways was somewhat roundabout in order to collect mail

from the various postoffices. On the return trip the stage was often late. The postmaster at Smith's Landing waited until midnight for the mail, and if it had not arrived by that time, the office was closed. Sometimes the stage did not get in until four o'clock in the morning.<sup>16</sup>

The stage driver was a man of importance. He racked his whip over the horses and blew his horn to announce to the people waiting for passage that the stage was coming into the village. He had many colorful experiences. One man who drove regularly during the third quarter of the century over much of the route which later became the White Horse Pike, recalled in 1927 the time when the Pike was for the most part nothing more than a road of sand. It took him five hours to drive from Camden down to Long-a-Coming. "The old stagecoaches I drove," he recollected, "were equipped with elliptic (*sic*) springs, whatever they were. They did not take as much bounce as the flivers do today, but the nine passengers averaging each trip thought they were swell riding. . . . The fare from Absecon to Camden was \$1.50 each way (a considerable drop from the earlier fare, probably because of competition from a newly-built railroad). . . . The coach was drawn by four horses and we made those nags step. We changed horses at Blue Anchor, Cross Keys and some other places I forget. . . . You ought to have seen the girls in those days; they would run down the lanes from the farmhouses and wave their aprons and sunbunnets at us. They got a kick seeing the stage go by." He concluded nostalgically, as he watched automobiles speed by his home at Stratford, Camden County, on the White Horse Pike, "The Pike ain't what it used to be. . . . If the stagecoach passed another vehicle every five miles, they called it traffic."<sup>17</sup>

The stagecoaches carried passengers from the shore to and from interior points. For commodities, shippers had to resort either to wagons, or more commonly, to waterways. These will be discussed in Chapter XIII.



## 2. *Population growth and subdivision*

On February 15, 1850, the act making a separate political division of the County of Ocean was approved by Governor Daniel Haynes. . . . It may be of interest to note, also, that a motion to raise \$2,000 for county expenses was defeated at the same session and the sum of \$1800 substituted to carry on the county government that year.

(From an Ocean County history, written in 1899.)<sup>18</sup>

The shore counties and townships gained steadily in population during the first half of the 19th Century, though their increase was much smaller than their growth during the years after 1850, when the recreation industry developed. Such factors as the increase in shipbuilding and the cordwood, lumber and charcoal trades, the expansion of agriculture and the growth in the bog-iron ore industry in all the counties, the beginnings of the glass industry in Atlantic County, and the emergence of the first resorts stimulated this increase.

Until 1850 the report for Old Monmouth County, the most populous of the four shore counties, included in its total returns what is now Ocean County and during the fifty years under consideration the population more than doubled. In 1800, Old Monmouth totalled 19,872 persons. It rose to 22,150 in 1810; 25,038 in 1820; 29,233 in 1830; and 32,969 in 1840. In the next census it dropped to 30,313, but by that time Ocean County had been subtracted and that County's report in 1850 was 10,032.

No returns for separate townships were sent in for Old Monmouth County in 1800, but from 1810 on full ones were given. In 1810 Freehold Township reported 4,784, which mounted to 5,146 in 1820; 5,481 in 1830; and 6,303 in 1840. By 1850, Manalapan Township, Marlboro Township and part of Millstone had been set off from Freehold Township, and the latter's report in 1850 dropped to 2,642. Howell Township, formed in 1801 from Shrewsbury, reported 2,780 in 1810. This rose to

3,354 in 1820; 4,141 in 1830; 4,699 in 1840. In the following decade, however, as the Allaire iron forge and furnace declined, the population dropped, and in 1850 was reported as 4,058. Another probable cause of the drop in 1850 was the fact that early in 1850 part of Howell Township was taken to form part of the newly organized Brick Township in Ocean County.

Middletown Township, one of the original ones in the county, which included the Highlands area, recorded 3,819 people in 1810. This rose to 4,369 in 1820; 5,128 in 1830 and 6,063 in 1840. In 1847, however, a section was set off to form part of Atlantic Township, and in 1848 Raritan Township was taken from Middletown, leaving the latter in 1850 with a population of 3,251. Shrewsbury, another of the original townships of the county, which contained Red Bank, reported 3,773 in 1810; 4,284 in 1820; 4,700 in 1830; and 5,917 in 1840. Shrewsbury similarly lost by subdivision. In 1849 Ocean Township was created, reporting a population of 3,768 in 1850, leaving Shrewsbury a population of 3,182 in that year. The last township in 1800 in what is now Monmouth County was Upper Freehold, whose early records are missing, but which was mentioned as early as 1731. By 1790 it had a population of 3,442. In 1810 this had mounted to 3,843; in 1820 to 4,541; and 1840 to 5,026. Again subdivisions occurred in the 1840's. Part was set off to Millstone Township in 1844; to Jackson in 1844; and to Plumsted in 1840, so the Upper Freehold return for 1850 dropped to 2,566.

The residents of what is now Ocean County applied in the latter 1840's to the legislature to be set off as a separate county, and the county was organized in 1850 with a population of 10,032. It was the next to the largest in area and the most sparsely settled of all the counties in the state.

There were a number of reasons for its establishment. Politics played an important part. Its creation allowed the

party in power more representation in the state Senate, where each county had one vote. Two well-known political leaders who lived in the district were very influential in the creation of the new county. One was George F. Fort of inland New Egypt, who was elected Democratic Governor of the state in 1851. Fort had been prominent in the state before he was elected Governor. He was a member of the Assembly from Monmouth in 1845 and State Senator from 1846 to 1848, and he represented Old Monmouth County in the Constitutional Convention of 1844.

The other leader was Joel Haywood, a native and resident of West Creek in the lower part of the district. Haywood was a fiery orator, a Methodist preacher, and was the first member of the Assembly from Ocean County, serving in that capacity in 1851, 1852, and 1853. A Whig and Temperance candidate in the 1853 gubernatorial campaign, he barely missed following Fort as Governor, being defeated by Rodman M. Price by a scant majority of 3,782.

Transportation problems also made the region's residents favor the separation. It was difficult to get to the county seat at Freehold for meetings of the county court and for the recording of deeds as well as for looking up titles to land records. Toms River, which became the county seat of Ocean County, was much nearer than Freehold. Before the separation, no lawyer lived in all the district. It was necessary to take a stagecoach to Freehold to procure legal advice. As soon as the area had its own county seat, lawyers moved in. Furthermore, the region was at that time experiencing a boom in the pine wood and charcoal trade, in shipping, and in shipbuilding. As it became more prosperous economically, it began to desire to become a political entity.<sup>19</sup>

Ocean County consisted of the former Monmouth County townships of Dover, created in 1767 from Shrewsbury; and Stafford, established in 1749 from Shrewsbury; plus four townships set up in the 1840's:



Jackson, in 1844, taken from Dover, Freehold and Upper Freehold; Plumsted, created in 1845 from Jackson; Union, taken in 1846 from Dover and Stafford; and Brick, set off in 1850 from Dover and Howell townships.

The two major townships at the time of Ocean County's establishment were Stafford and Dover. The former reported a population of 1,239 in 1810; 1,428 in 1820; 2,059 in 1830; and 2,149 in 1840. Because part of the township was set off in 1846 to help form Union, Stafford's population declined to 1,384 in 1850. Dover Township reported 1,882 in 1810; 1,916 in 1820; 2,898 in 1830 and a drop to 2,752 in 1840. In 1846 Union was created from Dover and Stafford, reporting a population of 1,759 in 1850, and Dover's population dropped in that year to 2,385.<sup>20</sup>

Atlantic County was formed in 1837 from the Old Gloucester County townships of Galloway, Hamilton, Weymouth and Egg Harbor. It will be recalled from the quotation heading Section 3 of Chapter III that according to the provincial law of 1694, the residents of the Egg Harbor district, which then comprised most of what is now Atlantic County, were placed under the jurisdiction of Old Gloucester County "till such time as they shall be capable by a competent number of inhabitants, to be erected into a county."<sup>21</sup> By the latter 1830's leaders in the area believed their population to be sufficient. In addition to political considerations, the chief factor in the creation of the new county was the difficulty shore residents had in getting to county court and the land records at the Gloucester County seat in Woodbury. To reach this town it was necessary for them to make a prolonged stagecoach trip through the Pines or a roundabout voyage by water to Philadelphia and thence down ten miles. A county seat at Mays Landing, then the largest community in the county, made things much more convenient. In 1840 Atlantic County reported a total of 8,726, which increased only about 250 in ten years, to a

total of 8,961 in 1850. Its big period of growth came in the second half of the century, when the resorts boomed.

In spite of their slow growth, Atlantic County townships also underwent subdivisions. Egg Harbor Township was incorporated in 1798 in Gloucester County and in 1810 it reported a total of 1,830 people. Hamilton Township was taken from it in 1813, and so by 1820 Egg Harbor Township dropped to 1,635. In the next ten years, however, it increased to 2,510. In 1840 it reported 2,739 and in 1850, 2,689. Hamilton Township, which contained the village of Mays Landing, was taken from Egg Harbor and Weymouth Township in 1813, listed a population of 877 in 1820, 1,424 in 1830, 1,565 in 1840 and 2,015 in 1850. Galloway Township, which included the village of Port Republic, was formed in 1798. It reported 1,648 in 1810; 1,895 in 1820; 2,960 in 1830. Mullica Township was set off from Galloway in 1838, and in 1840 the latter dropped in population to 2,208, which increased to 2,307 in 1850. The fourth township to form Atlantic County, Weymouth, was organized in Gloucester County in 1798, after Egg Harbor had been formed that same year. It was taken from Egg Harbor Township. It reported a population of 1,029 in 1810, which dropped to 787 in 1820 and increased to 1,270 in 1830. It declined to 1,158 in 1840 and 1,032 in 1850.

In Cape May County the population followed the same trend as in Monmouth County, doubling during the fifty year period. The total numbers amounted to 3,066 in 1800; 3,632 in 1810; 4,265 in 1820; 4,945 in 1830; 5,324 in 1840; and 6,433 in 1850. The three precincts, Upper, Middle, and Lower, were formed into townships by the legislature in 1798. No report of the population in the individual townships was given in 1800; in 1810, however, Lower Township listed 862, which mounted to 1,001 in 1820. In the next decade it lost two people, falling to 999 in 1820; but by 1840 it had increased to 1,133 and in 1850 to 1,604. In 1848 Cape May City was formed

from part of Lower Township, and in the state census of 1855 it reported a population of 597. This was the only subdivision in the county in the period 1800-1850 except in Upper Township.

Middle Township reported 1,106 in 1810; 1,157 in 1820; 1,366 in 1830; 1,624 in 1840; and 1,884 in 1850. Upper Township enumerated 1,664 in 1810 and 2,107 in 1820, as the village of Dennisville grew. In 1826 the first subdivision in the county occurred, when Dennis Township was organized from Upper Township, reporting a population of 1,513 in 1830. Upper Township's residents therefore decreased in the 1830 census to 1,067, mounting to 1,217 in 1840 and 1,341 in 1850. Dennis Township, with 1,513 in 1830, dropped to 1,350 in 1840, but mounted to 1,604 in 1850.<sup>21</sup>

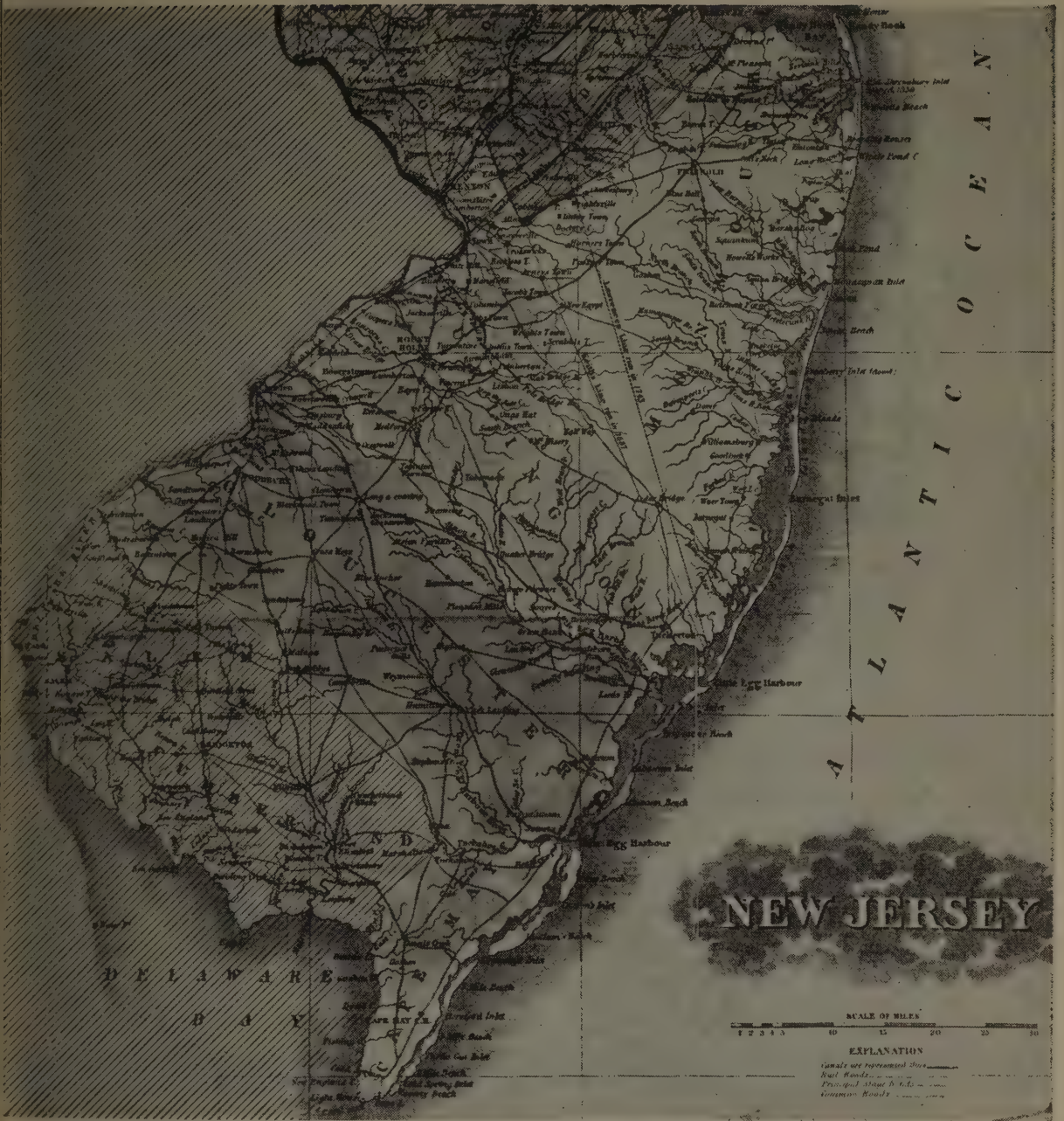
### 3. *The villages in 1834.*

If the inhabitants be not numerous, they are generally as independent as any others in the state. . . . They are hospitable . . . and are blessed usually with excellent health. Until lately, they have known little of those necessary evils of social life, the physician and the lawyer . . . , their women being competent to cure most of the diseases. . . . We learn that their practice in the latter particular has lately been contested; that one or more physicians have crept in, but we rejoice to hear they find little employment. . . . We learn also that the county, like Ireland, refusing nourishment to noxious animals, no lawyer can subsist in it.

(Observation written in 1834 concerning Cape May County.)<sup>22</sup>

The villages of the shore counties grew slowly but surely in the first half of the century, as the material prosperity of the region increased. In Cape May County, Dennisville and Tuckahoe became towns of some importance; in Atlantic County, Port Republic, Mays Landing and Absecon; in the shore section of Burlington County, Tuckerton, Batsto and Martha Furnace thrived;





(Map from Gordon's "Gazetteer," 1834)

*Monmouth, Burlington, Gloucester and Cape May counties  
then formed the Jersey Shore*

in Ocean County, Toms River developed; and in Monmouth County, Freehold and Shrewsbury.

Gordon, in his *Gazetteer* of 1834, gives a clear picture of village conditions in all the four shore counties and in the shore portion of Burlington County. In Monmouth County the situation at Long Branch as described by Gordon, has been discussed at the beginning of this chapter. The *Gazetteer* also stated that in the summer a regular line of stages ran from Philadelphia to Long Branch, and a steamboat from New York. Several boarding houses in the community as well as a number of farmhouses also took in summer visitors. Deal, in nearby Shrewsbury Township, also had several boarding houses, although it was a mile from the sea. Approximately one hundred persons could be accommodated there.

All the other villages described by Gordon were definitely inland settlements. They included Allentown, in Upper Freehold Township, a "compact, pleasant village" with eighty dwellings, a Presbyterian and a Methodist church, and Imlaystown in the same township with its fifteen houses, one tavern, one store, a wheelwright, a blacksmith shop and a tannery. Colts Neck in Shrewsbury Township possessed twenty dwellings, one tavern, two stores, three gristmills and two sawmills, and was a "place of considerable business." Eatontown, then in Shrewsbury Township, had thirty dwellings, five stores, two taverns, a grist mill and an academy, while English-town, Freehold Township, had the same number of houses and boasted two taverns and two stores. Freehold was the largest village in the County, boasting about forty houses, the courthouse and prison, five churches, an academy and a printing office. Living there, moreover, were four attorneys and two physicians.

Other villages in the County included Middletown, with twenty-five houses, three churches, two stores, and two taverns; Shrewsbury with fifteen houses, two churches, two stores and one tavern; Manasquan, then



in Howell Township, was "frequented for sea bathing," with accommodations at farmhouses, "of which there are several where boarders are received." Squankum in the same township had a Friends' Meeting-house, a grist mill and a fulling mill, two taverns and one store. Its fifteen dwellings were "surrounded by pine forest and sandy soil." Finally, Tinton Falls in Shrewsbury Township had a gristmill and sawmill. The falls there were "often visited by people from the boarding houses near the coast."

In the County, Gordon also listed in 1834 two forges and furnaces for bog-iron ore. One was Butchers Forge, on the north side of the Metedeconk River, eighteen miles southeast of Freehold. In addition to its forge, it boasted a gristmill and a tannery, two stores and about twenty dwellings. It claimed to have the largest mill pond then in the state, three miles long. Wood from the surrounding forest was "boated . . . to the furnace." The other bog-iron location was then called Howell Furnace, later Allaire, in Howell Township, on a tributary to the Manasquan River. Its iron manufactures caused the construction there of about fifty dwellings. There was one store, probably the company store.

In what became Ocean County, there were in 1834 a number of villages. New Egypt at the northwestern end of the county in a richer soil section, contained twenty dwellings, two taverns, two stores, a gristmill and a Methodist Church. Waretown, located in Stafford Township "in a pine forest," had twelve dwellings, one tavern and one store. Its soil was sandy. Barnegat reported fifty dwellings, three taverns and four stores, and was "surrounded by pine forest." Near the head of tidewater on Cedar Creek in Dover Township was what was known as the village of Williamsburg, with twelve dwellings, two taverns, and two stores. Good Luck, mentioned in the story of the Universalists in Chapter IV, was a thickly settled neighborhood nearby to the southwest. There was



salt marsh on its east side, and on the others "sandy, pine forest." Toms River, which became the county seat of Ocean County a decade and a half later, was in 1834 "a flourishing village," with about sixty dwellings, two taverns, five stores, and a Methodist meeting house. Many sloops and schooners were being built there and at that time "more than \$200,000 worth of timber and cordwood annually were exported."

In the southeastern section of Burlington County, included in this study as part of the shore area, Atsion was a thriving bog-iron ore village in Washington Township. It possessed in 1834 a furnace and a forge, a gristmill and three sawmills. Its bog-iron furnace was producing about nine hundred tons of castings and its forge about two hundred tons of bar iron yearly. Some one hundred men were employed at the iron works, and between six hundred and seven hundred persons depended on it for subsistence. Nearby Batsto was by that time producing eight hundred and fifty tons of iron yearly, and employed about seventy men. It also had a grist and sawmill, and the woodland from which fuel was drawn for the works amounted to an estate of some 60,000 acres, as also did the Atsion works woodland.

Green Bank was a small village on the north bank of the Mullica with two taverns, two stores and about fifteen dwellings. Not far away was Martha Furnace, on the Oswego Branch of the Wading River, with its gristmill, its sawmill, and its mainstay, the furnace, which made about 750 tons of iron castings yearly and employed about sixty hands, who with their families made a total population of approximately four hundred people, living in about fifty dwellings. There were 30,000 acres of woodland "appurtenant to the works."

The main village in the Burlington section of the shore in 1834 was Tuckerton in Little Egg Harbor Township, which was later ceded to Ocean County. According to Gordon, Tuckerton contained about forty houses, four

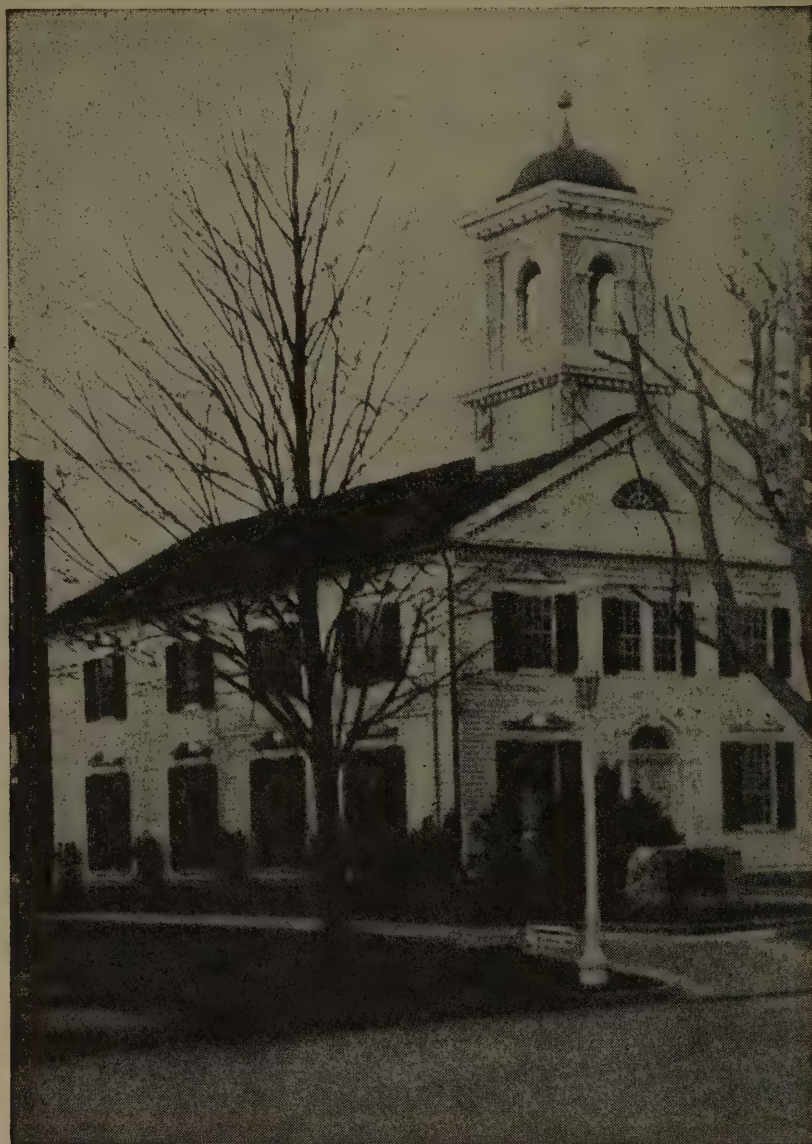
taverns, five stores, two Methodist Churches and a Quaker Meeting House. As noted in the quotation at the beginning of this chapter, Tuckerton at that time was exporting considerable amounts of timber and cordwood and enjoyed some popularity as a summer resort.

The 1834 *Gazetteer* lists nine villages in what became Atlantic County three years later. Strangely, the author fails to mention the village of Weymouth in Hamilton Township, although it was in its heyday at that time as an iron producing center. Absecum (later Absecon) was in 1834 "post town" in Galloway Township, with a tavern and a store and about ten dwellings, surrounded by sand and pine forest. Other villages in the township included flourishing Pleasant Mills, across the river from Batsto, which possessed about thirty dwellings, a tavern, two stores, and a booming cotton factory with 3,000 spindles. Smithville, "surrounded by pines and salt marsh," had twelve dwellings, a tavern and a store and a Methodist Church; Leeds Point, a store, a tavern and five houses; and Gravelly Landing at the mouth of Nacote Creek, a tavern and twelve houses. Nearby, up the creek, was "Wrangleboro," later Port Republic, with a store, tavern, mill and twenty dwellings.

In Egg Harbor Township, Gordon listed in 1834 the village of Bargaintown, near present-day Northfield, which had two taverns, a store and gristmill, thirty dwellings, and a Methodist Church. At Somers Point were a tavern and a boarding-house as well as "several farmhouses resorted to for sea-bathing in summer and gunning in the fall season." Mays Landing, in Hamilton Township, was the leading village in the area and three years later it became the county seat. It lay "at the head of sloop navigation" on the Great Egg Harbor River, and possessed four stores, three taverns, a Methodist Church and thirty dwellings. It carried on "considerable trade in cordwood, lumber, and shipbuilding."

A mainland village at the northern end of Cape May

County was Beesleys Point, in Upper Township, situated on a "neck of land between salt marshes." There a ferry crossed Great Egg Harbor. The village had two taverns



*Colonial Court House, Cape May County, Designed  
and Constructed by Daniel Hand*

and "several farmhouses where visitors to the shore may find agreeable accommodations." Also in the same township was Tuckahoe, on the river by that name, with its



twenty dwellings, three taverns, and several stores. The *Gazetteer* declared, "It is a place of considerable trade in wood, lumber, and shipbuilding. The land immediately on the river is good, but a short distance from it, is swampy and low."<sup>23</sup> By 1840 Tuckahoe's dwellings had increased to sixty, and a Methodist Church had been built.<sup>24</sup> A few miles up the river from Tuckahoe was Etna furnace and forge, Cape May County's bog-iron ore production center, not listed in the *Gazetteer*.

In Dennis Township was the village of Dennis Creek, at the head of navigation, with about forty houses, two taverns, five stores and a "tide grist mill."<sup>25</sup> By the census of 1840 the village, now called Dennisville, had grown to seventy houses, plus a Methodist Church, and it also contained "a neat academy, the upper story of which is used for a lyceum and for religious meetings."<sup>26</sup>

In Middle Township was the hamlet of Goshen, which in 1834 claimed a tavern, two stores, a steam sawmill and about fifteen houses. More imposing was Cape May Court House, in the same township, with its "court house of wood, jail of stone, fire proof (county) offices of brick," plus taverns, about ten dwellings, and a Baptist Church. Finally, in Lower Township, near the tip of the county, was the small village of Cold Spring, where Jacob Spicer in the previous century had lived in a commodious house. It possessed a tavern, two stores, about twenty houses, and by 1840, an Episcopal Church and an academy. At the end of the Cape was Cape May Island. It was not a mainland village, since it was necessary to cross a causeway to get to it. By 1834 it had become one of the three outstanding resorts of the period. Gordon reported it a "noted watering place in the summer season," and added, "There are six boarding houses, three of which are very large. The sea-bathing is convenient and excellent. The beach affords pleasant drives and it is excellent fishing in the adjacent waters."<sup>27</sup> In the 1840 census, it was stated that Cape Island "now contains two large

hotels and a third one lately erected, and about fifty dwellings for summer visitors."<sup>28</sup>

A decade after the *Gazetteer* was published another survey was made. By 1844 the mainland villages showed further developments. In Ocean County, for instance, at Tuckerton, in addition to a Friends' Meetinghouse there was a church for "Episcopal Methodists," plus four stores, two shipyards, several mechanic shops and about one hundred dwellings. Manahawkin Village at this time contained a Baptist and a Methodist Church, a sawmill, gristmill, turning and carding mills, two taverns, three stores and forty dwellings. Cordwood, lumber and cedar rails were "exported in large quantities." Barnegat, four and a half miles to the north, had grown to about thirty dwellings, with three taverns and three stores, and West Creek, five miles south, had two stores, a tavern, sawmill and about thirty houses. In Atlantic County the survey declared in its description of Egg Harbor Township "From Somers Point along the shore to Absecon, there is an almost continuous line of houses."<sup>29</sup>

In later years, when the resort cities became centers of a growing population, the mainland villages were gradually eclipsed. A guidebook published in 1889 stated, for instance, that "The rapid development of the coast, which, in the days when Freehold was at its height was regarded as no better than arid waste, caused the old town to be somewhat neglected."<sup>30</sup>

Furthermore, the mainland townships gradually found themselves shorn of their coastal territory as the seaside resorts began to take steps to form separate borough governments in order that the taxes raised might be spent entirely in home improvements. In Ocean County a county history published in 1899 noted, "Point Pleasant, Bay Head, Lavallette, Sea Side Park, (and) Island Heights . . . have done so. At present (1899) the property owners on Long Beach have announced their intention to petition the Legislature of 1899 to make a town-

ship of Long Beach, so that they may develop the beach in their own way, without being hampered by the township committees of the various townships in which it is now situated, all of which governing bodies live on the main shore."

That year the Legislature created the new township of Long Beach. It was about twenty-four miles long, and reached from Barnegat Inlet to Little Egg Harbor Inlet, with an average width not exceeding one mile. This act further provided that the part of the beach lying south of the old division line between East and West Jersey, and extending southward to the present inlet, be "severed from its political connections with Egg Harbor Township."<sup>31</sup>

#### 4. *Aspects of village life.*

I am in hopes you will not Deprive yourself of going a Slaying while the Snow Lasts as you can ride much Saffer that way than any other.

(Excerpt of letter written to a Mays Landing wife by her husband, dated Trenton, January 30, 1815.)<sup>32</sup>

In these years the mainland villagers enjoyed varied forms of recreation, although chances for "Slaying" were usually of short duration despite the suggestion made in the above quotation that this form of diversion was "Saffer." No full description of village and country life in the four shore counties can be given here because of lack of space. Both village and farm life were deeply affected in these years by the church, the school and the tavern, as well as other institutions such as the village store and the country doctor. Two other interesting phases of village life were the beach party and funeral-going.

The people who lived along the mainland looked to the sea for recreation during these years as well as in later decades. Trips from the mainland village to the sea



island beach were often community affairs. One "sea-shore correspondent" in Monmouth County wrote in the second quarter of the 19th Century, "From the shore villages, the inhabitants, young and old, would often get up 'beach parties' to have a good time bathing in the surf during the day and enjoying themselves by plays and dances in the evening."<sup>33</sup>

One of the most colorful and heart-warming accounts of a beach party is that written by Dr. J. F. Leaming of Cape May Court House, of one which occurred in early September, 1835. "Early in the morning," wrote the doctor, "the cannon in the village boomed the signal for the general start." The old black family horse, "Charley," had already been hitched to the wagon. He now headed for the landing, about a mile distant. Other families soon arrived, and commenced loading the boats. First the provisions were carefully stowed in; then the women were seated, followed by the children; finally, the men and boys piled in. The boats were pushed and rowed with the tide down the Creek and out through the Thoroughfare. Other boats, many of which had sails, joined them from nearby landings. It was a "pretty sight," remarked the Doctor, to see "two or three dozen white sails shining in the sun."

While crossing to the sea island the picnickers sang old songs. One favorite was "My Old Aunt Sally," which was sung "over and over again." When they reached the island they walked through a "splendid grove of cedars, then out to the Beach," the south end of which was assigned to the women and the north to the men.

Three of the men went to work preparing the clam bake. They selected a clean, level spot and placed three clams with their bills downward and the hinges upward, so as to stand erect. With these as a center, they put down more clams in like manner, until a circular bed five or six feet in diameter was formed. They then gathered some fine brush and covered the bed with a layer of that, then

a layer of larger brush and sticks. The bed was not "fired" until an hour before dinner.

Meanwhile, the rest of the party prepared for the surf. One could hear, at the north end of the island, "the boisterious laughter of the men as they got ready for the water." The heavy cedars, which protected the women, provided "ideal bowers, secluded from observation, where neither vagrant foot nor licentious eye could disturb their privacy." Once out on the beach "each maid and miss" went into the water under the protection of a male escort who was responsible for her safety. Soon a ring was formed by a number of joining hands, "so that if by chance a powerful breaker submerged anyone, a good support was available on either hand."

The most exciting moments of the day were "the wild sporting with the breakers," when the ground swell, rolling in toward the beach, capped "up like a steep ridge of a house" and the top of the wave bent forward and broke with a roar. "These breakers," wrote the Doctor, "constitute the principal charm of surf bathing."

By the time the people had enjoyed themselves in the water sufficiently, the clambake was started, and the crowd came in while the fire roared high. Table covers were spread and the pots of chicken potpie were hung on a pole supported by two crotches and a brisk fire started underneath. By this time the brush covering the clam bed had burned to a mass of live coals. These were swept off with a cedar bough and removed to a distance. The heated ground kept the "bed" warm for an hour. Then came the call to dinner. One from each picnic group came with plate, knife and fork to the clam bed. In lifting the clam from its upright position to its side, the shells flew apart and the clam was at once spitted upon the fork and conveyed to the dish.

By two o'clock everyone had finished eating. The men sat around in groups and discussed the business interests nearest their hearts, and the women cleared the tables

and repacked the remnants of the dinner. The children engaged in various games, such as "Wink'em Slily," "Lost My Glove Yesterday and Found It Today," and "Wind Tobacco Tight." Some of the boys played on the remains of a ship which had been cast up in December with a full cargo of East India products, silk, teas, china-ware, many a beautiful souvenir of which, observed the Doctor, "still remains among Cape May inhabitants."

At four o'clock "noses were counted" and then all started homewards in the boats. The Doctor's family came back across the Thoroughfare and glided up Shell-bed Creek to the landing. Someone had brought "Charley" down in the afternoon, and awaited them there. The return was "less hilarious" than that of the morning and the step "less elastic." When home was reached, the women "rinsed the bathing dresses in fresh water and hung them on the fences. Everyone went to bed early."<sup>34</sup>

Another diversion that occupied mainland villagers in this period, if diversion it could be called, was funeral going. Death seemed close to people in those years, and the Methodist revivals discussed in the next chapter brought it even closer. Whenever anyone went by the village burial ground he could read on the gravestones direly worded epitaphs. At the burying ground of Pleasant Mills in Atlantic County, for instance, he could see this carving of 1801:

Reader, behold as you pass by,  
As you are now, so once was I.  
As I am now, you soon must be,  
Prepare for death, and follow me.<sup>35</sup>

Or, if he were in a bog iron ore village in the Pines of Burlington County, he could read this: "Stop, passing stranger, learn thy awful doom," carved on the gravestone of a citizen who died in 1809.<sup>36</sup>

In other instances he could read verses on tombstones expressing disillusionment with this world. One at Beesleys Point, Cape May County, stated:



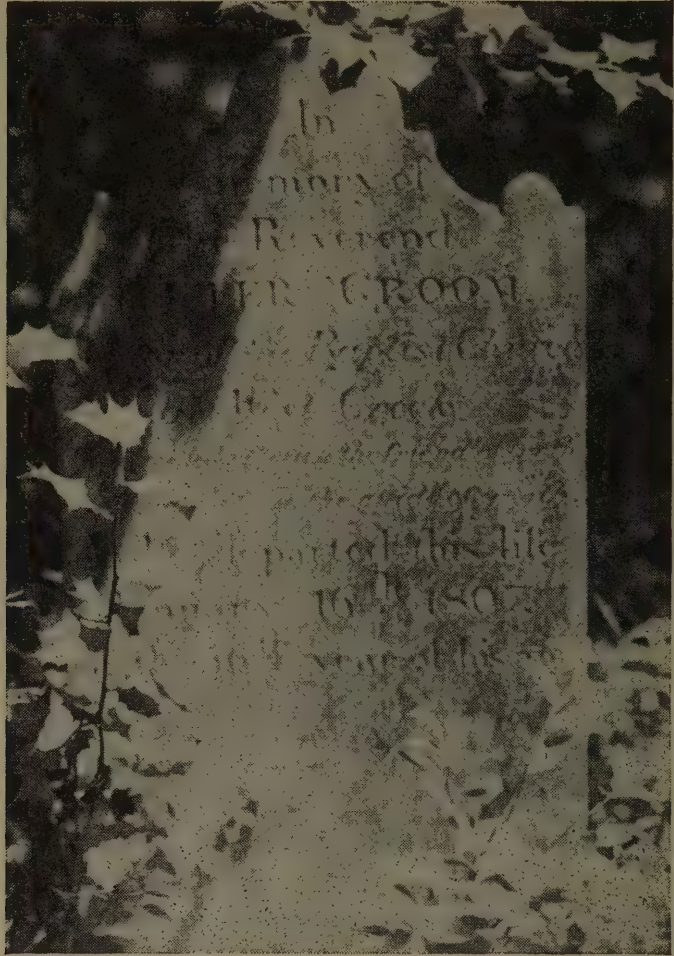
He tasted life's bitter cup,  
Refused to drink the potion up,  
And turned his little head aside,  
Disgusted with the taste, and died.<sup>37</sup>

Funerals were the occasion for a gathering of people, varying in size according to the deceased's local prominence. In the earlier decades of the century, riders were sent out with notices of the death and with information as to the day and hour of interment. Later, announcements became more formal, with a printed folder marked by a heavy black line. Whether it was held at home or in the church, the "funeral was preached," and what was said by the pastor in his long funeral sermon, as well as the number of people who attended, were subjects of conversation long after the event.<sup>38</sup> After the services, the horse-driven cortege took its way to the graveyard. Sometimes the route lay along a toll road, and in 1849 the Legislature, in an act regulating tolls on turnpikes, provided exemptions for vehicles "going to or from funerals."<sup>39</sup>

It was expected that plentiful food would be served after the obsequies. The dinner following the interment was especially important to those who came from any distance. A few of the neighboring housewives remained when the long string of carriages and buggies started for the graveyard, and prepared the dinner, which usually occupied a full hour after the return from the burying ground. Dinner was followed by conversations and commiserations indoors and about the premises. Some of the mourners waited for the will to be read.<sup>40</sup>

This custom of serving large dinners after the burial services became the object of adverse criticism in the latter half of the 19th Century, and was gradually curtailed. One South Jersey newspaper noted with favor in 1871 the gradual abandonment of "the practice of feasting at funerals," and added pointedly, "It seems particularly reprehensible for the friends and acquaintances of the family

just afflicted by death and mourning the loss of a dear one to have their sorrows . . . broken in upon by a host of hungry visitors whose only motive in many instances in attending the funeral is, we doubt not, to feast at the expense of the afflicted. . . . We trust that this practice



(Courtesy N. J. Dept. of Conserv. & Econ. Devel.)

*Grave of Peter Groom*

. . . will soon yield to the enlightenment of the advanced civilization of the present day and become obsolete by general consent."<sup>41</sup>

Embalming was not commonly employed in the earlier years of the century, although by 1850 it was more frequently practiced.<sup>42</sup> In 1846 there appeared in another

local South Jersey newspaper an advertisement extolling a "Patent Corpse Preserver," which offered "an apparatus by means of which the bodies of deceased persons may be preserved for any length of time in the warmest weather without application of ice to the body. Charges as low as Elsewhere."<sup>43</sup> The casket at that time was usually made by a local cabinet maker or a good carpenter. One Atlantic County report in the latter 1830's explained that when a person died, the family called the carpenter who took measurement of the body and then proceeded to build a coffin. This was molded to fit the body, smaller at the head, broadened out at the shoulders, and then tapered down at the feet. There were, of course, no funeral parlors.<sup>44</sup>

Definite types of clothing were prescribed for mourning. Philadelphia stores considered it advantageous to advertise these special costumes in South Jersey newspapers. On June 5, 1850, one local paper carried, blocked in deep black lines, this display announcement of the Philadelphia Mourning Store, 52 South 2nd Street, near Chestnut: "Large stock of Mourning goods exclusively, . . . Chaly, Bombazines, . . . Canton Crape, . . . Thibet long and square Shawls, Crape Veils, patent English Trimming. . . , Second Mourning Lawns, Gingham, mourning bordered Handkerchiefs, collars and cuffs, Black Kidd Gloves. . . . No advantage taken of domestic distress."<sup>45</sup>

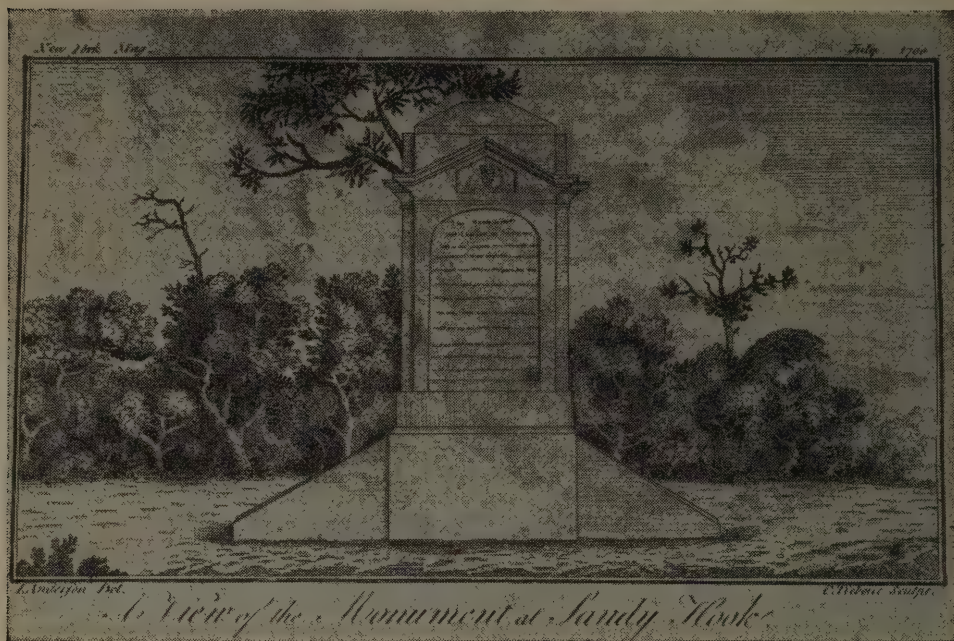
##### 5. *Ship-wrecks and the development of life-saving.*

In those days of the 1840's and early 1850's, the first look in the morning was toward the ocean with a spy-glass for a possible wreck. The first I remember was the "Eudora," after which several girl babies of the region were named in 1849 and 1850. Another vessel was loaded with lath. . . . These were used later as guns for martial training of the school children. Another was loaded with huge heads of brown sugar from Barbados and an open hog's head was an irresistible temptation to school children to get stuck up.

(Reminiscence of Cape May County woman who lived near Seaville in mid-19th Century.)<sup>46</sup>



Although the residents of the mainland villages enjoyed their beach parties, they were well aware that those very breakers which afforded them so much pleasure in their outings might be the cause of widespread destruction. In 1821, a long remembered September gale created



(Courtesy E. P. Gillespie, Port Monmouth)

*Monument over the Grave of British Naval Men who Perished  
in the Storm of December, 1783, at Sandy Hook.  
Marker Destroyed by French Sailors in 1807*

large damage, uprooting trees, overturning houses, and rendering the beach at Long Branch, as described by an observer, "a commingled mass of sand and water driven wildly by the general confusion."<sup>47</sup>

Shipwrecks were the most dramatic demonstration of man's struggle against nature. They occurred mainly in the fall and winter months. Since shoals and other danger spots were not adequately marked, ships frequently ran aground on the Jersey shore and losses were serious in

both lives and property. The number of shipwrecks in the first half of the century was considerable, but the number of wrecks lessened in the latter part, as new facilities in the form of lighthouses and life saving stations were constructed.

As suggested in the quotation at the head of this section, the village citizens were always alert for a shore disaster. Their children were sometimes named after a foundered vessel. Boys and girls played on the remains of wrecks when the village had a Beach Party, and they salvaged portions of the cargo with which to play. Salvaging operations occasionally reached more serious proportions in the case of some of the adults of the villages.

There were those who took advantage of the wrecked ships, particularly in the earlier decades of the 19th Century. The wrecker as a rule kept within the pale of the unwritten law and contented himself with goods which came ashore or which were brought from the wrecked vessel after its abandonment by captain and crew. There were instances, however, in which the wreckers lost a sense of honor even between themselves. In the winter of 1830 the ship "George Cameron" from Liverpool, laden with dry goods and hardware, came ashore on Absecon Beach. The shore people "scented the prey" and many thronged over to the beach, eager for spoils. Soon neighbor was robbing neighbor; boxes of goods were buried in holes made in the sand hills and while the hider was gone in quest of more plunder, another would dig them out and take them to another place of concealment. The night was bitterly cold and it was stated two men died in these undertakings.<sup>48</sup>

Local residents felt constrained to defend those who were bent on salvaging what was cast ashore. In discussing the wreck in 1815 of a brig off Pecks Beach, Cape May County, for instance, one Cape May authority declared in 1844 that the valuable cargo had been strewed for miles along the beach, and that the people of Cape

May converted "some small portion of the goods to their own use," but he added, "Is there a spot upon the Atlantic Coast, from Maine to Florida, where there would not be as much danger of depredation as at Cape May? . . . What would be the fate of a ship of merchandise scattered in the streets of our principal cities, without a guard, for twenty-four hours? . . . I contend . . . there is as much honesty . . . among the people of Cape May as in any other community on the seaboard or elsewhere."<sup>49</sup>

During these years charges were made that deceit was used to bring vessels ashore. It was claimed that false lights were used to lure the mariner to the unfamiliar coast. Little proof was found for these tales, but public indignation became highly aroused in 1834, when the schooner "Henry Franklin" was cast ashore near Barnegat Inlet, Ocean County, and its merchandise stolen. The thieves were caught and convicted, but in spite of the suspicions of many, no charge was made of decoying vessels ashore.

Various stories, moreover, had been handed down, some of which had been embroidered upon, concerning the use of false lights to induce a shipwreck. The legend went that when the wrecks were too few, men who derived their income from cargoes of the shipwrecks, tried to lure ships to their doom. On Long Beach Island, some said, it was once a custom to fasten a lantern to a mule's neck and then lead the animal along the beach on a dark night, hoping by this ruse, to have a ship captain mistake the light for that of another ship sailing farther inshore, a mistake which might result in a wrecked ship.

Another version of the mule story proved more picturesque, but more difficult to interpret. In this case, the mule was led in a circle around a hay stack, which produced the flashing effect of a lighthouse as the light appeared and disappeared. Naturally, the lighthouse would serve as a warning from, rather than an attraction to the beach. One authority interpreted the theory that it



might throw a vessel off her course and then result in a wreck farther up or down the coast.<sup>50</sup>

In 1846 a committee from the New Jersey Legislature investigated the situation when, following the wreck of a vessel on February 15 of that year certain persons on shore were accused of refusing to render assistance to passengers and seamen and even of plundering the drowned bodies of valuables, but the charges were not substantiated. It was found that those cast ashore were aided, and that wholesale plundering did not occur, although there was some purloining. There was no proof that false lights had been used to decoy.

It was evident, however, that some kind of responsible rescue service subsidized by the government should be established. The lack of such provision became clear early in the 19th Century, in the events that followed a wreck in December, 1815, on the Monmouth County shore, of a brig bound from Le Havre to New York, with ten passengers and a crew of seven men. An eye witness on shore recalled the disaster. "At three o'clock Saturday morning the ship ran aground . . . ; in less than 15 minutes the sea made a clean breach over the brig. . . . The scene in the meantime beggars description. The passengers rushed out of the cabin, some of them in their night clothes, six of whom and two of the crew got in the long boat. One of these was a very young French lady of great beauty. The remainder of the crew and passengers succeeded in reaching the roundtop. . . . Soon the sea carried the long boat . . . clear of the wreck (but) when it was too late it was discovered she was firmly attached to it by a hawser which it was impossible to separate. The cries were heartrending but were soon silenced in the sleep of death. The boat swamped and they were all consigned to one common grave. The body of the lady floated onto shore. . . . On Saturday, those on the roundtop built a raft, but by that time three had perished. Only four of the seventeen souls were saved."<sup>51</sup>

The first kind of aid to come from Congress was the establishment of a series of lighthouses. In 1823, one was built at Cape May by the federal government. This was the second on the Jersey shore; the first, on Sandy Hook, had been built as early as 1761 by New York mer-



(Courtesy N. J. Dept. of Conserv. & Econ. Devel.)

### *Sandy Hook Light*

chants. In 1828 the federal government constructed Highland Light on the Navesink Highlands. In 1834 Barnegat Light was erected on the north end of Long Beach and in 1839, Five Fathom Lightship was set up in Delaware Bay, seventeen miles from Cape May Lighthouse. In 1848 came the construction of the first Little Egg Harbor Light, near the south end of Long Beach.<sup>52</sup>

While the construction of light houses helped to reduce the number of wrecks, there were still disasters, and the development of life-saving stations helped to save crew and passengers on the foundered vessels. As early as the second decade of the century, volunteer life sav-

ing crews were scattered along different sections of the shore. Most of them were composed of small bands of local fishermen. The assumption of federal responsibility in this respect may be ascribed to William Newell, who later became the Governor of New Jersey. Elected to Congress as Representative in 1848, he had long been eager to have the federal government sponsor more services for life saving. In August of that year he succeeded in getting Congress to appropriate \$10,000 to provide surfboats from Sandy Hook to Little Egg Harbor. This was the first appropriation from the federal government to any of the states for such work. Eight life-boat houses were constructed. The following year, on February 17, 1849, another appropriation was made for six stations between Little Egg Harbor and Cape May.<sup>53</sup>

William Newell's work for life-saving figured again in 1850 when, on January 12th, the Scottish brig "Ayrshire" with 201 English and Irish immigrants was wrecked on Absecon Beach. The rescue involved the employment of a breeches buoy, an idea which had been utilized before. In this instance, however, a special apparatus, perfected by Newell, was used by a volunteer crew of fishermen. A yoke of oxen was brought to the shore. A ball fired from a mortar took the line out to the stranded vessel. Then a closed life car which had been built by Joseph Francis of Toms River, Ocean County was carried by its rings on the hawser and in three minutes, the first carload was safely drawn ashore over the roaring surf. The operation was repeated as often as conditions permitted, and within two days all except one person had been safely landed.<sup>54</sup> More widespread facilities for life-saving were constructed in the latter half of the 19th Century, as noted in Part IV, Chapter XX.

In the first half of the century, one lighthouse location on the Jersey shore became the scene before the days of the telegraph of a semaphore arrangement by means of which news of the imminent arrival of vessels was sent



by relay to New York. In 1826 a semaphore was installed on the lighthouse on the Navesink Highlands, which rose 375 feet above the sea. Once an incoming vessel was sighted, news was relayed out to Sandy Hook and from there to Staten Island. It was impossible to see Staten Island from the Highland Light. Staten Island's sema-



(Courtesy of James D. Holman, Whitesville)

*Home of Joseph Francis, Water Street, Toms River, 1869  
Now Riverview Hotel*

phore was situated near the Narrows and from there the news was signalled to an operator on top of the Merchants' Exchange Building in New York City. Information was wanted there of incoming cargoes. When the system was working well, and if there was no fog or bad storm, an incoming vessel could be reported from the Highlands to New York City in one minute.

The original semaphore tower on the Highlands was a tall spar about 70 feet high. To this, two arms were

rigged far enough apart to enable each to describe a full circle without interfering with the other. In the tower was a dial graduated from 1 to 10 and marked with the words "Look out" and "Repeat." If the pointer on the dial was set at any number between 1 and 6, the upper arm on the spar moved to a corresponding position. If set at any number from 7 to 10, or at "Look out" or "Repeat," the lower arm moved. The operator used a "Telegraphic Dictionary" adopted by the Merchants' Exchange. The names of vessels and words generally in use were represented by numbers. The number of the ship "Napoleon," for instance, was 6335 and to report her arrival, the operator set the dial successively at 6-3-3-5 and the upper arm moved into corresponding positions.<sup>55</sup> With the advent of the telegraph, the semaphore was no longer necessary, but it served its purpose during the second quarter of the century.





## CHAPTER X

### THE CHURCH

The most important places in the community were the church, the school, and the inn.

(Comment on the comparative influence of village institutions in the first half of the 19th Century.)<sup>1</sup>

During the first half of the 19th Century, as noted in the quotation above, the church held the most important place in the community, followed by the school and then by the inn or tavern. Nearly everyone attended church. People came from all directions, undistracted by the auto, golf, radio or television. Whole families arrived in open wagons, and individuals often came on foot or horseback. In many churches morning services began at ten o'clock and continued into the afternoon, with a recess of fifteen minutes at noon for the churchgoers to eat their lunch. In winter footstoves were brought by the congregation. The coals in them were replenished from the big stove in the center of the church.<sup>2</sup>

Evening meetings were also widely attended. "It was the treat of my childhood to go to night church," wrote one resident of South Seaville, Cape May County, in recalling her life there in mid-century. She remembered the candles used for lighting the church. Each member of the congregation usually brought one. "We placed them in the sticks before a glass reflector on the square pillars in the church," she reminisced. "All were then lighted while singing the first hymn. They were snuffed out while the sermon was being preached,"<sup>3</sup> an action which one fears might have induced slumber. Sometimes the candles needed trimming as the service was going on. This duty was performed by the sexton. The latter, however, would sometimes "by accident snuff out a light, and then a titter

would be heard among some of the youthful ones of the congregation."<sup>4</sup>

The first fifty years of the century were marked, from the viewpoint of denominational changes, by the astounding growth of the Methodists, the slower development of the Baptists, Presbyterians and Episcopalians, the serious schism which split the Quakers, and the limited appearance of the Mormons. The Catholics remained comparatively small in numbers until the immigration of the Irish and Germans following mid-century. They were followed by the Italians, who increased the influence of the Roman Church. As late as 1853 there were in all of New Jersey only fifty-three Catholic churches, three of which were in Newark.<sup>5</sup>

#### 1. *The rise of the Methodists.*

Oh, God! Hold him over hell with a celluloid string and singe his feet until he burns and repents.

(Grim camp meeting entreaty given over the head of a prospective convert, last quarter of 19th Century.)<sup>6</sup>

The outstanding phenomenon in the religious life of the coastal area in the first half of the 19th Century was the emergence of the Methodist Church into a position of predominance. According to one historian of the state, during these years "they surged like a great tide, inundating the southern portion of the state."<sup>7</sup>

Two outstanding factors furthered the growth of Methodism in these years: the circuit rider and the camp meeting.<sup>8</sup> The itinerant circuit rider was called by one commentator in 1849 the "secret of the great success of Methodists in spreading Scriptural religion over a preacher who stayed in one place," for, in the words of this observer, the latter "keeps no horse and . . . only on special occasions do the country members receive a pastoral visit."<sup>9</sup>

The travelling circuit rider was a well-known and a well-remembered figure. The Methodist preacher of

the 1830's was described as follows by a contemporary. "Mounted on a horse, with saddle bags, valise, and umbrella strapped on behind, dressed in a plaincoat and wide brimmed hat, with plain silver watch and steel chain, he looked every inch of him, a Methodist itinerant."<sup>10</sup>

The itinerant had to be adaptable and persistent. "The preachers," recalled another commentator, "always suited themselves as to the surrounding circumstances and suffered nothing to turn them aside from their purpose."<sup>11</sup> They were inspired with such religious zeal that they ignored discomforts and hardships. Travelling on horseback, they usually took from four to eight weeks to make the rounds of their circuit. They carried their library and articles of attire in their saddlebags. Meals were timed by their arrival at the homes of members and friends and their coming was an important event in the lives of the shore residents.<sup>12</sup>

Some itinerants employed unusually persuasive methods to win converts. One of the better known circuit riders in Monmouth County about 1827 was Rev. Thomas G. Stewart, who was junior preacher on the Freehold Circuit at that time. Even though he was a small man, he possessed such a ponderous voice that he "thundered when he preached." It was said that his sermons would often bring his congregation to tears. He used the direct approach to gain adherents. At the conclusion of his sermon, he would make an appeal to the unconverted and then, not waiting to go down the pulpit stairs, he would jump over the front of the pulpit and address himself personally to those "who were without the pale of the church."<sup>13</sup>

An excerpt from the 1807 journal of another circuit rider, who visited the area that became Ocean County, noted what happened when the preacher visited a man who had "awfully backslidden (*sic*) from God." This man "had set up a swearing school in his own house on every Sunday afternoon at three o'clock to teach the



neighbors' children the art of polite swearing." He was accustomed, also, to have "a party of infidels" at his house at the hour of preaching, "to banquet, to fiddle, and to dance." The circuit rider went to the backslider's home, where, he said, "I caught him in my arms and burst into tears. He thrust me from him. I fell on my knees and began to pray but all fled into another part of the house and I saw them no more." Retribution, however, came fast and hard. "In July," wrote the preacher, "two of his sons, five or six years old, were killed in his yard by the running away of horses attached to a wagon. They were members of his swearing school. . . . In August, a horse ran away with his oldest son, thirteen years of age, who was also a member of the swearing school, and dashed his brains against a cherry tree in the yard." The final blow came the following year, on January 14th, when, the itinerant testified, "I preached by appointment near his house and they began to draw a bow of the violin and to scamper over the floor in the dance. While thus engaged, his oldest daughter, a member of the swearing school, went out of the door and was killed by a creature. . . . O, how miserably did it end the dance!" What the "creature" was, was not explained.<sup>14</sup>

The revival or camp-meeting reached the height of its influence on the shore counties during the first half of the 19th Century. They were especially effective in the more sparsely settled rural regions, where they brought an exciting thrill to a humdrum existence. The exhilaration of singing soul-stirring hymns and the fervor of the converts added to their attraction.<sup>15</sup> In the more well-to-do areas, the settled citizens were not so deeply touched by this type of evangelism. One preacher recalled an 1844 revival in nearby Gloucester County, "Men of influence and of wealth were in the church, . . . but little excitement prevailed at any time during the progress of the . . . meeting. It was seldom possible to elicit an expression of religious emotion."<sup>16</sup>

Camp meetings provided welcome outlets for drab lives. "Talk of noise and extravagance!" exclaimed one observer of a revival held in the 1830's at Cumberland Furnace, a bog-iron ore location in Cumberland County, not far from Tuckahoe. "Could we but paint the noise, could we but picture the jumping, falling, contortions and uproar there displayed, it would be a scene worthy of Hogarth's immortal powers!" Moreover, if the preacher attempted to correct or direct displays of emotion and commotion, such interference "would kill everything," explained this same commentator. "If not permitted to go on in their own way, they would not go at all, . . . not a sound would be uttered, not an amen, even, would be heard, but mute as fish, there they would sit or kneel and only try to sing."<sup>17</sup>

The more wildly emotional meetings often became all-night affairs. One itinerant reported a revival in Bass River, in the shore section of Burlington County. There, on Friday, February 20, 1806, he said, "the Lord did a great work in a little time. The meeting began at eleven o'clock in the morning. People fell in all directions and such crying for mercy surely was never heard in this place before. . . . At eleven at night, eighteen came forward and joined the church. . . . We then dismissed the meeting and retired to rest. . . . At three o'clock we were . . . awakened by the cry of people in the yard. . . . Some twenty had left the meeting in great distress and when they arrived home, finding no rest they resolved to come back and try it again. They came from different places, not knowing each others' mind until they met in the yard. We all went to work (and) . . . before the sun arose *seven* of these mourners were converted and believe me, there was a great shout."<sup>18</sup>

The converts sometimes underwent long self-searchings. One "soul" who was "saved" at a camp meeting in Cape May County in the 1840's explained: "I went . . . and yielded myself entirely up to the dictation of those

who had the control of the meeting. . . . I let them pray over me. . . . I remained at the altar, praying after the meeting broke up, and even till one o'clock. . . . A few acquaintances remained, praying around and over me. . . . At last I told them to pray no more, as there was no forgiveness for me. . . . I withdrew to a distance and sat down upon an old tree, lamenting . . . I was sure I had committed the unpardonable sin. . . . All the next day, which was Sunday, I passed in a most miserable state. I went into the woods alone. . . . I knelt down and commenced praying. . . . About nine o'clock, as suddenly as if I had been struck by a heavy blow, I felt a remarkable change come over me. All my fears and terrors seemed to be removed and my whole soul seemed to be filled with joy and peace. . . . I instantly rose up and told those about me that I was a converted man, and from that moment, I was able to sing and shout and pray with the best of them."<sup>19</sup>

At many meetings, a period of testimonials preceded the actual revival services. These were called "love feasts," and at them affirmations of devotion were offered by those who had already been "saved." The "love feast" began at nine on Sunday morning, and lasted from one to two hours. It was a time of "great religious fervor," when "earnest narration of religious experiences" and "loudbreaking hallelujahs were rolled up to heaven in waves of gratitude and thanksgiving," according to the description in the biography of the Rev. Charles Pitman, one of the most noted evangelists. In the 1820's when Mr. Pitman was preaching at Pleasant Mills, near Batsto, he conducted a "love-feast" prior to his sermon at which the crowd was so large that "Mr. Richards, owner of the Pleasant Mills property . . . sent over his large six-mule open wagon, the bottom covered with planks, and placed it between the two front doors of the church, the women and children being seated in the church, with the doors and windows open, and Mr. Pitman standing upon the



wagon with from two to three thousand people about him."

The morning service followed the "love-feast." According to his biographer, "Mr. Pitman would enter the pulpit with a seraphic glow upon his countenance," and after a familiar hymn, "a prayer was offered, profound and reverential; breathless silence prevailed." At the end, "hearty exclamations and ejaculations of 'Amen,' 'Glory to God,' Hallelujah' and 'Praise the Lord' were heard." Following the second hymn came the sermon. Mr. Pitman was a "powerful speaker. . . . His audience was often chained to the spot for two and one-half hours, forgetful of everything but the great theme of redemption. . . . When he finished, it was difficult to distinguish between the rejoicing of Christians and the weeping of awakened sinners."<sup>20</sup>

The fervor of the Methodists was annoying to many of their neighbors. Their noise, especially the loud praying, bothered the quiet Friends particularly. One Quaker gentleman told a Methodist preacher in 1847, "I am pestered out of patience with this much praying; if I go into the cellar, there is E. praying; if I go into the garret, there is G. at prayer; if I go to the barn, there is T. praying. I don't know where to go or what to do." His hired girl enjoyed revivals, but was forbidden to go out at night. On the evening of a well-advertised meeting, after all had gone to bed, it was recounted that "She jumped out of the window to the ground at the risk of her *limbs* if not to her *neck* and *ran* all the way to the church."<sup>21</sup>

A newspaper editor writing in 1825 summed up the reaction of the more outspoken opponents succinctly when he declared, after visiting a tumultuous camp meeting in the woods near Salem, "If it was the purpose of those worshippers to avoid hell, they certainly raised enough of it here, first."<sup>22</sup>

Largely because of the efforts of the circuit riders and the influences of the camp meeting, many Methodist

churches were organized in this period. Several were already established in the shore counties by 1800, and their numbers grew rapidly during the next fifty years. One of the earliest in Cape May County was the church started in Dennisville in 1803. In 1827 the County was made a part of the Cumberland Circuit and for the first time itinerants began to travel there regularly, the first preacher being the Rev. Charles Pitman. Within a few years there were three riders in the circuit, preaching usually in private houses in the county. Each received about \$700 a year for his services.<sup>23</sup> By 1832 the Cumberland Circuit reported 894 members.<sup>24</sup> In Ocean County a Methodist Church was built in Barnegat in 1829.<sup>25</sup> The year before one had been constructed at Toms River. It was twenty-four feet by thirty feet with one aisle and open back seats, and cost \$740.28. It was never painted and had but one coat of plaster.<sup>26</sup>

In Atlantic County, the first Methodist Church was built in the latter 18th Century at Head of River, on the northerly side of the Tuckahoe River, about four miles west of Tuckahoe village. The Rev. Benjamin Abbott dedicated the church. The seats were pine slabs. Two other settlements contributed to the support of this pioneer church, Etna Furnace, a village of some forty families, near Head of River, and Ingersoll, a hamlet about three miles distant, near what is now Risley. In 1809, Bishop Francis Asbury, whose labors were explained in an earlier chapter, dedicated the church at Pleasant Mills, near Batsto. At May's Landing, the first Methodist Church was built about 1812 and a new one was erected in 1848. Three years after the establishment of Atlantic City in 1854, the first Methodist Church was built there.<sup>27</sup>

One of the oldest Methodist churches in Atlantic County is the Friendship Church, erected in 1808 near what is now Landisville in the northwestern part of the county. It is typical in its construction of the earlier church. Its history was written in 1915. According to

this, it had a vaulted ceiling; the timbers used to support it were six by fourteen. The gallery joists were three by twelve, and the rafters four by eight. The wooden pillars to support the gallery were one foot square. The joints of the framework were all dove-tailed or mortised. The lumber used was either oak or heart pine, and was in 1915 "as sound as the day it was put in." The few nails used were old-fashioned hand-made ones. The laths were all split by hand. The original weather boarding was all beaded on the lower edge and the gallery columns were fluted and carved, all done by painstaking hand labor. In its earlier years, there were no pews. Ordinary benches with backs were used. These were not fastened to the floor. They were long enough to reach from the side of the church to the central aisle, and were without division of any kind their entire length. The stove used was known as a ten-plate stove, large enough to take in a three foot log. It was connected with the chimney by a long, straight pipe extending all the way up to the roof.<sup>28</sup>

The Methodists had itinerant preachers in Monmouth County by the latter part of the 18th Century, as noted in Chapter IV. The outcome of their work was the establishment at Blue Ball, in Howell Township, three miles from Freehold, of the first Methodist society in the county, which was organized about 1780.<sup>29</sup> The earlier meetings were held in a barn, but by 1797 a church building was in use there. To this church came Methodists from Freehold, Keyport, and other communities. The number of Methodists in the county increased steadily and by 1793 a Freehold Circuit was organized, separating from the Trenton Circuit.<sup>30</sup> It included the churches in what is now Ocean County as well as Monmouth, and also two churches in Middlesex County.<sup>31</sup> In 1812 it reported a total of 736 members<sup>32</sup> and in 1833 1,335, more than double the number forty years earlier.<sup>33</sup>

No Methodist society was organized at Freehold itself until 1833. The following year a church was built



there, which cost \$1,200. In 1809 a society was incorporated at Long Branch and a church built on the road between Ocean Mills and Branchburg. In Matawan Township, Sunday school classes had been organized by 1826 and a church erected at Matawan village in 1836, with one earlier at Bethany in 1822. In Middletown Township, a church was built at Chapel Hill in 1828, and in 1829 another at Harmony, in the northwest portion of Middletown Township. In Shrewsbury Township a lot for a church was given in 1815 and a few years later a building was constructed on it. The same situation held true at Little Silver, where a lot was donated in 1822, with timber for lumber. A short time later, the Embury Methodist Church was built there. In nearby Red Bank, a society was organized in 1844.

In Upper Freehold Township, itinerants visited Allentown toward the end of the eighteenth century and soon a church was built there, which Charles Pitman visited as itinerant pastor from 1810 to 1813. The building was removed in 1832 to a new location. A Methodist Church had been erected at Imlaystown by 1790. In Manalapan Township a church was constructed at Blacks Mills about 1823, and at Englishtown, in 1843. In Millstone Township one was organized at Clarksburg in 1845. In Keyport Township, a Sunday School had been established in Keyport village by 1835, and a church was built in 1841. The Methodists constructed a church in Howell Township, in the village of Farmingdale, in 1849. In Manasquan a society was organized in 1843, and a church built in 1857. By mid-century a few others had been established, mostly offshoots of the earlier Monmouth County developments.<sup>34</sup>

## 2. *Other denominations.*

I remember a discussion as to whether they should allow a bass viol in church, some saying if they allowed a big fiddle, a little fiddle would follow, which was the limit of

wickedness. The minister said, "Whoever votes against the bass viol votes against me."

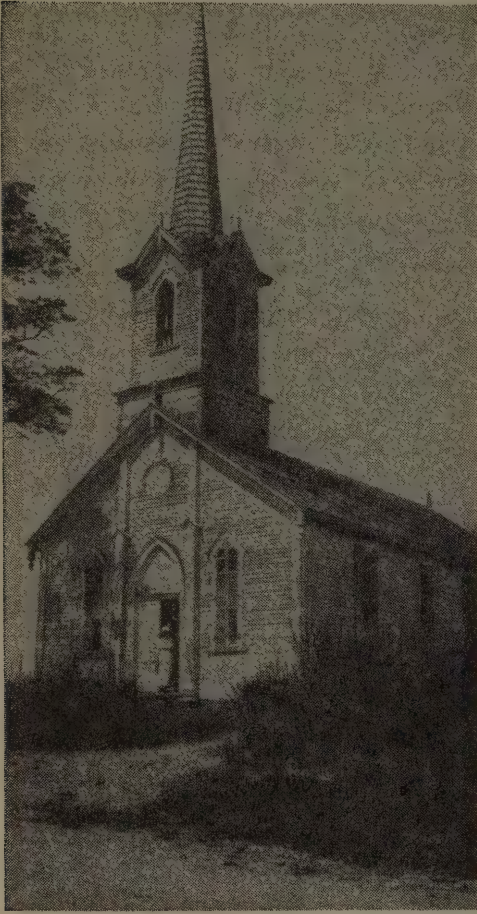
(Recollection of a mid-century controversy in a Cape May County Baptist Church.)<sup>35</sup>

Although the Methodists grew in large numbers during this period, other denominations developed much more slowly, or even began to decline. In the latter category were the Quakers, who were split by internal problems. In the former, were the Baptists and the Presbyterians. The Episcopalians, who were still hampered by the "taint of Toryism," made the slowest progress. One other denomination, a Mormon group, had a brief existence in upper Monmouth and Ocean counties.

The Quakers reached the height of their influence in the shore counties during the previous period, as explained in Chapter IV. Even by 1765, it will be recalled, signs of decline had set in. This movement received an impetus in the second quarter of the century when a serious schism occurred which split the meetings asunder. In 1827 and 1828, Elias Hicks, a New York Friend, influenced by the liberalism of the contemporary Unitarian movement in New England, attacked the conservatism and rigidity of Quaker customs and proceeded to organize liberal Quaker groups. His followers took the position that theology was not the essence of Christianity, but a matter of individual opinion. The orthodox Quakers, on the other hand, believed in emphasis on the outward authority of the Bible.<sup>36</sup>

Before the separation, four quarterly meetings of the Friends in New Jersey were in existence, only one of which was in a shore county. Three were centered at Burlington, Haddonfield, and Salem, and the fourth, at Shrewsbury in Monmouth County. Shrewsbury, it will be recalled, was the first township along the northern shore to become an established outpost of Quakerism. The four meetings totalled about six thousand members. In

the years following the division, the so-called Hicksites gained control of thirty-eight places of worship out of sixty-seven, and slightly over fifty per cent of the membership. In the Burlington Meeting about 1,000 of the



(Courtesy Mrs. Nellie T. Allen)

*"The Church on the Hill,"  
Manasquan's First Church,  
1842*

1,900 became Hicksite; in the Haddonfield Meeting, 850 out of 1,700; in the Salem Meeting, 1,250 out of 1,550 followed suit. The Shrewsbury Meeting, which was the smallest in the state, went largely Hicksite, with the figures 750 out of 925.<sup>37</sup>

At Shrewsbury, after some quiet discussion, the Hicksites retained the meeting-house and lot, and the Orthodox rented a building where they worshipped until 1842. At that time, they purchased a lot on the turnpike leading to Red Bank, and erected a building. This was used by them until 1880, when it was sold as membership declined to such a low point that the organization could not be carried on. The building

was moved across the road and became Library Hall. A contemporary wrote in 1855, "The Orthodox Society is nearly extinct; the Hicksites have a membership of about seventy."<sup>38</sup>

The schism dealt a serious blow to the Friends' movement. Feelings mounted and tension increased. During



the height of the controversy, in May, 1828, one newspaper item recounted a serious situation resulting from disagreements in Salem County, stating, "Several attempts have been made, we understand, to set fire to the horsesheds and Quaker Meeting House at Woodstown. Schisms, it seems, are attended with fiery consequences. Attention Fire Engine."<sup>39</sup>

The effect of the division was also strongly felt in the Cumberland County meeting, to which the Cape May Friends belonged. In the Greenwich meeting the division occurred in 1836. In this instance, the Orthodox group were the larger and so retained the building. The Hicksites constructed a new brick meeting-house a mile further up the main street of the village. From then on, as a result of the schism, and also, according to the local account, "from . . . death, emigration, and attaching themselves to other denominations," the number of Friends steadily declined. The Orthodox branch at Greenwich ceased to hold regular meetings toward the end of the 19th Century, and the few remaining members then joined the Woodbury meeting. The Hicksite branch, stated a 1924 report, "still holds meeting every week, although their membership is reduced to not over four or five female members, who hold silent meetings, a wonderful example of their convictions."<sup>40</sup> In the 20th Century the two branches re-united in New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania.

The Baptists grew gradually during the period 1800-1850. In 1800 there were only thirty churches of that organization in the whole state. A church historian noted that there was considerable competition at that time with the Quakers. "The development of their ideas," he explained, "was a hindrance to our growth. . . . Nevertheless," he admitted, "their consent that the only scriptural baptism was a burial in water put us on a better relation to them than to other denominations." In the Cape May area, the Baptist foothold gained in the 18th Century

grew in the first half of the 19th to include three new Baptist "colonies," one at Cape May Court House in 1828, one somewhat later at South Seaville, and one in 1849 in Dennisville.<sup>41</sup> Several more were begun in the following half century.<sup>42</sup>

Fewer new Baptist churches were established north of Cape May County during this period. In Atlantic County no new churches were organized in these years, but one was started in Hammonton in 1859. Several were begun in the 1850-1900 period.<sup>43</sup> No new Ocean County Baptist churches were started until the next period, when three were established.<sup>44</sup>

In Monmouth County a number of Baptist societies were organized between 1800 and 1850. A church was built at Manasquan in 1804. The greater number were built between 1840 and 1850. A church was erected at Keyport in 1840. Three years later the Eatontown Baptists formed a society which constructed a church in 1851. At Red Bank, a church was built in 1846 and that same year, a society was organized at Leedsville in Middletown Township, although it did not erect a church until 1868. In 1850 the Matawan members constructed a church.<sup>45</sup>

An interesting description of a Baptist Church building at mid-century is given in a Cape May County manuscript. It concerned the church at South Seaville, located on the cross road between South Dennis and Ocean View. The woman who wrote the account was a young girl in the 1850's. The old church which she attended was constructed on the Friends' style. No paint "was allowed anywhere in it" and "streaks of rust . . . ran from the nail holes on the weatherboards." On crossing the threshold, she recalled, the men turned to the right and the women to the left, a custom followed in contemporary Quaker meeting houses. The seats were long cedar benches with narrow boards for a back. The benches on the left of the pulpit were for the elderly women, with plain bonnets



(Courtesy Ocean County Bureau of Publicity)

### *Manahawkin Baptist Church*

and cloaks, and those on the right, for the old men. The windows could be raised only a little way, and sticks had to be used to hold them up. "I remember," she said, "seeing a beautiful lizard crawling along the blind at the window and of studying the habits of wasps which had numerous colonies overhead." In winter, the windows rattled.

The church was hard to heat. She wrote, "It was an airy place in winter, with its high ceiling . . . and drafts



were everywhere, so some of the women carried foot-stoves." A large square stove stood in the center of the church. "I remember," she added, "the whipping my mother gave me for calling out in meeting the letters on that old stove: 'F. H. Church, Phila.'" Underneath the stove was a box of earth into which her grandfather, "who was addicted to the use of tobacco," used to expectorate. Her favorite seat was on the bench next to him, with her feet just touching the hearth.

The ceremony of baptism was of great importance. The Van Gilder mill pond, later called Magnolia Lake, not far from Sea Isle City, was a favorite spot for immersions. The congregation, recalled the same South Sea-ville resident, "stood on the roadway and the candidate walked a long way into the water. Afterwards, the whole procession walked to Aunt Hannah Buck's, nearly one-half mile away, to dress." Another frequently used place was Mape's Mill Pond, between Goshen and the Court House.

Baptisms did not always occur in warm weather. The writer herself was baptized with "several other candidates" the latter part of February, 1857, after a previous attempt that month had proved impossible. "There was no water to be had," she recalled, "the creeks and ponds being frozen over and too shallow." Later, however, on a Sunday, she remembered, "The tide came in over the ice and on Monday we went to Crooked Creek for the ordinance, the people standing on the rim of the thick ice, close to the passageway, and we were brought back to the jail-house to dress."<sup>46</sup> The "jail house" was in Cape May Court House.

The custom of complete immersion in winter time was decried by some non-Baptists. One newspaper editor of that period expressed his feelings in print when he learned they had chopped holes in the ice in a nearby creek for that purpose. He wondered why there had been need for such haste, speculating as to what sins had been com-

mitted serious enough to require the winter ceremony. Upon reading the editorial the Baptists, thoroughly aroused, began to cancel their subscriptions and withdraw their advertising. They continued to boycott the paper for some weeks. Finally the editor capitulated. He apologized by stating that he regretted his "untimely remarks" and admitted that "the rite of baptism should be administered whenever the hungering soul" demanded it.<sup>47</sup>

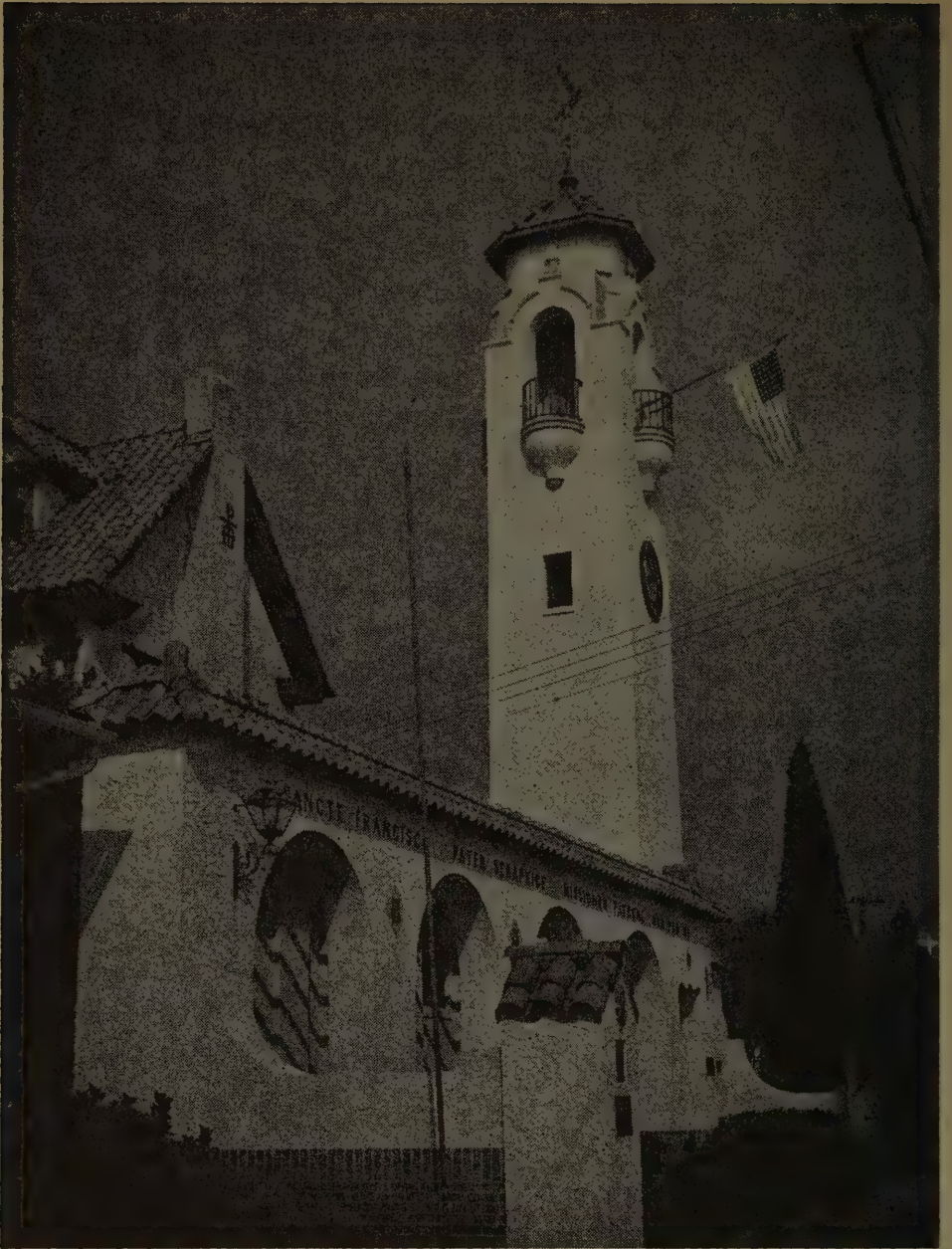
The Presbyterians continued to develop slowly in the first half of the century. In 1839 Cape May County and Atlantic County members joined with others in the interior South Jersey counties and severed their long tie with Philadelphia to set up the Presbytery of West Jersey. In 1849 a church was established at Mays Landing, and two years later one was organized at Tuckahoe and one at Cape May, but it was not until the next half-century that the number of churches grew markedly in that Presbytery.<sup>48</sup>

The two northern shore counties, then in the Presbytery of New Brunswick, reported no new churches in what became Ocean County in this period, but in Monmouth County the one at Millstone, dating from 1705, was rebuilt and enlarged in 1826. In 1835 a new church costing \$4,000 was erected in Freehold. This was an offshoot of the nearby Old Tennent Church. A society was organized at Long Branch in 1840 and a church was built in 1848. At Red Bank the Presbyterians organized four years later, and erected a church the following year.<sup>49</sup> The churches already established earlier in Shrewsbury, Allentown, Upper Freehold and Middletown Point in Matawan Township continued.

More rapid growth occurred in the last half of the century when forty-five new churches were established in the state, ten of which were in what later became the Presbytery of Monmouth.<sup>50</sup>

The Episcopalians were still hampered by the divisions which had grown up during the Revolutionary War.





*Second World War Memorial at St. Peter's Roman  
Catholic Church, Pleasantville*

Their first real period of growth in the four shore counties did not occur until the latter half of the 19th Century. In 1832, according to a report given before the General Convention in New York, there were only 340 Episcopalian families listed in all of New Jersey, with a total of only 900 communicants in the thirty-three con-



gregations. Of these latter the only ones listed in all the four shore counties were those already established in Monmouth County during the previous period, at Freehold, Shrewsbury, and Middletown.<sup>51</sup> In the latter 1830's, James Allaire, owner of the iron works in southern Monmouth County, established a church on his property.<sup>52</sup> By mid-century a few others had been established, mostly offshoots of the earlier Monmouth County developments.

One denomination with only local influence had a brief life in two of the counties during this period. Two contiguous areas, one in Upper Freehold Township, Monmouth County, and the other in New Egypt in Ocean County, were the locations of a short flurry of Mormonism in the 1830's. Mormon missionaries appeared in New Egypt in Plumsted Township in 1837 and within a few months a congregation of about fifty people had been formed. In 1840 the founder of the Mormons, Joseph Smith, was said to have visited New Egypt before his trek into the middle west. While there, he "sealed" a considerable number of converts. Still later, following Joseph Smith's death at the hands of a mob at Nauvoo, Illinois, and after the Mormons had moved to Utah, Joseph Smith's brother, William, and John Taylor, came to New Egypt, and to Toms River and Forked River as well. As late as 1851 the missionaries were holding services in the Forked River schoolhouse, where they preached and baptized converts. In a few places churches were built, but as a number of the more ardent converts departed from Ocean County for Salt Lake City, interest gradually waned and the movement soon died in the region.<sup>53</sup>

In Upper Freehold Township, at the hamlet known as Cream Ridge, a few miles north of New Egypt, a number of families "embraced" the doctrines of the Mormons in the 1830's, as missionaries entered that area from New Egypt. A church was built there. Later, most of the Cream Ridge Mormons became a part of a split from the Utah Mormon Church. The people of this new branch



*Our Lady Star of the Sea Church, Roman Catholic,  
Atlantic City*

refused to accept the doctrine of polygamy, and claimed to be following the original beliefs of Joseph Smith. Meetings were held in the Cream Ridge area in the 1870's in private houses, and in 1880 a room was fitted for worship over a store in the hamlet. By that time the church had been sold to the Catholics. The membership gradually grew smaller, and in 1885 amounted to only ten.<sup>54</sup>

## CHAPTER XI

### THE SCHOOL, THE TAVERN, AND OTHER VILLAGE INSTITUTIONS

All you who stand before the fire  
Pray sit down,—'t'is my desire  
That other people as well as you  
Shall see the fire and feel it, too.

(Admonition on mantle of fireplace in a tavern on the  
Black Horse Pike, mid-century.)<sup>1</sup>

The school and the tavern were also important in the lives of those who dwelt in the four shore counties during the years 1800-1850. The development of educational facilities and especially the beginnings of the district school; the influence of the tavern as a place of local assembly, and the role played by the country doctor and the village apprentice, the gristmill and the village store, comprise the topics for consideration in this chapter.

#### I. *The school.*

The next teacher, John B. Howell, was strangely afflicted and walked on hands and feet, sliding over the floor to his seat, and was given employment on account of sympathy for his misfortune.

(Recollection of district school days in Swainton, Cape May County, in 1849-50)<sup>2</sup>

From the feeble beginnings of education in the 18th Century, already described in Chapter V, definite improvements occurred in the first half of the 19th in the four shore counties, although, as noted in the above quotation, the teachers were generally inadequate. It must be recognized, however, that little inducement was offered for improvement and no opportunities existed for their training. The first normal school was not established in New Jersey until 1855.

For most of the earlier decades, and in some situa-



tions, still later, the teacher had to "board around." He stayed with the parents of his pupils varying lengths of time, depending upon the number of children each family had. He was offered this in place of a higher cash salary. By 1850 this practice had begun to decline, and the teacher's salary was raised enough for him to be able to pay for his accommodations. For example, in Old Gloucester County the record book of one teacher read, "commenced teaching November 4, 1850. . . ., boarding with C. Wriggin, . . . about Two dollars per week."<sup>3</sup>

Salaries were very low. At a district school in Cumberland County, north of Cape May, one John Peck was engaged in 1849 to teach the summer term of seventy days for \$39.30½; the following year, Susan Peck taught the same term for \$35.00. The salary for the spring term was \$60.00; and for the winter term, when older children attended, a man was hired for \$120.00<sup>4</sup>

The recollections of school days during the late 1840's and early 1850's, written by a Cape May County resident in 1901, offer a very good picture of the district school teacher and some of the methods used. Especially noteworthy were the various types of teachers employed. In one year, at "Old Swain's Schoolhouse," in Swainton, Cape May County, which she attended, there were three different teachers. The first, an irascible gentleman, was referred to as the "master." He wore slippers, and taught in his shirtsleeves, with a sheepskin thrown over his chair-back to keep himself warm. Boxes of dirt were placed in different parts of the room for use as spittoons. A big heating stove was in the center. At different times during the school day, the "master" requested pupils to pass the waterbucket, or, if a whipping were in order, he would command some student to "Take my knife and cut me a good hickory rod" for use for those who had missed words on the spelling lesson. This disturbed the younger pupils, but the older ones "vied in stoicism when the gad was applied."

The next teacher was the one described in the quotation at the heading of this section. Finally, in 1852, the trustees of the district made a real innovation by engaging a woman to teach a public school. Miss Eliza E. Cole was a "revolutionist." The first day the desks were all turned to face the wall. The spittoons were thrown away and the school house swept every day. The children were told to bring their slates and a Testament. The school was graded by using McGuffey's *Readers* and Smith's *Arithmetics*. Each morning everyone in the room stood in line to read a verse in turn from the Testament. At noon the line was again formed for spelling. Miss Cole sponsored hobbies, in modern fashion. She taught girls to embroider, in "out-of-school hours."

Still later, during the summer term, another teacher carried on the novel experiment of having the boys bring in fresh water and throw it at the ceiling by the cupful to cool the air. One wonders how many water fights ensued. This teacher was the first to introduce singing as a daily exercise in the school.<sup>5</sup>

One resident of Goshen in the same county recalled his first "schooling" in the spring of 1815. "I went to school with great reluctance," he said, and "very well remember how I used to lag behind the larger ones and cry. . . ." His first teacher, he recalled, was "Master Lack," who was an old English sailor who had been cast away on the shores of Cape May, where he lived and taught school for a number of years. "I well remember," reminisced the Goshenite, "he would caress me after I had recited my lessons, when with a long beard and a mouth reeking with tobacco juice, he would implant a kiss on my cheek with a smack that could be heard throughout the school. . . . When I reached my 14th year," he went on, "I had learned to read and write and had ciphered some, as far as the 'rule of three.' This was the extent of my education."<sup>6</sup>

Many teachers followed erratic procedures, but one

whose peculiarities were widely publicized attracted much attention, which she probably sought. One Cadchi Ayars taught district school near Salem, spectacularly and sensationally. She said she was bothered by a ghost which groaned. A former student wrote later that people came in crowds to hear the ghost groan. Horses and carriages were tied up all along the fence by the schoolhouse. First Cadchi would get the class repeating their lessons out loud and then the ghost would perform. This went on for weeks. The children were so frightened that it was no trouble for their parents to keep them home nights. Finally a bright young lawyer from Salem discovered the source of the moan, which could be heard only when all the pupils were reciting. The noise, he found, emanated from the throat of the teacher. She was dismissed and the school closed for a while.<sup>7</sup>

In addition to the usual wear and tear of the day's work, school teachers occasionally underwent harrowing experiences. Reuben Willets of Cape May County wrote in his journal of 1852 of the days when he was school teacher during the summer of 1821 at "Little Worth, a very appropriate name," he recalled, "for such a teacher." That was the year of the "Great September Gale," as it was remembered for many years afterward. "The wind on September 3rd," remembered Mr. Willet, "was from the southeast and blew a perfect hurricane, prostrating fences, houses, and trees. The tide rose to the greatest height ever on the coast of New Jersey. Great damage was done to the timber and orchards. The salt spray from the sea was carried many miles inland sufficiently strong to kill vegetation."

In the midst of the hurricane, the writer recalled, "the fastenings of the school door gave way, and great was the consternation. . . . I succeeded, however, in closing the door and placing the benches endwise against it. I put all the children on them and thus barricaded, we rode



out the gale in safety, but the schoolhouse creaked and groaned like an old vessel in a storm at sea."<sup>8</sup>

The author of the *History of the New Jersey Coast*, published in 1902, recalls the school days of his youth in the 1840's, when the school house he attended was a log building with two windows. A wide fireplace furnished heat. The seats were rough planks supported by legs let into augur holes, and were without backs. On the sides of the building were planks resting upon casks, and at these stood the pupils over unruled copy books, laboriously tracing with a goosequill pen the copy set by the master. This included capital and small letters, and such alliterative sentences as "Many Men of Many Minds." If the master were of an amiable nature, he would have the children read plain, short-word passages in the Gospels. If he was domineering, he would "give out" a chapter in the Pentateuch and his gorge would increase as frightened youngsters stumbled over the unpronounceable names in the old genealogies. Aside from the Bible, there were usually no textbooks, and the pupils would bring such as the family closet would afford.

The schoolmaster's post of observation was in the chimney corner, where he sat enjoying his pipe, but not so abstracted that he failed to note any disposition to horseplay, which brought from him a sharp "draw near," and a volley of blows from his convenient birch when the head or shoulders of the offender were within reach. This same schoolmaster, tender-hearted after a fashion, would in later years drag himself to the home of one who had been his scholar, whom he regarded with paternal affection and whose punishing, he firmly believed, was the chief instrumentality in forming his character.<sup>9</sup>

Provision for public education did not reach wide proportions during the first half of the 19th Century, but one development occurred which carried over through the century and only declined when the automobile of the 20th Century made possible consolidated schools. This

was the district school, supported at first by tuition, and increasingly after mid-century, by local taxes. The state itself, as elsewhere, gave little financial support. In 1817 the Legislature set aside the sum of \$15,000 to be invested, the income of which was to be used for a school fund. This was increased in 1818 to a total of \$113,000. In 1820 the state authorized the inhabitants of townships to raise money locally for the education of children unable to pay fees, but it was not until 1871 that the legislature abolished all fees for instruction in those public schools which still charged them. By the 1820 law public schools for pauper children were begun, although townships were slow to take advantage of the legislature's sanction.<sup>10</sup>

In 1828, the townships were authorized to raise money for the erection and repair of school houses. By this time New York and Pennsylvania had already established a general system of education for their states. In 1829 the legislature began to make its first annual appropriations for the support of the common schools, with \$20,000 first granted. This was given out by counties according to the amount of taxes paid by the inhabitants.<sup>11</sup>

The following year townships were required to elect a committee of three to establish school districts, examine and license teachers, and distribute whatever funds the state provided. Although this law was repealed in 1831, it was re-enacted, with a few changes, in 1838. At that time the appropriation from the state was increased to \$30,000 a year, and the school committees of the townships were to take a school census annually for all children between five and sixteen years of age. Tuition was still charged in the district schools, with rates ranging from \$1.35 a quarter in Cape May County to \$2.43 in Burlington. The first reported tuition-free public schools were in 1846, in Jersey City, Newark and Paterson.<sup>12</sup>

In the same year townships were required to match state money given them, but by 1851 the state was appropriating only \$40,000 annually for schools. In 1854

the state offered to subsidize county teacher institutes, giving \$100 for each one held. In 1855 the first state normal school was set up at Trenton.<sup>13</sup>

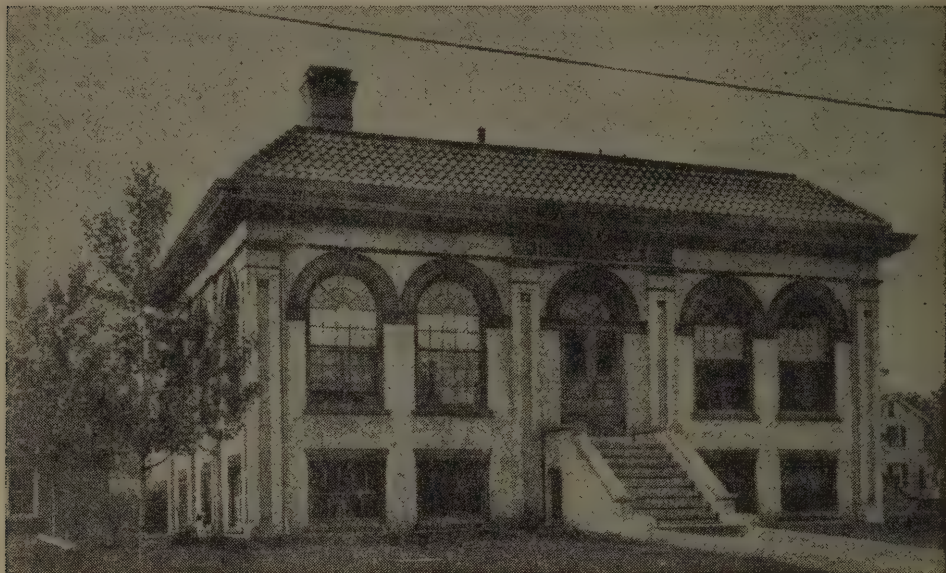
Monmouth County, with the largest population, established the greatest number of district schools in these years, and the other shore counties built as many as they felt they were able. By 1830 schools were maintained in Cape May County in the principal villages. By 1840 there were four schools in Dennis Township, with 205 pupils out of a population of 1,350; in Middle Township, five schools with 328 students, in a population of 1,624; and in Lower Township, there were six schools and 240 scholars, in a population of 1,133. By that same year, an academy "for both sexes" for those able to pay had been established at Cold Spring, in Lower Township. Two decades later, there were twenty-seven schools in the County, with thirty-two teachers and 2,373 students in a population totalling 7,130. The only academy was still that of Cold Spring.<sup>14</sup>

In Atlantic County slower progress was made. A few schools were established on the mainland, and by 1836 one, which required the payment of tuition, had been set up on Absecon Island, later Atlantic City. In that year a Mr. Richard Risley came over to the island from the mainland and opened a school; the number of children of school age on the island was less than ten.<sup>15</sup> The situation had not improved in 1844. According to a report made that year it was claimed that about one-half of the population of Atlantic County "over five years of age are unable to read with any tolerable fluency and perhaps nearly one-half (of these) are unable to gain much knowledge directly from books."<sup>16</sup>

In Ocean County a similar situation prevailed, and neither county developed wide educational facilities until the last half of the century. Tuckerton, however, thanks to its Quaker background, was the center of considerable educational development, for the Society of Friends main-



tained at their own expense a school for the education of their children, and at the same time sent the older children to Philadelphia or elsewhere for some form of secondary education in Quaker schools. By about 1845 the village had a Select School for girls.<sup>17</sup>



*The Public Library, Keyport*

In Monmouth County, which was not only the most populous but also the most prosperous of the four shore counties, the rural district school reached all sections. Not all the townships can be considered here for lack of space, but a good picture of the general situation by 1850 can be obtained by sampling four. In Middletown Township, Navesink district was provided with a large frame two-story schoolhouse about 1840. This supplanted an 1800 school located in an area known as Witch Hollow. Middletown village had a kind of school as early as the latter 17th Century, which continued as a tuition school until 1836. In that year Franklin Academy was set up. This remained a tuition academy for a number of years, but was turned over to the school district at mid-century. Leedsville District in the southwest corner of the township re-

ceived its district school about 1830, when one of the farmers there gave a lot for that purpose. Nut Swamp District in the southern part of the township was provided with a schoolhouse in 1841. The first school house in the Chapel Hill District was built in 1817 on Garret Hill. In 1834 a school was constructed in the Highland District as a private school. This was later abandoned and in 1845 Highlands became a separate district, with a new schoolhouse. In the Bay Shore District, now embracing Atlantic Highlands, a school house was erected in 1807 and a larger one built later.<sup>18</sup>

In Shrewsbury Township, similar trends were noticeable. A school house was constructed in Fair Haven in 1841, and in Oceanic District in 1849. About 1848 one of the teachers at the nearby Phalanx, whose story is recounted in Chapter XVI, moved from there to Little Silver and built on her own land a school house in which she taught for many years. A school house was built by the Presbyterians in the village of Shrewsbury in 1838 and was kept as a private school for a dozen years, when the building was rented by the school district. In the Tinton Falls District, a lot was donated for a school in 1810, with the consideration that the donor should be allowed to have the stove and fireplace ashes that the fires burned in the schoolhouse. A building was erected, but it was not made into a district school until some time later.<sup>19</sup>

At Allentown in Upper Freehold Township an academy sponsored by the Presbyterians continued until 1834, when a new building was erected and rented by the school trustees as a school. A school was erected in Centre District in 1839-1840. In East Branch District a Friends' School continued until the early 1820's, when a new lot was presented and a new schoolhouse erected. It was an octagonal brick house, about twenty feet in diameter. In the Cream Ridge District, a brick school house was constructed about 1825, and a private school carried on in it until 1880. In the Ellisdale District a school was erected

in 1812 and was used also as a Friends' Meeting house for a number of years. The Marl Ridge District had a school opened in 1820.<sup>20</sup>

In Howell Township, in the southern part of Monmouth County, the Blue Ball school was built about 1820. In 1841, however, the trustees of the district moved the house to a more conveniently situated lot. In the Turkey District, a school was built about 1835. Farmingdale had a school house before 1800. A new one was started in 1829, and rebuilt in 1838. In May of that year there were thirty-five pupils attending it. In the Squankum District a school was built in 1839. In 1851, public schools were formally established in the township when it was divided into ten school districts.<sup>21</sup>

This was also the period of the private academy, which continued until the last quarter of the century, when public high schools were introduced. In Cape May County the Cold Spring Academy has already been discussed, as well as a few in Monmouth County. Others in the latter county included one in Matawan Township, at Matawan, where the Middletown Point Academy was erected in 1834 from private subscription. The building was forty-four by twenty-six, and was two stories high. In 1836 there were three teachers on its faculty. In 1845 it began to receive public money but it was continued under the control of the stockholders until 1851, when it was leased to the school district. Prior to that date the scholars of the village who could not afford to go to the Academy attended the small school in the old graveyard. In 1857 the Academy was revived on a new site, and it continued for many decades, with new facilities and better advantages.<sup>22</sup>

In Freehold the Freehold Academy was built in 1831 and it continued for a number of years. In 1847 the Freehold Institute for Boys was established, with a system of military drill and discipline. It was later known as the New Jersey Academy, and continued for more than half a century.<sup>23</sup>



At Perrineville in Millstone Township a "classical" private school was opened in 1826 by the Presbyterian minister, who built a school house adjoining the parsonage. He himself taught there until about 1830, and one of his students was William A. Newell, later Governor of



*Adult Reading Room, Bishop Memorial Library,  
Toms River*

the state. A seminary which charged tuition was opened in Eatontown in 1844. It was located on the Long Branch road about a mile east of the center of Eatontown village. The building was sixty by forty feet, four stories high, and was surmounted by a large observatory for classes in astronomy. The interior of the house was a hollow square with rooms for students on all sides of each story. This was for boys. In a wing sixty by thirty feet, three stories high, was the "female department," with a large laboratory. The total cost of the building was \$9,000. Financial difficulties soon ensued and two years later creditors took over the property. In 1850 the building was reopened under the name Ocean Institute and for a while was well patronized as a day school. In the even-

ings it was used for public entertainments, lyceums, lectures, concerts, and exhibitions. In 1875 it became a home for friendless children.<sup>24</sup>

## 2. *The Tavern* .

Here the little coterie of village wiseacres met . . . to ventilate their opinions over the conical glass after the labors of the day were done.

(Local comment on early tavern life).<sup>25</sup>

The tavern was a village institution of great influence from the earliest days until railroads were built. It was indispensable in stagecoach days. With the advent of the railroad, the hotels in the larger towns and cities became the stopping places for travellers, and the village tavern declined.

In the latter 18th Century and early 19th, most of the shore county taverns offered poor accommodations. One woman traveller wrote in her journal in the winter of 1786, while making a journey from Cumberland County to Philadelphia, a trip which took two days, of stopping at the "Pine Tavern" en route. She complained of the scanty bedclothing, and that the windows were not glazed and instead of having shutters, were nailed up by boards set an inch apart to let in light.<sup>26</sup> Accommodations improved during the first half of the 19th Century. Even then, the sleeping rooms were not generally warmed. Usually the sojourner was sent to a cold room and put to bed with a copper warming pan and an apple-brandy toddy.<sup>27</sup>

The role of the tavern was varied. Because of the absence of public buildings in most villages, the inn gained prestige as a place of assembly for local courts and local boards of officers. Land owners and speculators met there to buy or sell timber or to settle disputed boundaries, and people came to "close up" business deals of all kinds.<sup>28</sup> During week days many of the taverns were centers of

trading and exchange. On their outside walls were displayed articles to be sold in the public room of the inn.<sup>29</sup>

In some localities the inn also served as a balloting place. In Galloway Township, Atlantic County, which was formed in 1775, the townspeople held elections at Smith's Hotel in Smithville. There some six hundred would come on election day to cast their ballots. One commentator described how they waited around all day and far into the night for the tabulation of the voting in order to learn who had been elected assessor, tax collector, freeholder or poundkeeper. This provided need for "big dinners, big suppers, and a big business in wet goods," all of which "made a busy day for the Smith household and their employees."<sup>30</sup>

For generations the tavern had served as a stopping place for the stage to and from the shore. The oyster and fish dealers also found a place for their horses in the ample out-buildings. Two especially well-known inns were the Blue Anchor in southern Camden County and the Sailor Boy in northern Atlantic County. The latter, at what afterwards became Elwood on the White Horse Pike, was often the first halt on the trip from the Leeds Point section to Cooper's Ferry. The former was the same tavern mentioned in the journal of the salt producer, M. Hopkins, who stopped there in 1780 while en route to the Friendship Salt works on Great Egg Harbor.

According to tradition the origin of the names of these two inns is tied to the same episode. The "Sailor Boy" is said to have received its name from a disaster in 1750, when the "York," an English vessel, was wrecked near the present site of Atlantic City. Most of the crew reached land safely and started across the pines for Philadelphia by what was then called the "blazed path." Their first halt was made at a spot which became known as "Sailor Boy." An inn built there later took on that name. For years the tavern sign was the figure of a sailor hewn from a piece of wood.



The tale goes on to say that these sailors had rescued large quantities of rum from their foundered ship. Of this they drank considerable quantities. The second nightfall they reached a pleasant spot, and one of them proposed they should "come to an anchor" there. In the morning they arose half-sobered and uncomfortable, and one, who evidently was suffering from a hangover, declared that the place was a "blue" anchor. The story was remembered and from it was named the Blue Anchor Tavern, in front of which was hung a wooden anchor.<sup>31</sup>

Social life found free expression at the tavern. Here gossip and news were retailed and disseminated. One citizen, in recalling the tavern of this period, exclaimed at the "talk we listened to there: how many deer and bears killed; how we missed the nice buck; how the country can be saved, as Federals and as Democrats; how much my land is worth more than yours; how big a load of logs my team can haul, etc."<sup>32</sup> Here were offered opportunities for all types of gatherings. For example, special "suppers" for the public were held, after which there would be dancing. A table provided the fiddler a place on which to render such tunes as "Camptown Races" and "Hi, Betty Martin." It was recalled that oftentimes the fiddler "would disappear under the table," whereupon "one of the girls would sing the airs and the frolic would continue until long after midnight."<sup>33</sup>

In its influence on the life of the village and the surrounding countryside, the tavern's role as a center for conviviality deserves special mention. The inn was the meeting place for the male villagers and other nearby residents quite as much as it was a place for a traveler to rest. In this category, it too frequently served as a rendezvous for ne'er-do-wells. In the latter part of the 18th Century Governor Livingston, in complaining that there were "four times as many taverns in the State as are necessary" had declared that "these superabundant taverns are continually haunted by idlers."<sup>34</sup>

The chief source of revenue for many a tavern was the sale of strong beverages. To prevent undue profit, attempts were made to establish set prices for drinks, a forerunner of a policy in vogue more than a century and a quarter later. Prices were established by action of the



(Courtesy N. J. Dept. of Conserv. & Econ. Devel.)

*Village Inn, Englishtown*

County Court. In 1840, for instance, in Cape May County, those to be charged included "One gill of nicest India Rum, ten cents; nip of toddy, twelve cents; bowl of punch, forty cents; pint of Madeira Wine, fifty cents; pint of sherry, thirty-three cents; mug of Strong Beer, twelve and one-half cents; mug of cider, seven cents."<sup>35</sup>

The number of taverns generally increased in the first half of the 19th Century. In Cape May County, for example, there were eight in 1805, twelve in 1806, and fifteen in 1822. By 1830, however, the number had been cut to eleven. Two of these were in Cape May Court House; three in Tuckahoe; one at Cold Spring; two at Dennis Creek; one at Goshen; and two at Beesleys Point ferry on Great Egg Harbor.<sup>36</sup>

Frequent references occur to taverns during this period as "little more than tippling houses," where "the fire on the hearth invited the weary traveller and lured the local resident."<sup>37</sup> In fact, the name of "jug tavern" was given to a number in the Pine Belt in the shore sections of southern Burlington County, since their stock consisted of jugs of apple jack. According to the report of one contemporary evangelical worker in 1845 on conditions in the pine lands south and east of Medford in that county, "Tippling houses are scattered around. The taverns are wretched places and offer harbors for the young men and boys during the evenings and Sabbaths."<sup>38</sup> In this same area was the Martha Furnace, which will be discussed in Chapter XIV. In the Martha Furnace Diary, covering the years 1808-1815, "Bucks Tavern" was referred to as a favorite nearby gathering place for the workingmen at the Furnace. One entry in the diary states succinctly "Jacob Emmons went to the 'Bucks' and got very drunk and coming home, stopped at meeting to get his sins forgiven him."<sup>39</sup>

The innkeeper became as much of an institution as the tavern itself. He was counted a man of more than common influence, even though his business kept him from being received socially in the "better" homes. It was he who had first information about the town affairs, the acts of the legislature, and the work of the County Board of Freeholders. He was often the postmaster of the village. In his different capacities, he was regarded as an encyclopedia for all things.<sup>40</sup>

Even innkeepers, however, at times came "under the influence." A notorious example was one James J. Ludlam, who kept a tavern in mid-19th Century at South Dennis, Cape May County. About him many stories spread. It was said that, after an unusually long spree, he would not allow a lighted candle near him for fear it would ignite his breath and he would blow up. It was also reported, by people who liked a good story, that



after one long dissipation, Ludlam thought he was going to die. He thereupon called for his neighbor, Jacob J. Price, to pray with him. When the latter entered the inn, Ludlam moaned, "Oh, Jakey, I think I'm going to die. Hadn't I better join a church?" Jakey replied in the affirmative. Ludlam then asked, "What church shall I join, Jakey?" To this Jakey answered: "Well, I think you ought to join the one that uses the most water." Ludlam recovered, but a few years later, his application to the County Court for a license renewal was denied him with the explanation that, according to a State law passed in 1797, a tavern keeper had to be of good repute for honesty and for temperance.<sup>41</sup>

The taverns occupied a firm place in the hearts of many a citizen, and their departure brought feelings of regret. When, for instance, a tavern was being torn down in one South Jersey county seat in 1848, the local newspaper decried its loss. "Our denizens witness board after board torn from their resting places. . . . There is the old ball-room, which, when it was not unfashionable to commemorate the twenty-second of February by a patriotic dance, was replete with the brilliancy of wax candles, vocal with the tortured violin, and thronged with pretty girls and chivalrous beaux from the county ten miles around. . . . There are the chambers which tell of card parties and convivial gatherings. There is the ancient tap-room, so often resounding with bacchanalian revels, a room whose walls, were they gifted with speech, would narrate sad histories of many by whom it was most frequented."<sup>42</sup>

### 3. *Other village institutions.*

We have had terrible cold weather for some time past. The thermometer yesterday morning was six degrees below zero. . . . There have been so many sick I could not get away to get to Trenton as I expected. I did want to come up.

(Excerpt from letter written in the latter 1850's by country doctor of Dennisville, Cape May County.)<sup>43</sup>

Even in these years the country doctor was becoming an "institution." Despite the need, few doctors came into the rural communities of the shore counties during the first half of the 19th Century. The number of doctors in the state was limited, owing to the lack of opportunities for training. Some came from abroad. One of these arrived in a South Jersey community in 1818 and sent the following announcement to the local paper:

Notice, Dr. John D. Russell from Ireland begs leave to inform the inhabitants of Mullica Hill and the Country at large that he intends to become a resident and hopes from his experience and knowledge of his profession, (as having graduated M.D., Trinity College, Dublin, and the branch of Midwifery in the Lyin-In Hospital in said city) to gain favor.<sup>44</sup>

A small number of doctors began to practice in the northern shore counties during these years, more in Monmouth County than in Ocean. In the latter, Dr. Hankinson of Manahawkin was remembered as having served a large territory. There were very few doctors in the southern shore counties. Doctors from the interior counties would at times go down into sections of the shore counties which had none. One doctor who journeyed into Cape May County was Dr. Reuben Willetts of Port Elizabeth, Cumberland County. One resident, recalling the days of the early 1840's when he was a child in Cape May County, observed that Dr. Willetts "endured many hardships in his faithfulness to his patients scattered over so trying a territory. One bitter night, the doctor, while himself suffering from a severe cold, braved a northeast storm in answer to a call to go several miles. He feared the worst for himself but was surprised next day to find that he was recovering. He said he had found his cure in facing a northeast storm to care for a fellow sufferer."<sup>45</sup>

One of the best known country doctors of his time was Dr. Bowman Hendry, who lived in Haddonfield, then a part of Old Gloucester County. He died there in 1838. In the earlier years of his practice, he travelled by horse-

back into what is now Atlantic County and the southwestern part of Ocean County, as well as the shore section of Burlington County. In the words of a memoir published ten years after his death, the doctor "would rapidly dismiss half a dozen cases of the prevalent epidemic and dash off, five and twenty miles into the Pines to usher into being an additional bread-eater to encumber the already overburdened board of some poor glass blower at the furnace." These excursions into the "barrens" often caused protracted absences, as Dr. Hendry frequently became lost driving along the sand trails. He would then sleep the night out in his sulky, after fastening his horse to a convenient sapling.<sup>46</sup>

The problem of finding the way along unmarked roads was always a difficult one. Another doctor wrote in 1818, after making an arduous journey across the pine barrens, "The principal difficulty we experienced was in keeping to the right road. It is next to a miracle if you hit the right one."<sup>47</sup>

The sulky which Dr. Hendry drove, after riding upon a saddle for the first fifteen years of his professional career, was not very well fitted for trips shoreward through the pines. The vehicle was like an ordinary chair placed upon wooden springs, open to the sun and rain. Later, Dr. Hendry added carriage lamps which helped him when driving along lonely pine roads at night. Inside the lamps were placed spermaceti candles which, in the words of the memoir published in 1848, "rendered awfully luminous the defects of the road."

The doctor's sorrel horse, which went by the name of "Cayenne" because of his fieriness, became well known to the residents of the countryside. The doctor's biographer figured that this valuable animal performed, even by moderate computation, "at least 40,000 miles of travel in his master's service, carrying upon his back or dragging the sulky, a weight of 180 pounds." In cases of extreme emergency, when life or death depended upon immediate



action, the doctor became "a furious driver and spared his horse as little as himself. . . . Many a vigorous Jersey-man now lives," concluded the writer, "unconscious of the fact that a parent's life, and hence his own, are due . . . to that old sorrel horse."<sup>48</sup>

There were no dentists in the shore counties in the first half of the 19th Century. The barber or the blacksmith usually performed the necessary work of pulling teeth. "Before 1850," wrote one commentator, "the forceps were as necessary an instrument in a barber shop as a pair of shears."<sup>49</sup> In many sections, away from the larger villages, the blacksmith performed this duty. One South Jersey resident recalled "a memorable visit," when a boy in the 1850's, with his grandfather "to the blacksmith shop . . . to get a tooth pulled. . . . The blacksmith had . . . an old time 'cant-hook' to pull teeth with. . . . From experience," added the patient, "I am convinced that it was before the days of painless dentists. . . . I sat on a high stool while the blacksmith proved to me that he could twist out a tooth with a cant hook after telling me that it did not hurt much."<sup>50</sup>

The shore people placed much reliance on home-remedies and specifics, since doctors were seldom available. One book of remedies was called the *Family Adviser*. The first edition was published in London in 1767, and the one recalled by a Cape May resident as used in the mid-19th Century was the twenty-sixth edition, printed early in that century. All kinds of medical advice were given in it. "For consumption," it noted, "boil two handfuls of sorrel in a pint of whey. Strain it and drink a glass a day. . . . For corns: apply bruised ivy leaves to the joints and soles of the feet, changing them once a day. . . . For ring-worm: apply rotten apples and pounded garlic. . . . For a stitch in the side: apply treacle spread on hot toast. . . . For warts: rub them daily with a radish. . . . To make hair grow: wash every night with a strong decoction of rosemary. Dry it with flannel."<sup>51</sup>

Great faith was also placed in certain specifics. The diary of an Old Gloucester County Quaker who had real estate dealings in what is now Atlantic County, mentions a full list of drugs and liniments. He often suffered from abscesses and at various times used "brimstone, glauber salts, sulphur, jimson weed, turpentine, . . . oil of horn-mint, magnesia, laudanum opadeldoc, ginger, hot molasses, chalk julep, tincture of myrrh, burdock tea, mustard seed, carrot and yeast poultices, burnt alum, lunar caustic, bread and milk." Of the prepared medicines, he favored "Warners Gout Cordial, Lees Bilious Pills, Mel-lens Cough Drops, and Judkins Ointment." These remedies did well by him. He was seventy-eight years old when he wrote about them and lived to be eighty-three.<sup>52</sup>

In another section of his diary of 1822 this same Quaker described the relief a certain deaf woman got from using sweet oil in which earth worms had been stewed, then strained, and dropped in the ear. The writer himself, however, tried the concoction for several months without the desired effect, and noted in a latter entry that he had concluded to stop the treatment. His "ailing joints" bothered him five years later, and he wrote on March 2, 1827, "This p.m. between 4 and 5 I went to Dr. Crane at ye court house to be again electrified for rheumatism and was surprised to find about 20 persons there. . . . I among them had many shocks and was so filled with ye electric fluid that on diverse of them touching me or my clothes, the fire would sparkle and fly out and give each who touched me or my clothes a shock." That was the year that the Quaker died, perhaps of an overtreatment of "ye electric fluid."<sup>53</sup>

The taking of apprentices to teach them a trade was a custom which prevailed for many years. It gradually died out after 1850. The apprentice was given a limited opportunity for some kind of vocational training, and was at the same time a help to his master. The Township Book of Great Egg Harbor Township, in what was later At-

lantic County, for the years 1779-1832, contained a section called Apprenticeship Records. The principal businesses to be learned included, for the boys, husbandry and seamanship, blacksmithing and wheelwrighting; for the girls, two were listed, housework and spinning.<sup>54</sup>

The apprentice was supposed to serve five years. His lot was often not an easy one. One boy, who was bound out until 1803 to a man who made rush-bottom chairs, recalled later, "My master cut and cured his own rushes. . . . Every year we went to the marshes. . . . We took about 500 to 1,000 bundles. . . . One year we had to go as far as Reedy Island on the Delaware." Later, this same boy was sent by his master to help another man paint. "I worked for many days," he recollected, "and when through, the man presented me with an entire suit of his cast-off clothing, small clothing and all, which I took in great dudgeon."

Neither were living conditions too happy. "My Mistress," wrote the same apprentice, "allowed her children to abuse my brother and me. She was stingy and when she left the breakfast table, she took the sugar bowl with her."<sup>55</sup>

Girls were sometimes apprenticed at a very early age. One Mary Butter, for instance, entered a South Jersey household in 1825 at the age of seven years and continued in service until 1836. The agreement between the master and Mary's father reveals the extent of the duties and restrictions placed upon the child, and, at the same time, indicates the responsibilities of the master and mistress. According to the agreement, "the said apprentice shall her master faithfully serve, his secrets keep, his lawful commands everywhere obey. She shall do no damage to said master or mistress. . . . She shall not contract matrimony, nor play at cards, or any other unlawful game. . . . She shall not absent herself day and night from her master's or Mistress' service without his or her leave, nor haunt ale houses, taverns, or playhouses."



The master and mistress, on the other hand, were given definite duties. It was stipulated that "they shall use the utmost of their endeavor to teach or cause to be instructed the said apprentice in the trades or mystery of housewifery and procure for her sufficient meat, drink, and wearing apparel and shall give to the said Mary six quarters of schooling, with a good competent teacher, and the said John and Sarah, his wife, shall at the end of said term, give the said Mary two entire every-day suits and one new suit of clothes, and one cow or 13 dollars in lieu of said cow."<sup>56</sup>

The gristmill was another essential part of many a shore county village. The *Gazetteer* of 1834 listed a large number of them, as noted in Chapter IX. These included ones at Colts Neck, Squankum and Tinton Falls in Monmouth County. In Ocean County, one was in operation at New Egypt. In Washington Township of Burlington County, one at Atsion and another at Batsto were used to supply the workers at the forge and furnace. Among those in Atlantic County one was to be found at Bargaintown, and in Cape May County, Dennisville reported a "tide gristmill."<sup>57</sup>

The mill not only provided a means for grinding grain, it also offered a spot where farmers, while waiting for their meal, could discuss crops, weather conditions, politics, or perhaps the latest depredations of wild animals among their sheep and cattle. An indispensable adjunct to the mill was the mill pond, a source of many happy times for young people, who fished and swam in the pond in summer and skated on it in winter.<sup>58</sup>

The mill pond furnished a "head of water" with sufficient pressure to turn the water-wheels. These latter were from six to twelve feet wide and from ten to twenty feet high, depending on the depth of the "head of water" and the volume of flow. V-shaped troughs or cups extended between the rims of these big wheels and as the water flowed over them, it was caught in the troughs and its

weight and force of flow caused the wheels to turn. Gears were connected to the axles of these wheels which turned pulleys on a power shaft. The power shaft was belted to other pulleys which turned the stones between which the grain was ground. The entire machinery, except the bearings, were made of wood. Sometimes even the bearings were wooden.

The millstones were a particular type of flint that wore down slowly. The bottom, or bed stone, was stationary and the upper revolved. Wooden "hoops" around the stones retained the material being ground. Above was a hopper into which the grist was poured to be fed into the stones through a center "eye" from which the grain spread between the stones. As the stones wore smooth during constant grinding, they had to be "dressed" or sharpened. The miller had to know how to do this as well as how to set the stones close enough for varying degrees of fineness demanded for the flour or meal. Most families took their own wheat to be ground and the miller was allowed to take one-tenth of the grain for his charge.<sup>59</sup>

The village store was still another center in these years. All sorts of things were sold there. One commentator wrote in 1879, "Fifty years ago . . . (the village store) meant a place where a person could get whatever he wanted from a hymn-book to a quart of apple-jack."<sup>60</sup>

The "Day Book" of a country store at Greenwich, oldtime Cohansey, kept between 1842 and 1854, yields pertinent details of the variety of the goods sold, as well as the prices charged. Random samplings tell us that on June 15, 1842, William Cook bought 12 yards of muslin at 10¢ a yard and 4 yards of pantaloon stuff at 16¢. On Jan. 12, 1844, Joseph Miller was credited \$1.96 for 49 pounds of hide at 4¢ a pound and on November 8th, he got 8 yards of calico at 12½¢ a yard and 2 quarts of oil, for 37½¢; 10 pounds of "nales" at 6½¢ a pound, and one pound of tobacco for 12¢. On March 23, Jesse Barrett

commenced working for six months at \$9 a month. On April 1, one family got credit for 2 pounds of butter "brought in," at 15¢ a pound, and on the April 6th entry, a man "brought in" four dozen eggs and got credit for 32¢, at 8¢ a dozen. On April 20, another received credit for 16 pounds of veal at 4¢ a pound, a total of 64¢, and a man bought a straw hat that day for 20¢.

In comparison with its price today, sugar was expensive. On May 10, one purchaser bought 2 pounds at 10¢ a pound. A few days later another customer sold the store 7 pounds of mutton at 4¢ a pound. The storekeeper received 62½¢ for "mending a pare of boots" and 25¢ for mending one "pare of soes" (shoes). Later, a man paid him one dollar for having a horse "shoed." And on Oct. 19, 1844, six months after Jesse Barrett started work at \$9 a month, the storekeeper found cheaper help when "Geo. Price commences working this day at noon at \$2 per month," and on the 26th of the same month, Mary Ann Johnson commenced working at 25¢ a week.<sup>61</sup>

One commodity remembered by most residents was the candy sold, sometimes in a special store. At Dennis Creek, Cape May County, one citizen recalled that "Aunt Becky Souder" kept a little candy shop for a dozen years in the 1830's and 1840's. She sold cakes and beer, and the plain confections of that day. The term "mint stick" included all unwrapped stick candy of whatever flavor, while "secrets" were priced four for a penny. These "secrets" consisted of bits of candy, an inch square, neatly wrapped. Enclosed in each was a four-line printed rhyme.<sup>62</sup>

A musty old account book with torn yellowed leaves gives a picture of trading at the Dennis Creek village store between Sept. 25, 1815 and July 19, 1816. The most noticeable feature of the two thousand entries is the liquor charges, with items of rum and cherry appearing in nine-tenths of them, a characteristic social



feature of the time. Nearly everyone then drank Jamaica rum. Thanks to the West Indies trade it was comparatively cheap and plentiful. The merchant kept the rum in barrels out in the lean-to, or under the counter if it was not safe to leave it outside. Much of the liquor was charged, a quart of cherry sold for 38¢; a quart of rum for 44¢. Some of it was bought to be served to the "bound boys" or apprentices, who at noon came regularly to the master's house for their "appetizer."

In tobacco, also, an extensive trade was conducted. A plug of tobacco sold for 10¢; pipes for 1½¢; 100 cigars for 40¢. Purchases made by the women included 3 yards of white flannel for \$1.88; paper of pins, 19¢; 1½ yards of calico, 90¢; 3 yards "linne," \$1.13; and 7 yards of muslin, \$2.80. When the men went gunning, a quarter pound of shot cost them 20¢; a quarter pound of powder, 25¢; a flint, 1¢. Molasses was 31½¢ a quart, and tea was a real luxury at \$2.00 a pound. Prices had not yet dropped after the War of 1812, which ended in 1814.

Preparation was evidently being made for a real New Year's Eve celebration, when there was purchased on Dec. 30, 1815, the following items, which comprised all the business done that day.

1 set Hooks and Rings	\$ .25
1 pint Rum	.22
1 Gews Harp	.04
1 pint Rum	.22
1 pair Mittens	.25
1 do do (ditto)	.25
¼ pound Powder	.18½
1 quart Rum	.62½
1 do do and Jug	.54
1 Pint Rum	.22 <sup>63</sup>

The country store continued as a village institution throughout the 19th Century and well into the 20th, when the automobile brought new transportation facilities. A colorful picture of store activities in the beginning of the

third quarter of the century is given by a onetime Rumson, Monmouth County, resident, whose uncle, Sam Harvey, "ran" a village store. It was a wooden structure, with a porch in front that made an ideal place for the men of the village to gather and discuss affairs. On the first floor was the post-office, a small enclosure in one corner, which gave it some privacy. Next came the candy department, always a source of interest to the young. Then came the Dry Goods Department, where one could procure yards of calico or muslin, needles, pins, and thread. The only offering in the way of millinery was an assortment of wide-brimmed straw hats. The best customers for these were the farmers in the vicinity. Then, still on the same side of the store, was a good-sized desk where all the finances of the business were transacted.

The Grocery Department offered very few prepared goods. Rather, the commodities, chiefly flour, sugar, molasses or vinegar, were measured or weighed out of barrels. The space in the center of the room was filled by a big pot-bellied stove which made a comfortable winter resort for the hangers-on. The only thing that savored of a meat market was a large chunk of dried smoked beef which in modern times comes as chipped beef in jars or cans. This beef had to be cut paper thin with an ordinary carving knife, and when several customers arrived about the time of the evening mail, asking for a pound or so apiece, it became a real chore to wait upon them. A room at the rear of the store held garden tools, rope, and various kinds of seeds and grains for poultry. A bin in one corner provided oats for the cattle and from the barrel of kerosene the lamps of the village were lighted. The shoe-making business was located in the second-story room, where the shoe-maker had his bench and tools. When shoes were needed the customer came to the shop, had measurements taken, picked the desired pattern, and was told when to call for them.<sup>64</sup>





## CHAPTER XII

### THE WAR OF 1812 AND TRAINING DAYS

There is a call for a peace meeting of the voters . . . without distinction of particular age or sect, who are opposed to war and bloodshed, to meet at the Courthouse . . . to make nominations for state and county officers. . . . It remains for them to say whether we shall have war with all its evils, destruction of human species, blood and carnage . . . or whether we shall have peace and happiness.

(Notice published early in 1812 for voters of Old Gloucester County, which then included Atlantic)<sup>1</sup>

There was little enthusiasm in the shore counties, as in many other parts of the country, for a declaration of war against Great Britain in 1812. This was particularly true in the sections of the shore where the Quaker influence was still a factor, such as Shrewsbury, in Monmouth County; Tuckerton or Little Egg Harbor in what later became Ocean County; the Somers Point vicinity in what became Atlantic County; and the northern part of Cape May County.

The coastal counties of New Jersey are affected in varying degrees by the three wars in which the United States was engaged during the first half of the 19th Century. The most serious for them was the War of 1812, which jeopardized the livelihoods of many of their citizens. The Tripolitan War produced a native son whose exploits at Tripoli received wide acclaim, and the Mexican War had little effect on the shore. During the War of 1812, however, as in the Revolution, the shore of New Jersey was directly attacked. Since then the only time the presence of an enemy was felt close to the shore was during World War I and World War II, when German submarines attacked shipping, but their primary objective was the sinking of large ships in the main shipping lanes

some distance from the shore. A higher proportion of the manpower of the shore suffered casualties in the Civil War, but British depredations along the coast in the War of 1812 subjected the shore to a greater feeling of the immediacy of war. The War of 1812 also showed how unprepared the State was for any conflict, and led to a temporary revival of the old-time "training-day." These topics will comprise this chapter.

### 1. *The War of 1812.*

While the barges were at the (Barnegat) inlet, a party landed on the beach, on the south side of the inlet, and killed fifteen head of cattle. The British left word that if the owners presented a bill to Commodore Hardy, he would settle it. But the owners were too patriotic to attempt anything that seemed like furnishing supplies to the enemy.

(Local account of event on Long Beach Island, March 31, 1813)<sup>2</sup>

War was declared by the United States on June 19, 1812. Two months earlier the Governor of New Jersey, Aaron Ogden, had called for 5,000 men to protect the state against possible invasion, since hostilities had long seemed imminent. On May 11, 1812, more than a month before the formal declaration of war, five companies of infantry and one of artillery were posted for a period of thirty days at Navesink Highlands to guard that point. Two of the companies came from Monmouth County, one from Freehold, the other from Middletown Point. In what became Atlantic County, other preparations were made. John R. Scull of Egg Harbor Township formed a company to protect the harbor and superintended the erection of a small semi-circular fort there, about fifty feet in diameter, with a width of fifteen feet on the parapet and a height of from six to ten feet. On this were mounted four and six-pounder cannon, sufficient against most wooden vessels. The company stood ready during most of the

war, but the point was never attacked. The fortification was preserved until about 1885.<sup>3</sup> A battalion of Old Gloucester County militia served from May 1 to June 29, 1814, in the Leeds Point and Somers Point area, mostly near Scull's fort. They were paid by the State Legislature.



*U. S. Post Office, Toms River*

They were called out later during the war in 1814, temporarily by alarms along the coast, and were not discharged until Feb. 19, 1815.<sup>4</sup>

It was not until August 12, 1814, about four months before the peace treaty was signed, that the Governor of the state ordered men in Old Gloucester, Salem, Cumberland and Cape May counties to form a regiment of militia. In most of these counties, the Quaker element against the war was strong.<sup>5</sup>

An episode which occurred at Batsto, in the shore section of Burlington County, indicated how strong the Quaker feeling was. At this time the bog-iron furnace and forge there was supplying many good-sized munition orders. At times the lack of shipping on the Mullica River made it difficult to deliver the goods. In this instance, ac-



According to a local history, the Batsto forge was seeking to deliver to New York Harbor an order of fifty tons of cannon shot. The only vessel in the Mullica River available at the time for such service was a sixty-ton schooner owned and managed by David Mapps, a Negro Quaker, who traded regularly between New York and Little Egg Harbor near the mouth of the Mullica. When the owner of the forge, Col. William Richards, said he would pay the Quaker a good sum to take some freight to New York, Mapps asked him about the nature of the cargo. Richards answered, "Cannon balls." Mapps queried again, "Did thee say cannon balls?" The Colonel replied in the affirmative and added persuasively, "They are for the defense of the country and the government needs them." Mapps replied mildly, "I'd like to oblige thee, but I cannot carry the devil's pills that were made to kill people." No argument could change his decision and Richards had to wait for other transportation.<sup>6</sup>

Attempts to form local militia in what is now Ocean County proved unsuccessful, since many of the men were already involved in sea service. Efforts were then made to draft men. The militia authorities allowed the draftees to procure substitutes on payment of a bounty of fifty dollars, a forerunner of the vicious custom prevalent during the time of Civil War conscription, when the price of substitutes mounted to \$300. In the dune village on Long Beach Island, one man in every seven was called to help protect the coast. The men clubbed together and hired substitutes for the usual fifty dollars. The Ocean County militia were later sent to help man the fortifications at Sandy Hook, guarding the approach to New York harbor.<sup>7</sup>

Various inland groups marched to the shore to defend the coast and to guard against foraging parties from British vessels. A company of militia from Camden, called the "Camden Blues," along with one from Woodbury, the "Woodbury Greys," participated in one ex-

pedition. In the former was a man named Isaac Van Sciver, a carriage maker and a member of the family which later became famous for its furniture store. After they had reached the shore, a thunder storm at night caused severe detonations. Van Sciver awakened and leaped from his bed, and, according to tradition, cried, "Jerusalem! That's either the British or the Day of Judgment, and I'm not ready for either!"<sup>8</sup>

During the war incidents of historic interest occurred at Cape May; at Great Egg Harbor, Atlantic County; in the vicinity of Waretown, Ocean County; and at Sandy Hook Bay and Manasquan Inlet in Monmouth County, each of which warrants brief investigation.

Sandy Hook was a favorite cruising ground for British ships blockading the port of New York. On frequent occasion the British vessels would enter Sandy Hook Bay, sometimes to their sorrow, for at various times some of them were seized by daring American sailors. One of the most notable of these captures was made off Sandy Hook, by a fishing smack named "Mad Jack Percival," which in celebration of the Fourth of July, 1813, sailed boldly out into the bay. A calf, a sheep and a goose had been secured to the deck of the vessel and thirty men, well armed, were secreted in the cabin and forepeak. Three men on deck were dressed in fisherman's apparel. The sloop "Eagle," tender to the British man-of-war "Poictiers," a seventy-four gun vessel, perceived the smack as it headed out of Mosquito Cove, and gave chase. On overhauling it and finding there was livestock aboard, the "Eagle" ordered the little ship to report to the Commodore of the "Poictiers," five miles distant. The helmsman of the smack answered "Aye, aye, sir!" and turned the helm. This brought him alongside the "Eagle," not three yards away. Then the Americans rushed on deck from their hiding places and poured into the "Eagle" a volley which struck the latter's crew "with dismay" and drove them so precipitately into the hold that they did

not have time to strike the flag. Three of the British were killed in the attack. There were no casualties among the Americans. The "Eagle," with the prisoners, was brought to the Battery in New York in the afternoon, and the prisoners were landed at Whitehall "amid the shouts and plaudits of thousands of spectators assembled at the Battery to celebrate the anniversary of independence."<sup>9</sup>

Further down the coast, at Manasquan Inlet, on the border between Monmouth and what later became Ocean County, two shore vessels were sunk by the British in July, 1813. At that time shore coasting vessels were endeavoring, because of the handsome profits, to slip up the coast and into blockaded New York harbor, with cargoes of wood and provisions and other articles in demand. According to the account of an eye witness, Judge John S. Forman, a Monmouth County resident, a British brig, which had been standing on and off shore a number of weeks, caught sight of the two American sloops, which, after making a successful run into New York, were creeping down the coast hoping to reach shelter unobserved. When the sloops realized the brig had seen them, they turned and "with desperate haste" headed for the inlet, knowing that if they could once get over the bar and into the bay all danger would be at an end. The brig "had all sail crowded on, . . . and as the white foam curled away from her prow, it was easy to see that she was coming with great speed." The sloops were much the faster, however, and had everything been favorable, they would have escaped. But as they turned into the inlet, the depth of water was not sufficient to let them pass. There was a heavy thump and both ships were grounded. The crews jumped into small boats with great haste, and in a few minutes landed safely.

The brig approached as close as prudent and then opened fire on the sloops. The hull and rigging soon were splintered and battered. Finally the brig withdrew to patrol for other daring coasters. "After they were out of



the way and the tide had risen," said Judge Forman, "we got the sloops over the bar and up the inlet where they were repaired and used later. . . . We expected the British would land that night and there were 180 of us under arms and on the lookout. We would have given a good deal to induce them to do so, but they were all very timid about venturing on shore and preferred to drop a shot now and then upon us from their men-of-war, or to land only long enough to steal a few cattle and make off again."<sup>10</sup>

In what became Ocean County the residents were subjected to raids and seizures. A number of coasters were caught and burned by the British. The English blockaders often sent a barge ashore at some point on the coast, to kill and dress cattle on the sea islands, and then take the beef back to the ship. On one of these foraging expeditions, a barge suddenly landed not far from Barnegat Inlet, near a spot where two men were fishing. One took to the underbrush. The other was a character supposed by many in the vicinity to be "underwitted," but as is often the case, he possessed a certain kind of shrewdness. When the British approached, he bowed low, as if delighted to see them. They gathered around him and besieged him with questions. Pointing to the masts of several coasting vessels up Barnegat Bay, they told the old man that unless he piloted them through the channel he would be shot. The man, with mouth and eyes wide open, listened. Then his face lit up, as he replied they were correct. He agreed that he had often found nests of gulls himself, in the sand along the shore. The exasperated foragers plied him with other questions. To every inquiry he returned ridiculous answers, and when they ordered him to kill and dress some of the cattle browsing near, he still was unable to comprehend their orders. There was some talk among the British about taking him prisoner, but after an extended debate, they concluded he was too deaf to be of any use, and he was left.<sup>11</sup>

Another episode that brought more serious results occurred on March 31, 1813. The British ship, "Ramillies," with seventy-four guns, under command of Commodore Hardy, was off Barnegat Inlet at the time, watching for American vessels that might come through the inlet trying to slip through the New York blockade. On that day, the Commodore decided to send barges with armed men in through the shallow inlet to destroy or capture American vessels lying inside. Once through, they boarded a schooner and attempted to take it out, but it grounded. They thereupon set fire to it and its cargo of lumber. Following this, they seized a sloop laden with lumber and supplies, and set fire to it, and then hurried back to the "Ramillies," which had set off signal guns to recall the barges. The attack had been witnessed from the nearby Waretown shore. The people there had become greatly alarmed since they had heard of the destructive plundering expeditions under Admiral Cockburn on the Virginia and Maryland shores. The men sent the women and children from Waretown into the woods for safety, and then went out to the sloop and put out the fire.<sup>12</sup> At nearby Forked River, people stood on the roofs of houses and watched the events inside the inlet.<sup>13</sup> It was at this time that the episode which is described in the quotation at the beginning of this section took place on the south side of the inlet.

Cape May residents felt the presence of war in a number of ways. During the last two years of the war the Delaware was blockaded a considerable part of the time, and there was almost continually some British man-of-war on its waters. On one occasion the "Poitiers" sent a boat ashore to Cape Island under the flag of truce, with the request that its men be allowed to land to procure fresh water for the ship's butts. The captain of a small party of militia on Cape Island at that time refused, whereupon the British commander threatened to fire the village. The American captain then gave the desired

permission. Later he was arrested on charges of treason for furnishing supplies to the enemy and narrowly escaped punishment.<sup>14</sup>

On the bay shore of Cape May, many people fared badly in the loss of cattle and other possessions which could be carried away. Vessels at Fishing Creek were destroyed by fire in forays of the British. A sloop was burned and the crew and passengers, among whom were two sisters coming home from Philadelphia, were taken prisoners. The Fishing Creek salt works were destroyed.<sup>15</sup>

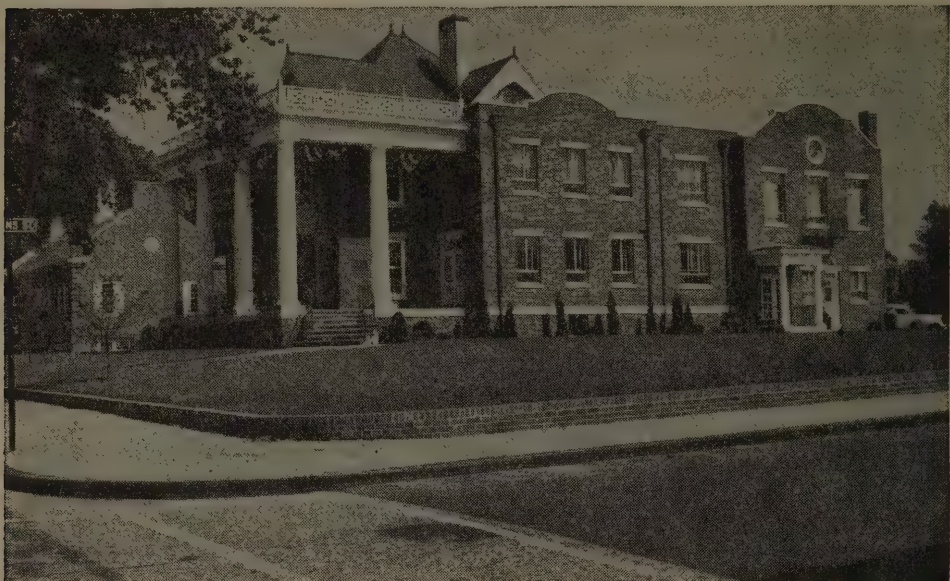
On the sea side of the County, frequent landings were made on the sea islands to seize and kill cattle for beef. One episode of this nature occurred when several barges from ships guarding the entrance to Delaware Bay were rowed ashore. When they saw what was happening, the Cape May defenders rolled down to the beach a cannon twelve feet in length, called "Long Tom," which belonged to the county, and planted it behind a breastwork of a sand dune. As the barges approached, the men prepared to fire on them, but among the crowd was a woman, the grandmother of a Cape May pilot, who reasoned that firing on the British boats would probably result in serious loss of life. According to tradition, she placed herself in front of "Long Tom" and urged the militia not to fire. The men obeyed her advice and the British, instead of landing at that particular beach (possibly because they saw "Long Tom" pointed at them), rowed over to another section and landed at Town Bank, where they seized and killed cattle and appropriated whatever was useful to them that could be carried away.<sup>16</sup>

Some coastal privateering occurred during the war, although much less than in the Revolution, when more prizes were available nearby. In the War of 1812, the British blockade was tighter. Privateers made use of the inlets, as in the earlier conflict, particularly Barnegat, since Cranberry had closed in since the Revolution, and also a new inlet, which opened in 1800 through Tucker's



Beach. This was called the "New Inlet" and provided ready access to Great Bay and Little Egg Harbor.<sup>17</sup>

The captain of one privateer, seeking a place of refuge from the British blockading vessels inside Great Egg Harbor, employed the art of camouflage. In order to



*Town Hall, Toms River*

escape detection, he disguised the masts of his vessel by cutting off pine trees. The crew then placed the trees beside the masts and the thick boughs hid the vessel's rigging. From the sea it could not be detected.<sup>18</sup>

An exploit which received wide recounting along the central shore during the latter part of the war concerned a schooner called the "New Jersey" which was en route from Philadelphia to Mays Landing on the Great Egg Harbor River. Since the roads connecting the southern shore area with Philadelphia at that time were very poor, several small coasters had made it a practice to slip through the British blockade at the mouth of Delaware Bay, carrying goods from Philadelphia to Great Egg Harbor and to Mays Landing. Late in 1813, as some of these coasters were rounding Cape May, they

were overhauled by a British armed schooner. Only one was captured, the sloop "New Jersey," manned by Captain Burton and two sailors. A young British midshipman and three men were put on board and the sloop was ordered to follow the British vessel in pursuit of the other coasters. It grew darker as they neared Great Egg Harbor and the British vessel put about and headed for the Cape again. The "New Jersey" followed, but made little headway since the young midshipman was, in the words of a local account, an "indifferent seaman." The latter finally placed the sailing of the vessel under the direction of Captain Burton with orders for him to steer for the Cape. Burton purposely made no progress and when morning came, they found themselves off the mouth of Great Egg Harbor. Although his home was on Great Egg Harbor just above Somers Point, Burton feigned ignorance of the place. A British sailor was sent aloft while the midshipman and another sailor went below to examine the charts. This left three Americans on deck and only one of the enemy. Burton fastened the cabin door tight, and the Americans regained control of their vessel. The ship was anchored off Somers Point within an hour after the midshipman went below. The latter was exchanged after a short confinement in prison.<sup>19</sup>

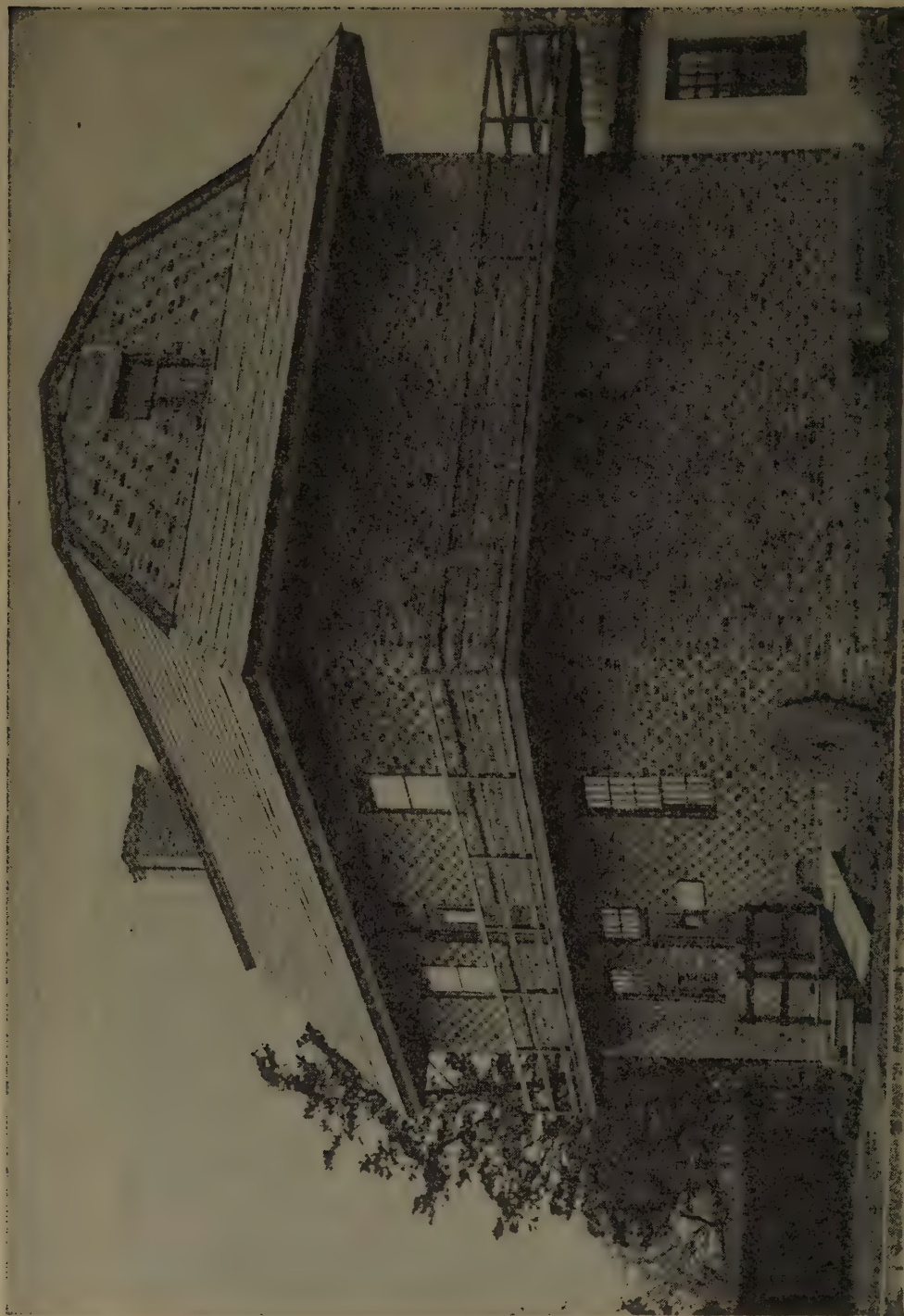
## 2. *The Tripolitan and Mexican Wars.*

On the afternoon of Sept. 4th (1804) Richard Somers was ready to take the ketch into the harbor (of Tripoli). . . . He said he wished no man to go who would not prefer being blown up to being taken by the enemy. . . . In reply, each man asked the privilege of applying the match to the fuse. . . . All told, they numbered thirteen—alas! unlucky number.

(Description of Somers' exploit in *Absegami Annals*)<sup>20</sup>

More than a decade prior to the War of 1812 the Jersey shore sent to the American navy a man who became a hero in the War with the Barbary Pirates.





(Courtesy N. J. Dept. of Conserv. & Econ. Devel.)

*Somers House, Somers Point, Headquarters of the  
Atlantic County Historical Society*



Richard Somers was born at Somers Point in what became Atlantic County. He entered the American Navy as a midshipman in the spring of 1798, was promoted to a lieutenancy in the spring of 1799, and was put in command of the "Nautilus" in 1803. This ship, with five other vessels, was ordered to the Mediterranean in the same year, to subdue the piratical Tripolitans. While cruising in the blockade off the harbor of Tripoli, the frigate "Philadelphia" ran upon rocks and Commodore Bainbridge and his crew were made prisoners. Stephen Decatur then destroyed the "Philadelphia" by a bold sally into the harbor of Tripoli in the ketch "Intrepid." Following this, Somers proposed to fit the ketch as a fire ship and take her into the harbor and explode her in the midst of the Tripolitan vessels, hoping to produce some kind of panic that might give a chance for the liberation of Bainbridge and his crew, as well as destroy some of the Tripolitan craft. Somers finally secured Commodore Preble's permission for the hazardous undertaking. On the deck of the ketch was piled a quantity of shells of different sizes and in the hold was placed 1,500 pounds of powder. Ten men and one other officer volunteered to go with Somers on the undertaking which was likely to cost them their lives. One other man stowed away on the ketch, making a total of thirteen aboard the vessel.

The details of the episode were never actually known. The whole affair was over in less than a minute: the flame, the quaking of towers, the reeling of ships and bursting of shells. No one ever came back from the "Intrepid" to tell the story of the explosion. Somers had sacrificed himself and his volunteers for the welfare of his country. The Tripolitan leader offered money for each body recovered. Two, those of officers, were found in the bottom of the ketch, the remnants of which drifted among the rocks. Captain Bainbridge, still a prisoner, said later that he was given an opportunity to view the bodies. He described them as "so much disfigured that

it was impossible to recognize any human feature." The others were later found, and all were buried on the beach. Congress passed a resolution of condolence and erected a monument at the Navy Yard in Washington in honor of the heroes.<sup>21</sup>

The Mexican War, 1846-1848, had little influence on the four shore counties. The shoreline was not threatened and only a small proportion of the people served, by volunteering, since New Jersey's quota was small. War was declared on May 13, 1846, and on the 19th the Secretary of War, William Marcy, asked Governor Stratton to "muster" and hold in readiness one regiment of infantry. On May 22nd, the Governor issued a proclamation calling upon the organized uniformed companies and other citizens of the state to enroll themselves.<sup>22</sup>

A number of Monmouth County men served in the three companies of infantry mustered, especially with the Trenton company. The latter, with other soldiers of the Tenth Infantry, embarked on the brig "G. B. Lamar," in April, 1847. The company remained on duty throughout the war in the vicinity of Matamoras, and at the close of the conflict returned home. It had seen little if any fighting.<sup>23</sup>

Casualties inevitably were suffered and they eventually reached South Jersey. One newspaper noted on November 10, 1847, the wounding "in the late battles before the City of Mexico" of a Salem County citizen, who, though "an artist of considerable reputation, left his easel and brush to shoulder a musket in the present war."<sup>24</sup> The following February the war ended and in August the same newspaper pleaded for a royal welcome for the seventeen County volunteers who had enlisted in the Tenth Infantry before it sailed for Mexico. The paper urged "some arrangement be made to give them a cordial reception. Poor fellows, they have had a hard time of it."<sup>25</sup>

### 3. *Training Days.*

Training at Mays Landing. Nearly all came home Sober.

(Comment in Weymouth Furnace Account Book, Atlantic County, June 3, 1818)<sup>26</sup>

The War of 1812 exposed the complete lack of preparedness of the young country to defend itself in time of war. In an attempt to remedy the situation under state rather than federal action, training days were ordered by state law. Their heyday came in the two decades following the War of 1812. The period of training, however, was too brief. By the end of the first quarter of the century, it had degenerated into a mockery. This was especially true in localities in which were found a good number of the Society of Friends, who naturally were noncooperative with any phase of military training. The majority of localities had abandoned the practice by 1835. At its height, however, no one could deny that the annual muster was a gala affair.

Training days had been held since colonial times, but they were on a local basis, without the requirements passed by the state following the 1812 War. According to a latter 18th Century description, the training days were considered holidays and were accompanied by much disorder. People came into town from the surrounding countryside to watch the drilling of the militia and to join in the general conviviality. On the parade ground the troops marched and counter-marched. Booths were set up for the sale of cakes, pies, beer and rum. Huckster wagons were distributed about the field and there was much eating and drinking. Often horse-racing topped off the day, and there was considerable petty gambling.<sup>27</sup>

These training days received a new lease of life in 1815, when the state reorganized its militia. Legislative acts of 1818, 1819, and 1830 supplemented the 1815 law, although enforcement was lackadaisical. The militia was supposed to meet three times annually for "improvement



in discipline and martial exercise," once by companies of troops, once by battalion or squadron, and once by regiment. Fines for non-attendance were set up: for a field officer, \$8; other officers, \$4; non-coms and privates, \$2 per day. For appearance on parade without appropriate arms, a fine of fifty cents was meted out where the soldier was able to provide such arms. When called into active service, every militiaman was to appear fully equipped under penalty of a \$2 fine. Every free able-bodied white male inhabitant between the ages of eighteen and forty-five years was required to be enrolled by the commanding officer of the company within whose bounds he resided.

Two types of exemptions were allowed. Certain groups were freed from service without payment of fees. These included ministers, custom house officers with their clerks, all post officers and stage drivers carrying mail, ferrymen, pilots, mariners actually employed, divinity students, and students of the two colleges in the state, except in cases of actual invasion. The second group was made up of any solvent persons who might not wish to go to the trouble of attending the training days. Any man who had the money could be exempted by reporting to the commanding officer. The latter then sent a list of "exempts" to the township collector who taxed each claimant \$5 in addition to his other taxes. The collectors paid these taxes to the state, whose treasurer carried them to the credit of the school fund.

In travelling to the rendezvous, every member of the militia was, according to the law, freed from paying any "toll or ferriage."<sup>28</sup>

One citizen of Old Gloucester County, of which Atlantic was then a part, recalled an annual local muster in the early 1820's. The men assembled under the direction of a captain of their own choosing to perform what was termed "military duty." Each man was expected to equip himself with some kind of weapon. Anything

“would do . . . , a gun, a sword, a cudgel, or cane.” With this, the trainee would parade in a kind of battle array at intervals during the day. It was the custom to make the day “a real frolic,” and many men returned to their homes intoxicated and “very abusive of their families, as also unfit for work the next day.”<sup>29</sup>

According to a description of a training day held in Monmouth County in 1827, “‘general training’ was held at Smithburg Tavern (five miles southwest of Freehold), it being the custom in those days following the War of 1812 to have military training once a year at convenient places throughout the State. During the day while training was in progress, the landlord, Asher Smith, saw a man running a shell game in front of the tavern. He walked over, broke up the shell board, and threw it into the fireplace.”<sup>30</sup>

Training days were occasions for a general exodus of the workingmen from other villages to the nearest gathering-point. The day was viewed as a grand holiday. When the men from Martha Furnace, in the shore section of Burlington County, attended the annual muster in 1815, it took several days, according to a contemporary account, for the men to get over the period of jollification. In the meantime the furnace had to be operated short-handed. Injuries inevitably occurred. At Weymouth Furnace, in Atlantic County, in a May 10, 1819 entry in the Furnace Account Book, it was noted “Training at Mays Landing. Several faught (*sic*). Wentling got hurt,” and in the January 2, 1819 account this comment was made following a muster: “Jacob Hoffman hung himself Twice but did not hang Long enough.”<sup>31</sup>

The state in its militia law tried unsuccessfully to solve the licentiousness. Non-commissioned officers or privates “appearing drunk upon parade, using reproachful or abusive language to officers, quarreling or promoting quarrels among fellow-soldiers,” might be “disarmed and put under arrest.” The fine was not to exceed \$3.

Moreover, the "retailing of spirituous liquors on or within a mile of the parade" was prohibited, but the penalty in this case was only the "forfeiture of such liquors." The law also warned the men that "when ordered out for improvement or inspection" they were "under military discipline from the rising to the setting of the sun."<sup>32</sup>

The matter of non-attendance at the muster provided serious trouble to many Quakers. Each man who did not go was subject to a fine of \$1 a day. The whole matter was considered unreasonable by many conscientious persons and particularly the Society of Friends, which was opposed to the payment of fines. The Old Gloucester County resident quoted earlier recalled seeing an officer go to one Quaker residence to collect a fine. Out of the contents of a corn crib, the officer loaded a heavy wagonful of corn, all for a fine of one dollar. In another place, cordwood already cut in the woods was sold at fifty cents a cord to satisfy a penalty. In a third case, where the victim had neither corn nor wood, a light wagon was seized and kept for some months. "We all remember in 1817," recalled the same commentator, when "the military officer came with a strong team to a residence of one of those conscientious persons for a load of corn but alas, there was none, and upon examining the wheat bin, it was too low to be of any service, whereupon, falling on the rye granary, it was found to contain a whole grist, which was seized and taken away, being in all probability the last batch of grain which the man had for his family."<sup>33</sup>

Other events occurred which finally led to the end of the observance of training day. One of them took place in this same county at one of the points where the militia had been ordered to drill. The opponents of such musters, many of them Quakers, who were in the majority there, rallied at the polls on the day the new captain was to be chosen and selected elderly William Haines, a



respected member of the Society of Friends from a nearby village. He refused to order any training, so another election was ordered by state militia authorities. After a spirited contest, the result was the re-election of "Captain" Haines. This ended the muster efforts in that section. Another approach to avoiding the drill occurred in Salem, where the Reliance Fire Company had obtained from the Legislature special dispensation which provided that all persons who became active members of the volunteer company should be released from military duty. This led nearly all the male members of the Society of Friends in the area to become active firemen, and soon the Reliance Company became one of the most prosperous in the state while the attendance at the annual muster dwindled.<sup>34</sup>

In Burlington, public hostility to the training law manifested itself in such a way as to make the muster appear ridiculous. On parade days it became the custom for only officers to appear in uniform. The men to be drilled arrived in town and fell into ranks clad in working clothes without coats and sometimes without shoes. To make the burlesque complete, many wore hats with hen feathers attached to tall slender sticks. Some men painted their faces like Indians; others wore clown's caps and striped pants. Many carried immense wooden swords and others strode along with large wooden pistols proudly dangling from their belts.<sup>35</sup> The spectators who watched the parade added further to the hilarity of the occasion despite the fact that the militia law specifically stated "Bystanders at any muster, molesting or insulting, by abusive words or behavior, any officer or soldier" might "be put under guard and kept until sundown, and if guilty," fined "not exceeding \$20."<sup>36</sup>

Finally it became so apparent that the muster was not an effective drilling school that even the militia authorities began to accept the non-observance of the law. The last meeting for drilling in Manasquan, for instance, was

in 1836.<sup>37</sup> The final parade in Burlington was held the previous year, when the trainees were referred to locally as the "cornstalk and watermelon brigade." Following that muster, the disgusted participants refused to elect officers for the drill for the ensuing year. The local "arsenal" was finally sold at auction by the city, and the new owners turned it to the unchivalric use of pickling cucumbers.<sup>38</sup>

During the Civil War an effort was made to revive the annual training day. At that time the Legislature set up a special day for all "white male inhabitants from 18 to 45 years to attend." Fines for non-attendance were raised from \$2 to \$4, showing the increased costs of living over those of the previous training days. The law was never enforced because of public hostility. As a local newspaper remarked in 1861, "There is a large class in the community who are unalterably opposed to the reviving of the old system of military training, regarding it as unnecessary and useless."<sup>39</sup> It was not until the 20th Century that compulsory military training proved successful, as more practical procedures were developed and the necessity for it became more evident.

## CHAPTER XIII

### THE GROWTH OF INDUSTRY AND TRADE

The occupation of a vast proportion of the inhabitants of the coastal plain is agricultural.

(Comment made in 1834.)<sup>1</sup>

The area which comprises the New Jersey coastal plain includes Burlington, Camden, Gloucester, Salem and Cumberland Counties, in addition to the four shore counties. In the first half of the 19th Century agriculture was a main means of livelihood in the former counties to a much greater extent than in the ones on the shore. In only one shore county, Monmouth, was the above quotation entirely applicable. Many residents of Cape May County depended primarily upon farming for a living, but there were among them a large number of "fishermen-farmers," a title bestowed on those who also looked to the sea for part of their income.

In what is now Ocean and Atlantic counties, soil conditions did not lend themselves to a wide development of agriculture as it was carried on in these decades. In the next half century the introduction of such crops as cranberries and grapes gave rise to specialized farming in sections of these two counties. In 1844, however, when a visitor to Ocean County described the occupations of the people living between Toms River and Little Egg Harbor, a region extending twenty-seven miles along the seashore and thirty miles inland, he noted three principal groups. The first was made up of those who lived in the towns and villages along the seashore, whose principal occupations were engaging in the coastwise trade, fishing and farming. The second consisted of those who were employed in the iron works and glass factories. Among them were many Irish, Germans, and some English. The re-



maining group was made up of those who were found "in the coalings" (charcoal), or who lived in scattered dwellings through the woods.<sup>2</sup>

In his 1834 *Gazetteer*, Gordon listed the occupations of what he termed "the peninsula," which included most of Atlantic as well as all of Cape May counties. He declared, as noted in the quotation at the beginning of Part III, "From the (bog-iron) furnaces and from the glass-houses . . . a considerable portion of the annual wealth of the district is derived; and, if we add to these the cordwood, the lumber and vessels built upon its . . . waters, we shall have enumerated the chief sources of the prosperity of the peninsula."<sup>3</sup>

The early census takers ran into difficulties in classifying the occupations of the residents of these areas. In the Census of 1820, for example, an attempt was made to place the working population in one of three categories, those employed in agriculture, in commerce, and in manufactures. Since so many built or made something with their hands, even though they were farmers, and since others depended partly on commerce and partly on farming, the Census declared, "No inconsiderable portion of the population will probably be found, the individuals of which being asked to which of those classes they belong, will answer 'to all three'."<sup>4</sup>

All three categories were deeply affected by the type of transportation facilities available. All exports from the four shore counties in these decades were shipped by wagon or by waterway, or by a combination of both.

#### 1. *Wagon and waterway.*

The roads are not passable,  
Not even jackass-able,  
And those who will travel 'em  
Should turn out and gravel 'em.

(Local observation, South Jersey, 1851.)<sup>5</sup>

This pungent comment, which has a faint ring of a mid-19th Century Ogden Nash, applied to road conditions in the shore counties throughout the first half of the century. It was a natural reaction to an aggravating situation. Little had been done to improve the roads in the previous century. By 1800 the old-time trails had been widened enough to allow wagons to pass, and had been levelled where absolutely necessary to prevent a horse or an ox from breaking his neck, but not much more had been done. Roads were far from straight. If a clump of trees stood in their course, it was easier to go around the obstruction than to cut the trees down and dig up the roots. If a gully crossed the path, the depression would be filled by trees or branches, and loose earth piled on that. In summer, weeds and ferns grew over the roads and prevented them, to some extent, from becoming beds of sand. In other seasons, the road was often a bed of mud, especially in the spring. If a loaded wagon once became stuck during that time of year, aid from some shore village usually had to be obtained to free it.<sup>6</sup>

The mud bothered everyone. A Monmouth County resident recalled early spring days in 1845 when the hubs of the front wheels of the wagons sometimes rolled along on top of where the ground should have been. "Last night," the driver of a coach once told her, "the Keyport stage got stuck just out of town (Freehold) and the folks could not get out into the mud and I had to go and get some men with poles and pry the stage out." Mud also covered the roads in the village at times. In the words of the same Freehold citizen there were occasions when "Young ladies living not far apart would pick their way along by the fences, perhaps having an overshoe left in the mud, for we had no sidewalks then, until they came opposite each other and there made their morning calls, for they could not get across the street."<sup>7</sup>

Under these conditions the waterways were preferred to the roads for the transportation of products to the

Philadelphia or New York markets. The former were used whenever possible, but wagons had to be relied upon in inland sections not accessible to tidewater creeks and also for local trade from country to shore county town.

A Camden resident who climbed to the steeple of Old Christ Church in Philadelphia in 1815 to get a view across the Delaware said he could see these wagons heading for Cooper's Ferry at Camden, bringing in various commodities from all parts of South Jersey, including the shore regions. The vehicle, he explained, had "four creaking wheels on which was laid a structure like a carpenter's work bench turned upside down. . . . Two broad boards held perpendicularly on their edges by hickory or pine formed the sides and several boards ranged flat between these made the bottom of the wagon." These bottom boards were not uniform in length; one or two projected a foot or more beyond the others at the tail-board, which "presented a tempting seat to stray boys ambitious for a ride under any circumstances."<sup>8</sup> In later years, the type of conveyance was improved in some localities with the introduction of the "Conestoga" wagon, which had bows over the body and was covered with some kind of cotton cloth, but had "no springs beneath" it.<sup>9</sup>

Many kinds of commodities were shipped by Jersey wagon. The oyster trade from the shore, mentioned in Chapter VI, continued in this period to utilize the so-called "Egg Harbor wagons." Summer visitors to that section of the shore at times rode from Philadelphia in them. The charcoal business of Ocean and Atlantic counties made use of them to get to the Philadelphia market or to some landing on a river where the charcoal could be shipped by water to New York. The bog-iron products from the inland sections of these two counties were also hauled by wagon to the Philadelphia market. In 1846, to avoid the long pull by mule-team through the pines, a seven mile tramline was built from Weymouth to Mays



Landing, the head of navigation down the Great Egg Harbor River.

For local trade the wagon was used to get the few necessary supplies from the village out to the rural areas, and to bring in commodities for sale. The Freehold observer mentioned earlier in this section recalled the days of 1845 when "one often saw coming into town from the pines, the 'piner wagon,' attached to which were two very small oxen of the leaner sort, with twisted bark, old ropes knotted together to give strength, or perhaps raw-hide traces . . . , guided by ropes tied to their horns and urged on to a trot sometimes by a long stick cut from saplings by the way."<sup>10</sup>

The waterways were a more convenient and less expensive means of exporting products to market, and the total amount of commerce by means of wagons was small compared with that by ships. As early as 1697 the shore residents of Cape May County lamented the lack of contact with the interior "for want of a road from Cape May through their county to Cohansey," but waterways were immediately available and enterprising boatmen used them. In 1705, the earliest record in the southern shore section for such a venture, Captain John Spicer received a license to run a sloop called the "Adventurer" from Cape May to Philadelphia and Burlington, as a trader.<sup>11</sup>

The use of the waterways increased in the first half of the 19th Century. The iron masters shipped their products to New York by vessel. The surplus food raised on the shore farms and fish, oysters, and clams reached New York or Philadelphia by sloop or schooner. The demand for fuel sent hundreds of men to cutting off the growth of pine in the sandy soil of the shore region, to be carried to the two cities by schooners which on their return trips brought whatever merchandise the storekeepers, who frequently were also the vessel owners, needed to supply their trade.<sup>12</sup>

In Cape May County most communities depended upon the waterways for trade. One of the busiest areas centered around Dennis Creek, which flows into Delaware Bay. At mid-century, one resident recalled, the Creek was a busy artery of trade, with some twelve to fifteen sloops plying the waters regularly. It was not uncommon for a sloop coming to the landing at night, filled with "store goods" from Philadelphia, to sail the next night for that same city with a load of cordwood or cedar lumber. The store goods for all the neighboring villages also came via Dennis Creek. Tuckahoe, Littleworth, Beesleys Point and all along the seashore then used to go there for supplies.<sup>13</sup>

In Monmouth County waterways were used to take charcoal to market. For several years prior to 1820 the Eatontown dock (Oceanport), at the head of navigation on the South Shrewsbury River, was used as a depot for storing the charcoal which had been produced in the northern part of what became Ocean County. From there it was sent to New York, much of it on a sloop with the quaint name of "Sowbug," owned by Pontus Chandler.<sup>14</sup> In the 1830's and early 1840's the Allaire Forge and Furnace in southern Monmouth County sent its products by wagon to Oceanport and thence to New York by water.<sup>15</sup>

Other products were also shipped from the county by water. "The principal source of the prosperity of Red Bank," declared an account written in 1844, "is the trade with New York. Thirteen sloops and schooners sail from here with vegetables, wood, and oysters for that market, and a steamboat plies regularly between here and the city. Vessels week after week have taken oysters to New York and returned with \$600 or \$700 for their cargoes."<sup>16</sup>

Trade by waterway proved a particular boon to what became Ocean County. Little Egg Harbor and the surrounding district had sufficient trade to make Tuckerton a port of entry. An observer noted in 1844, "Tuckerton

. . . contains a custom house. . . . The district of Little Egg Harbor and port of Tuckerton comprises all the shore . . . from Barnegat Inlet to Brigantine Inlet . . . and extends to Batsto . . . 30 miles away. . . . There are about 50 sail vessels enrolled and licensed at the port." The same commentator observed that from fifteen to twenty coastal vessels sailed from Manahawkin, Barnegat, and West Creek, carrying large quantities of charcoal.<sup>16</sup>

Toms River was also a busy port. It exported charcoal as well as cordwood and lumber. In the 1830's, for instance, William Torrey, who had purchased several thousand acres of woodland near Manchester (Lakehurst), sent charcoal by mule-team and later by an improvised railway, down to Toms River, where it was shipped to New York. By mid-century it was claimed that as many as fifty or sixty small schooners left that port regularly, filled with pine wood and charcoal.<sup>17</sup> It was not until the 20th Century that improved highways and large trucks dealt a deathblow to the shore coasters.

## 2. *The wood industries, lumber, cordwood, charcoal and tar*

Wood, lumber, and cedar rails are exported in considerable quantities . . . (and) charcoal, an article of increasing production.

(Observation made in 1844 about Manahawkin, Barnegat and West Creek, Ocean County.)<sup>18</sup>

In the early years of the century much lumber and cordwood was cut in the shore counties, especially in those south of Monmouth. As already noted, this was shipped to New York and Philadelphia in schooners. Cedar was used until the supply was nearly exhausted, when pine was used. Miles of pine trees two or three feet in diameter were cut down and put into cordwood. In the 1830's lumber and cordwood shipments diminished



and the charcoal trade began to furnish considerable employment.<sup>19</sup>

While the trees lasted timber to be made into lumber at various local sawmills provided an export of steady demand. Cedar cutting was especially profitable in the latter 18th and early years of the 19th centuries. In Ocean County, for instance, there were sawmills on the various streams. On some of them, such as the North Branch of the Forked River and on Oyster Creek, the lumber was sawed near where it was cut, and then floated down to the bay where the vessels were anchored and there taken aboard.<sup>20</sup>

Various localities benefited greatly from the wood business. In 1823 a former citizen visited Tuckerton and recalled that early in the century, "Little Egg Harbor was a place of great commerce. . . . Farming was but little attended to. . . . Hundreds of men were engaged in the swamps cutting cedar and sawmills were numerous cutting cedar and pine boards."<sup>21</sup> In addition to this port, the principal export points were Barnegat and Toms River in the same county, and Dennisville in Cape May County.

All sizes of cedar were utilized. The cedar swamps were entered by means of corduroy roads formed of small poles laid crosswise and covered with brushwood. The larger trees were cut into logs of various lengths, the next in size served for shingles and pickets, and the smallest were worked into rails for fences and for hoop-poles. The cedar rail business, however, declined early in the 19th Century.<sup>22</sup>

Before the advent of the shingle mills, many persons earned a living by riving, a trade that is now extinct. The implements used were a wooden horse or bench, a draw knife, and an axe. With them, the river travelled from place to place, picking out windfall cedar trees and converting them into shingles, which were packed into bundles of a hundred each and taken to the nearest market.<sup>23</sup> The splitting of hoop-poles was another means of liveli-

hood. The hoops were made from young, quick-growing hickory saplings. At one of the hoop-pole sheds, men with drawing knives shaved off sections small enough to be pliable when bent around a hogshead. After that preparation they were tied into bundles and shipped out in vessels. In the latter 19th Century, as bags began to be substituted for barrels and iron for wooden hoops, the demand for hoop-poles declined.<sup>24</sup>

Although the lumber industry gradually declined when the better trees were cut off, in some localities it lasted well into the next period. As one local historian remarked in 1879, "While men could live easier by the sale of lumber . . . they did not perform such laborious work as clearing land from which to make farms. . . . The lumber age is nearly at an end, and Little Egg Harbor is slowly rising in the farming scale."<sup>25</sup>

The sale of cordwood was also important for shore workers in these years. Wood was still the chief fuel, whether in the home, the factory, on railway engines, or on steam craft. While the sawmills had been busy working off the cedar timber, little account had been made of the pine timber. The yellow pine trees had never been touched. They covered many miles of the shore areas and now speculators began to buy them up to cut them into cordwood. The growth of centuries was ruthlessly slashed off in a few years' time. The wood was sent to New York in schooners from points along Barnegat Bay and Great Bay. In the words of a local historian writing in 1899, "Many a big four-master is now owned by the man who started out in life on a little pine wood schooner, sailing out of Toms River, Forked River or Cedar Creek, via Barnegat Inlet, or else out of Little Egg Harbor Inlet."<sup>26</sup>

One of the busiest places for the cordwood trade to Philadelphia was in Cape May County in the Dennis Creek area. Piled around the Dennis Creek landing were hundreds of cords of oak and pine wood and quantities of cedar rails, hoop-poles and coopers' stuff. Sometimes

strings of wood wagons waiting to unload filled, in an unbroken line, the whole length of the causeway.

The loaded sloops took passengers and the trip to Philadelphia often provided memorable experiences. "I can well remember," commented one resident, recalling a trip at mid-century, "the jolly nights when . . . 8 to 10 sloops all ready to go down, waited in the evening for the tide to rise. Then the track lines would be gotten out and with many a joke . . . the crews of several sloops would get in their beackets (a loop of rope with a knot at one end to catch in an eye at the other) and start down the bank, the north side being the usual towpath. . . . About two-thirds down the creek was the limit of the tracking ground. When the cry 'cast off the beackets and come aboard' brought the tired lads aboard, the sloops were lashed together in pairs and allowed to drift on down to the mouth of the Creek. . . . Once in the Bay, the race to Philadelphia began, calling for the utmost skill of each individual skipper, for the sailing merits of the sloops were at stake and the man who beat the others was a hero."<sup>27</sup>

The sloops which carried cordwood to Philadelphia were described by a man who worked on them in the 1820's. At that time most of the vessels were from thirty to sixty tons and were known as "baycraft," which were constructed to draw but little water. Larger vessels were called "coasters," and were built for the open sea. The "baycraft" carried from 25 to 50 cords of wood and employed about three hands, who received 8 to 10 dollars a month. The captain, who often was not the owner of the vessel, sailed the sloop on shares, "victualling" the vessel, hiring the men and paying to the owner forty dollars out of every one hundred dollars taken in. Most of the wood taken to Philadelphia was shipped during the good weather months. From December to March navigation was impeded by ice and the "baycraft" seldom ran. The men who worked on the sloops commonly spent this long



interval in "visiting, husking, frolicking, rabbiting," and, lamented the commentator, "too often in taverns; to the exhaustion of their purses, the impoverishment of their families, and the sacrifice of their sobriety."<sup>28</sup>

The cordwood trade began to decline in the early 1840's, as the demand for charcoal increased. The shift in production was gradual, as the demand for fuel increased to meet the growing outside as well as the domestic markets. In the middle 1830's the introduction of anthracite coal diminished the consumption of oak wood as fuel, but increased that of pine, for, in the words of Gordon's *Gazetteer* of 1834, "vast quantities of charcoal were required to ignite the fossil." Moreover, he added, "the invention of the simple portable culinary furnace increased the demand still more, thousands of these convenient utensils being constantly, during the summer months, fed by charcoal." These circumstances produced a revolution in the value of the pine lands. They rose from ten cents to an average price of six dollars an acre and where very well timbered and convenient to market, they brought from fifteen to twenty-five dollars.<sup>29</sup>



(Courtesy New Jersey Agricultural Society)

*Three little charcoal stoves from The Pines*

The charcoal stoves mentioned above were also used locally. They were little, three-legged cast-iron portable

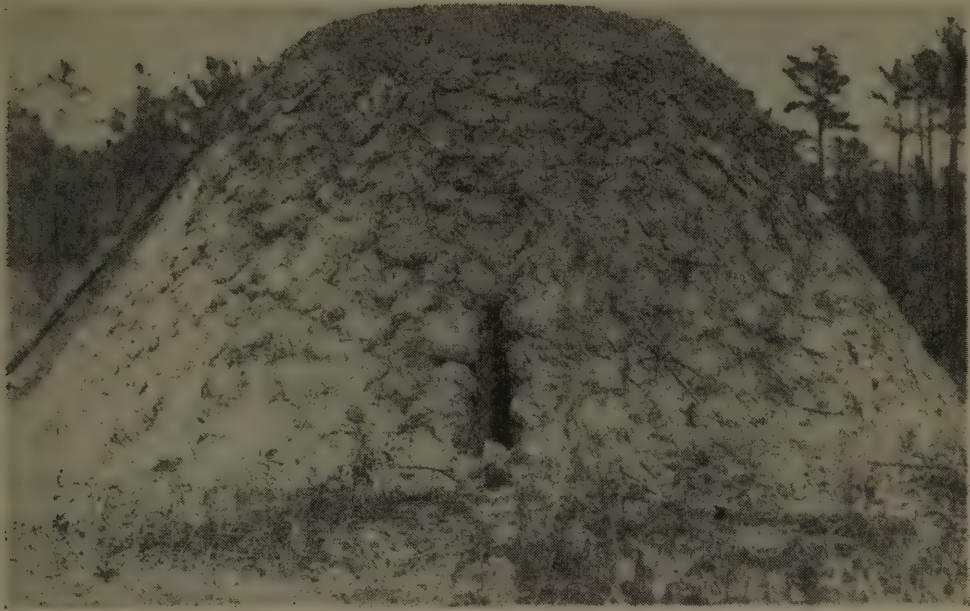
stoves. They have been found in modern times in attics, barns, and dumps down through the Pines and along the bay shore roads. Three of them are pictured in the accompanying illustration. Each is about ten inches high and a foot across the flaring top. Each has a strong wire bail, a little hearth in front, a barred grate set in above the bottom and an ornate grill for the top. Some have three small projections above the rim, which might have been used to support a grid for making flapjacks.<sup>30</sup>

Charcoal production centered in Ocean and Atlantic counties, and in southeastern Burlington County. Between 1830 and 1840 the cordwood shippers discovered that pine wood was worth more when burned into charcoal, and gradually the long ranks of cordwood began to be displaced by great piles of charcoal at all the landings. The black charcoal dust from these piles "made it impossible," according to one commentator, "to tell whether a seafaring man was white or black."<sup>31</sup> At this time too, the iron forge and furnace owners were making their last strenuous grip on business which the better ore and cheap coal of Pennsylvania was taking away from them. So the men who had been employed in cutting wood and burning charcoal for the forges began to make charcoal for shipment.<sup>32</sup>

The charcoal produced in the interior of Ocean County was usually carted to the landings at Toms River, Forked River, Waretown or Barnegat by teams pulled by four mules. These were vicious animals and were considered by the layman to be unmanageable, but the teamster sitting on his "charcoal box" could guide them without reins, using to good advantage his keen tongue and keener black-snake whip.<sup>33</sup>

It was the charcoal trade that brought the first railroad, if railroad it could be called, to the shore. William Torrey, who owned several thousand acres of woodland and who had big charcoal kilns at Manchester, tried to improve on facilities for shipping. Rather than haul his

charcoal by mule-team to the waterside at Toms River, he superintended the construction in 1841-1842 of a wooden railroad from Manchester down to the landing on the south side of Toms River, a distance of nine miles.



(Courtesy N. J. Dept. of Conserv. & Econ. Devel.)

*Charcoal Pit, Bass River State Forest*

The rails were of wood, over which a strip of iron was fastened. A locomotive engine, "the greatest of all novelties," noted the county historian, was purchased and placed upon the railroad, but the weight of the engine curled up the iron shoe on the tracks. The owner then had to resort to the prosaic mule to draw the cars loaded with charcoal to the landing, a procedure similar to that followed by the Weymouth Iron Works in Atlantic County in getting their products to Mays Landing. Mr. Torrey also tried the experiment of building a large brick charcoal kiln at Manchester and carting the wood there for burning, but the old-timers insisted that the cheapest and easiest way was to burn the wood where it was cut, which was the customary method.<sup>34</sup>



In what became Atlantic County the interior sections were covered with forests in the first quarter of the century, and little farming was done. Some rye, buckwheat, corn and potatoes were produced, but just enough for the family. In the vicinity of what was later Landisville in the northwestern part of the county there were many wood choppers' shanties and smoking tar kilns of charcoal pits, but it was too far away from market to make farming pay.<sup>35</sup> Later Weymouth in the same county became one of the leading charcoal centers. During the 1840's every morning at 3 A.M. eight mule-teams would start for Philadelphia, loaded with barrels of it. All the charcoal used at that time in the Philadelphia mint was supplied from Weymouth.<sup>36</sup>

The charcoal industry continued well into the following half century. One observer spoke of the situation in Manchester in 1866 and said that the only crop was "second growth wood," and added that since "wood was too heavy for transportation over long, sandy roads, it was converted into charcoal."<sup>37</sup> In the Mullica River region, on the Burlington County side of the river, the present writer talked in 1941 with a man who used to make charcoal for his uncle. He recalled watching the charcoal loading at Crowleys Landing on the Mullica of the "Lizzie Bell," a schooner carrying the fuel to New York, in the latter 1880's. The charcoal was placed loose in the hold of the boat. It was brought to the boat in large wagons and shovelled out by big forks into six foot hamper baskets, which were carried by the loaders over the plank down into the hold of the boat. Charcoal, which is very light, was also piled on the deck of the boat. To hold it, a rack was built up to the height of the sail, with just enough room for the boom of the sails to work. It took from two to three days to load the vessel.<sup>38</sup>

The charcoal worker and his family occupied a low position in the economic and social scale. "The charcoal men," noted one observer in 1815, "come directly from

the fraternity of possums and woodchucks.”<sup>39</sup> A worker from an evangelical mission reported in 1844 concerning the families engaged in coaling, “These are . . . ignorant and are without schools or religious instruction.” A colleague added, “On inquiring of individuals where they lived, the answer has several times been, ‘I *stay* in yonder cabin. We do not live in the Pines, we only stay!’ . . . Without schools within their reach or the disposition to profit by them if they had them, they have grown up . . . generation after generation, three-fourths of them unable to read a sentence.”<sup>40</sup> These were the forebears of the “Pineys” of later decades.

In northwestern Atlantic County, near Vineland, Cumberland County, the charcoal burners were referred to as “the denizens of the scrub oaks and pines,” and in the words of the same commentator, “Their homes were built either of logs or slabs with but one window and one door. The hut was usually surrounded by huckleberry bushes, sumac, scrub oak and pine. The interior often had no floors. . . . On Saturdays the colliers came to town for a weekly supply of provisions and rum. They drank, quarrelled and fought amongst themselves all afternoon, and as soon as the sun went down, they loaded their supplies on the wagons and started home.”<sup>41</sup>

The process of making charcoal in the woods, more commonly followed then in the few kilns such as the one at Manchester, was an intricate procedure. Although the term “pit” was often used, the charcoal pit was not a hole in the ground. Pine wood was cut into four foot lengths and piled around a center pole set well into the ground like a flagstaff. A crib of three horizontal sticks was then placed triangularly around the center pole, and on top of this, successive layers of wood, thus forming a kind of chimney. The four-foot lengths were then piled against this chimney at an angle of forty-five degrees, until a twelve foot circle was made. Then the chimney was built up another four feet and more logs piled on,

until the pile was cone-shaped. Usually from seven to ten cords of wood were placed in the mass. Then pieces of turf were brought in to cover the entire cone, and lastly a top dressing of packed sand was placed over it.

Instead of starting the fire at the base, it was begun at the top. The fire then would eat its way downward through the sticks. Rapid combustion was prevented by the sand, and by the watchfulness of the collier. After the cone had burned for some time, the sides would cave in, and it would become a shapeless mass. By the end of the week the resin had left the pine and seeped out. In the whole process the "pit" itself dropped three or four feet. If it was cool weather, the "pit" was allowed to burn for about a week, with the colliers frequently placing wood down the chimney to keep the fire smoldering, but not burning hard. Then the colliers would draw out the charcoal, and the "coal" was now ready for market.<sup>42</sup>

A process closely related to the manufacture of charcoal was the making of pine tar. The greatest amount of tar was produced in the earlier years of the century. Tar was made as early as the latter part of the 17th Century. According to a description written of South Jersey (then called West Jersey) in 1698, one man was reported to have a "Trade that consists chiefly in Pitch, Tar, and Rosin, the latter of which . . . he delivers as clear as any Gum Arabick."<sup>43</sup> Tar-making continued for at least a few years after 1850. In Ocean County it was listed as a profitable industry at Tuckerton during the Civil War.<sup>44</sup>

Two methods of making tar are described. In one the tar was a by-product of the manufacture of charcoal. Backwoodsmen made it in this way as the charcoal industry began to develop. One resident of the Pine Barrens declared that the amount received from the charcoal was supposed to pay all expenses, leaving the tar a clear profit.<sup>45</sup> Another recalled how, when old pine trees in the region rotted away, leaving pine knots on



the ground, the knots were gathered, and the tar taken out, leaving "the best charcoal."<sup>46</sup>

In the other method the tar was the primary product. In contrast to charcoal making, where the controlled draft burned slowly and charred the wood, tar made in this way was produced by continuous heat. The important feature in its production was the same pile of wood used in making charcoal, which had to be slowly and imperfectly burned from the top downward so that the tar would be driven successively out of the wood next underneath the burning point, running down and out at the outlet at the bottom into which was placed a hollowed tree trunk, through which it slowly oozed into a nearby barrel. The tar was dipped from the barrel into kegs which held five gallons. A long slim pole was kept handy to run up the hollowed trunk to free it from obstructions which might prevent the flow of tar out of the kiln.<sup>47</sup> It was important that the tar kiln be watched day and night. Any break in the covering had to be closed with fresh turf. Too hot a fire would burn up the tar and the charcoal also. It took from eight to ten days to burn a tar kiln. A log cabin was generally built near the kiln for the man who attended it to stay in.<sup>48</sup>

The demand for pine tar was considerable. It was made into a syrup for throat and lung ailments. Some mixed tar with chicken feathers and warmed the mass on a hot shovel, inhaling the fumes. Tar was also used for lubricating the axles of farm wagons, taking the place of modern grease. Many teamsters carried a pot of tar slung beneath the body of their wagons to be applied when needed. Tar was also a necessity in shipbuilding, for caulking the seams of vessels. It was also an ingredient in making lampblack, which gave printer's ink its heavy, fast color.<sup>49</sup>

The charcoal industry and the making of tar declined following the Civil War. Other fuels began to take the place of charcoal and the demand for it from the glass

and bog-iron ore industries dropped with their decline. By 1899, declared one observer at that time, vast changes had taken place. "Now, the ruins of iron ore furnaces . . . , the old shipyards, and the masses of coal dirt on the landings are evidences of what the country was when . . . the woods were full of men hewing timbers, cutting coal-wood, and working in the coalings."<sup>50</sup>

### 3. *Shipbuilding.*

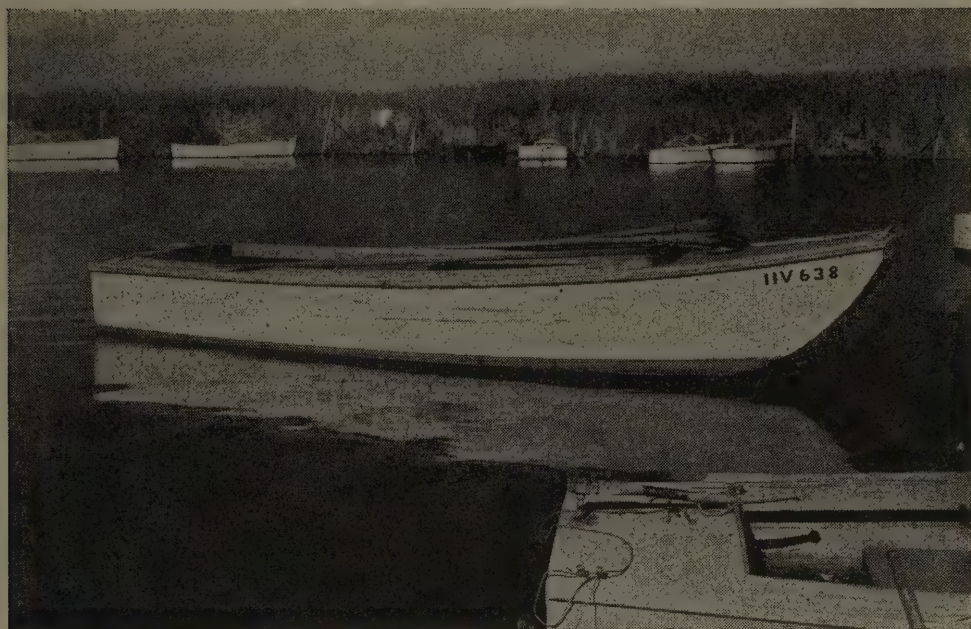
Shipbuilding seems to be the leading mechanical business and is principally conducted at Absecombe, Bakersville, Leedsville, May's Landing, Tuckahoe, and Port Republic. . . . Agricultural pursuits are quite limited.

(Excerpt from inventory of sources of income, Atlantic County, in 1850.)<sup>51</sup>

Shipbuilding had been carried on along the Jersey coast from very early times. As noted in Part II, whale boats were being built even before 1700. Fishing boats were produced in colonial days. The clumsy scow and the "garvey" were constructed so simply that any house carpenter could build them. The garvey continued in use for oystering and clamming and the scow in transporting salt hay from the marshes to the farm.<sup>52</sup> By 1790 Tuckerton, Forked River, Barnegat and Toms River were constructing coasting vessels, the size of which had gradually been increased from about three hundred to eight hundred tons.<sup>53</sup>

A larger proportion of the residents of Atlantic and Ocean counties depended upon shipbuilding for a livelihood than in the other shore counties, where more varied pursuits were followed. After the Revolution the West India trade at Little Egg Harbor and Tuckerton increased and vessels were built there for it. In those days the brig was a favorite craft.<sup>54</sup> By 1800 Tuckerton had as many as five of these vessels under construction at one time in one of the shipyards.<sup>55</sup> Ebenezer Tucker, the

Pharos, Bartletts and other men of Tuckerton put out vessel after vessel. The industry also grew to good-sized proportions at Waretown, Forked River, Barnegat and Toms River in the first quarter of the 19th Century.



(Courtesy New Jersey Agricultural Society)

*Bill Reid's garvey with two pairs of clam tongs, Waretown*

In all these towns the shift was gradually made from the construction of the sloop to the building of the small schooner especially fitted for the lumber, cordwood and charcoal trade. The latter were made larger in size as the cordwood and charcoal trade increased.

One of the most notable builders of his day was Joseph Francis of Toms River. He constructed a row-boat in 1830 which was later presented to the Russian Czar who used it at the Cowes regatta in England. It was considered by the British to be one of the handsomest and swiftest of its class afloat. Later, Francis designed and built a wooden life-boat patterned after the whale-boat, but which afforded buoyancy and immunity against capsizing by masses of cork fixed in the bow and stern



and by air chambers laid along the gunwales and under the thwarts. In 1843 he built the first corrugated metal lifeboat and later, he formed a company for its manufacture in Brooklyn. It was there that he invented his life-car, which had its first and successful practical test in the wreck of the "Ayrshire," an episode mentioned in Chapter IX. Congress later presented to him, in the words of a regional historian, "the most massive gold medal ever awarded by that body to any individual," which the inventor afterwards presented to the Smithsonian Institution.<sup>56</sup>

Shipbuilding continued in the County until well into the period following 1850. It had a brief boom during Civil War times. As the best timber had been taken by that time from Ocean County swamps, and as much larger schooners were demanded for longer voyages, the vessel masters later began to go to Maine to build their schooners.<sup>57</sup>

A great deal of shipbuilding was also carried on in Atlantic County during the first half of the 19th Century, as noted in the quotation at the heading of this section. There were shipyards at Absecon, Bakersville on Great Egg Harbor, Leedsville, Mays Landing, and Port Republic, as well as at Bargaintown. At the latter place, as early as 1800, a "full-rigged vessel was built along Putcong Creek" and in the ensuing years five more were constructed on the same tidal stream. By 1825 a shipyard was in operation on Sculls Bay.<sup>58</sup>

By the Census of 1840 the Atlantic County shipyards were producing by far the greatest amount of shipping among the coastal counties of New Jersey. The value of ships and vessels built in that year for Atlantic County was reported at \$104,440. Cape May County reported a figure of \$39,000; Cumberland County, \$44,000; and the shore section of Burlington County, \$15,800.<sup>59</sup>

Mays Landing, at the head of navigation of the Great Egg Harbor River, became the center of shipbuilding for

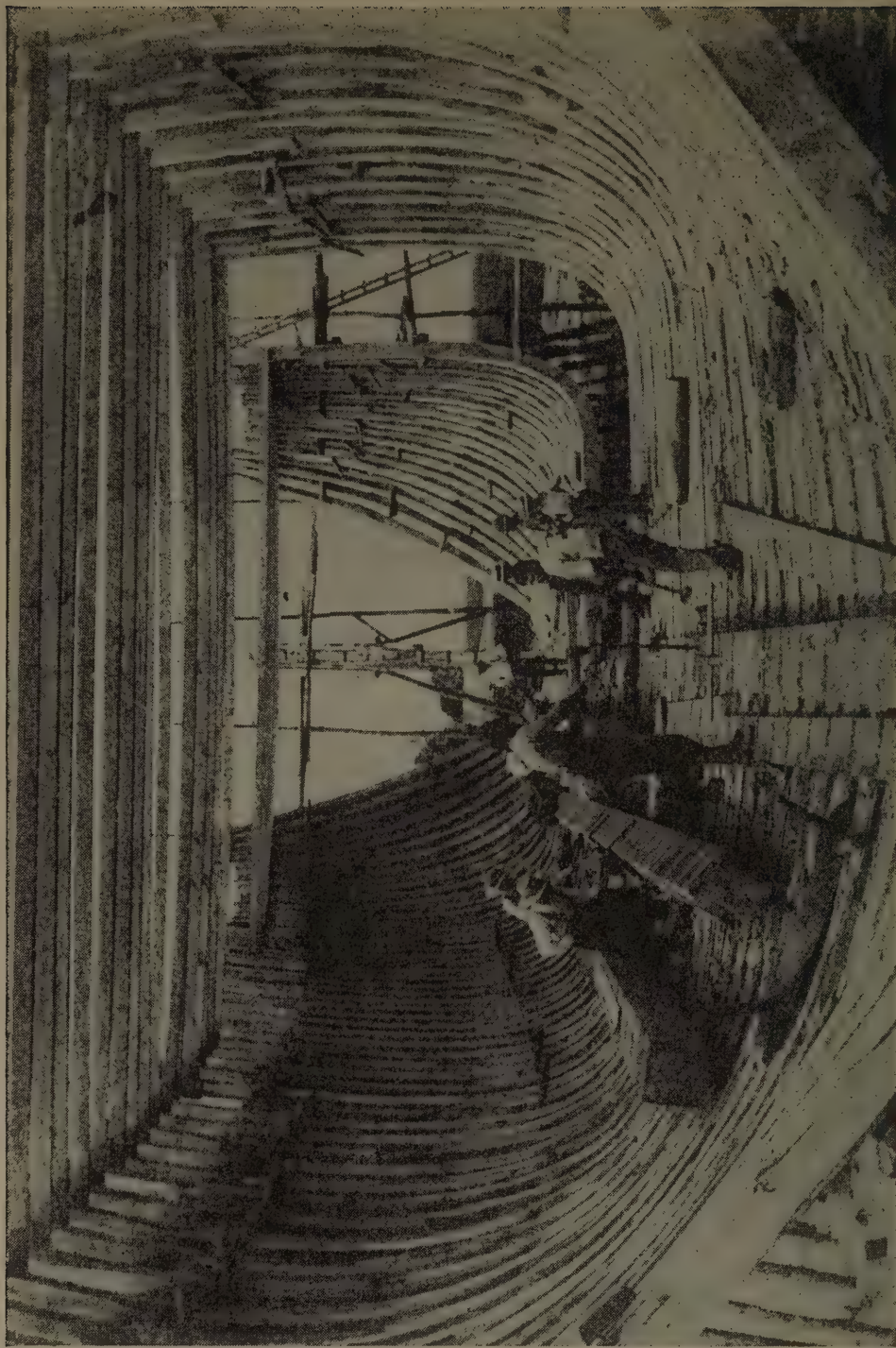
Atlantic County. The town had been founded by George May a few years after mid-18th Century,<sup>60</sup> when he opened a store for the supply of vessels putting into Great Egg Harbor. George May was also a blacksmith and a shipbuilder, and he built a number of schooners, some of which were engaged in trade with the West Indies.<sup>61</sup>

By the mid-century decades Mays Landing reached the height of its shipbuilding. In the fifty years beginning with 1830, not less than a hundred vessels were built there, with lumber from native forests and with iron from the local foundries. Many vessels were constructed from timbers brought from the Weymouth forests.<sup>62</sup> The hulk of one of these ships, the "Weymouth," constructed by Richard S. Colwell about 1870, laid in the Great Egg Harbor River for many years at Catawba, a few miles below the spot where it was built.

In Cape May County shipbuilding was centered at Tuckahoe and Dennisville. At the former location the builders took advantage of the nearby bog-iron ore furnaces for the iron needed on the wooden vessels. In the 1820's, blacksmiths from Tuckahoe journeyed up the river to nearby Etna Furnace for bar iron from which were made spikes and bolts for the vessels being built in Tuckahoe. The spikes were six inches to two feet in length to suit the various thickness of the ship timber.<sup>63</sup> The opening quotation for this section mentions Tuckahoe as a center of shipbuilding in 1850, but the reporter erroneously placed it in Atlantic County.<sup>64</sup> Dennisville was still more important in the industry, and by the mid-century years shipbuilding was conducted there on a large scale. In addition, most of the store business of the county was done there.<sup>65</sup>

Cape May's particular contribution to vessel-building was an improvement of the lee board of the center-board sailing ship. Jacocks Swain<sup>66</sup> and his two sons, Henry and Joshua, who built vessels north of Seaville





(Courtesy N. J. Dept. of Conserv. & Econ. Devel.)

*Shipbuilding at Dennis Creek, Cape May County*



on the Tuckahoe River, secured a patent for it in 1811. It was a device for preventing leeway in a sailing vessel. Leeway is the lateral movement of a ship to the leeward of her course, that is, to that side of the ship that is farthest from the point from which the wind blows. The lee board was a sort of movable keel which could be lowered many feet through a well in the center of the ship to enable it to sail against the wind and at the same time keep upright. Raised to its highest position the lee board allowed boats to cross shallow bars. The patent, however, brought little financial return to the Swains, since it could be easily evaded by building centerboards to work between the mainkeel and the kelson, instead of through the middle of the keel as provided in the patent.<sup>67</sup>

In Monmouth County one of the earliest shipbuilding centers was at Red Bank on the Navesink River, where there was need for vessels for the Monmouth County-New York trade. By 1809 Esek White was running the sloop "Fair Play," built at Red Bank, on this trade. There were many others. In 1832, another shipbuilder, Charles G. Allen, constructed the "Catherine Allen," a schooner of thirty tons; and at two year intervals he finished the "Mary Emma" of seventy tons, and the "Margaret Klotz," of forty-five tons. Other vessels were built there in the middle 1830's by John Pintard and Joseph Parker. In 1845 William Remson constructed two schooners, the "Henry Remson" of 145 tons and the "Sarah Elizabeth" of eighty tons. These vessels were run in the interests of Remson's milling and mercantile enterprise. In 1852 the Red Bank Steamboat Company built three vessels, and the Middletown and Shrewsbury Transportaion Company constructed two, the "Golden Gate" and the "Ocean Wave." Both these companies stopped operations a few years later.<sup>68</sup>

A Monmouth County town not located immediately on water was once the scene of ship construction. At Eatontown, about 1808, eccentric Joseph Parker built a

schooner of thirty tons, the "Eatontown." When finished, it had to be drawn by oxen and horses a distance of a mile to the stream, a laborious journey which took three days and which was watched by large groups of people who were attracted by the novel sight. The problem of



(Courtesy Wm. H. Tripp, Old Dartmouth Hist. Socy., New Bedford, Mass.)

*"River Queen" of Nantucket, Built at Keyport in 1864 and used as a Dispatch Boat by Gen. Grant in the Civil War, at Oak Bluffs Pier, Marthas Vineyard, in 1889*

getting the schooner to water was considerable. Parker succeeded in mounting it on a platform resting on sledges pulled by many yoke of oxen, and at last succeeded in safely floating his vessel in Parker Creek.<sup>69</sup>

Another center of shipbuilding was on the Manasquan River, on the southern tip of the County. By 1808 William Brown was constructing vessels there, and shipbuilding continued until the Manasquan Inlet and channel became too shoal for the passage of anything above a large sailboat. With skilled workers available, small craft continued to be built there in large numbers. The bridge over the Manasquan to Point Pleasant, according to the 1889 Guidebook, still had a draw and was "bound to open for any craft able to float through." In these

decades, Brielle, incorporated in 1881, became a center for the building of small boats.<sup>70</sup>

Vessel building was also one of the first industries of Keyport on Raritan Bay. In 1831 John Cottrell started yards at Brown's Point; shortly later, shipyards were established by B. C. Terry at the same Point, and later at Lockport. In 1854 the latter had three first class ferry boats and two steamboats on the stocks at the same time.<sup>71</sup> In 1832 Roosevelt and Huff established a yard on a lot later occupied by Warn's drugstore.<sup>72</sup> In the same year the sloop "New Jersey" of fifty tons was built at Compton's Creek, eight miles below Keyport, to sail in the New York trade, and in the same decade the Keyport Dock Company built a number of sloops for the New York-Monmouth County trade. In 1839 this company constructed the steamship "Wave," and in 1851 the "Minnie Cornell," which carried passengers as well as freight. In 1846 the Chingarora Dock Company constructed the "Golden Rule," a sloop, and other vessels. After mid-century, a Farmers' Transportation company was organized, and the steamboat "Holmdel" was built.<sup>73</sup>

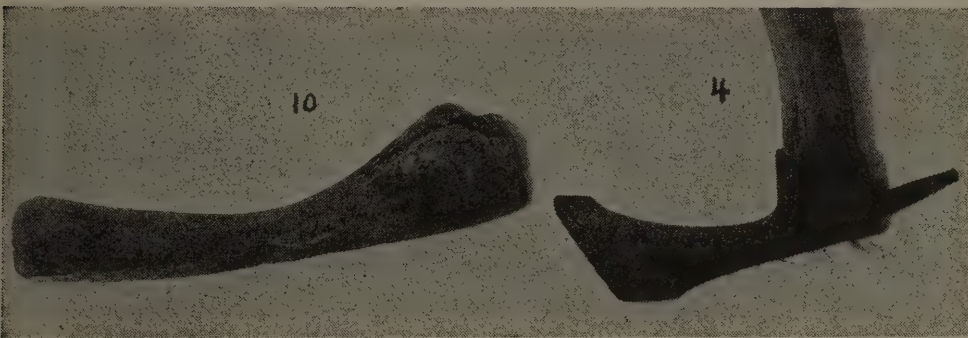
Among the pre-requisites for shipbuilding, such as the availability of skilled labor and proximity to the demand of coastal commerce, were good timber and proper implements. The shore counties had great amounts of forest land. In addition to the miles of pines, which gave the Pine Barrens their name, there was a varied forest growth. One tree plentiful in early years was the white cedar, prized for boat-building as well as for many other purposes. It grew in swamps along the course of tidal creeks, and also in isolated patches of different sizes. The largest was the Great Cedar Swamp, described in Part I, which stretched from the mouth of Dennis Creek on Delaware Bay, to the mouth of the Tuckahoe Creek which flows into Great Egg Harbor on the Atlantic. The cedars in this swamp provided Dennisville and Tuckahoe with lumber for their ships. Other areas of cedar swamps



were to be found in this period, particularly in Ocean and Atlantic counties, and to some extent in Monmouth.

A well-known naturalist who visited the shore area in the latter 18th Century noted that the swamps were half a mile to a mile wide, and sometimes five or six miles long. They either occupied former channels of choked up streams, or were arms of the sea. The cedar swamps presented to him, as well as to others who visited the places, "a singular appearance." Especially impressive to him was the Great Cedar Swamp in Cape May County, where trees rose to a height of fifty or sixty feet without a limb. Their tops were so closely woven together that, in the words of the naturalist, they spread "the gloom of a perpetual twilight below." They grew in water, which, from the impregnation of the fallen leaves and the roots of the cedars, was the color of brandy. The roots, prostrate logs, and in many places the water, were covered with green, mantling moss, while an undergrowth of laurel, fifteen or twenty feet high, intersected every opening so completely that a passage through was laborious and harassing. "At every step," wrote the 18th Century observer, "you either sink to the knees, clamber over fallen timber, squeeze yourself through between the stubborn laurels, or plunge to the middle in the ponds made by the uprooting of large trees." The cedar swamps were eerie places, declared the naturalist. "In calm weather the silence of death reigns in these dreary regions; a few interrupted rays of light shoot across the gloom; and unless for occasional hollow screams of the herons, and the melancholy chirping of one or two species of small birds, all is silence, solitude and desolation. When a breeze rises, at first it sighs mournfully through the tops; but as the gale increases, the tall mastlike cedars waver like fishing-poles, and rubbing against each other, produce a variety of singular noises that, with the help of a little imagination, resemble shrieks, groans, growling of bears, wolves, and such-like comfortable music."<sup>74</sup>

Many kinds of implements were needed for the construction of wooden vessels. Before mechanical devices pushed it into the realm of things forgotten, the adz was a handy instrument. In contrast to an axe, the adz resembled the hoe in that its cutting edge was transverse



(Courtesy New Jersey Agricultural Society)

*Adzes Found in New Jersey*

(Lower picture an enlargement of part of upper)

instead of being in line with the "helve" or handle. It was an implement intended for chipping or dressing down the surface of wood that was not accessible to some other sort of tool. The sort used by shipbuilders was made with a broad cutting edge and was fitted with a long handle. Of particular interest in the accompanying illustration is No. 4, a ship-builder's lip adz found in Waretown, and

No. 5, a "gouge adz" with a holly handle, from Waretown also. This gouge adz came from Irvie Camburn of Waretown, whose grandfather, Joseph (1809-1903) was a boat-builder.<sup>75</sup>

Other tools employed in building vessels included some made of iron from nearby forges. Calking irons and wedges for driving oakum into seams and the cracks of boat bottoms were used along the shore. Typical examples of these are those shown on the extreme right of the accompanying illustration. This particular iron came from New Gretna, in the shore section of Burlington County, and the oak wedge in the lower right of the picture came from Barnegat. For baling out boats, white cedar scoops were used. Some of the baymen on Barnegat Bay made their own, but many were procured from ship chandlers' shops. Two of the white cedar balers, the large shovel-like objects, are shown at the left of the same illustration.

The decline of shipbuilding as a major source of livelihood in the various shore counties occurred in the latter quarter of the 19th Century. A variety of factors caused it. One was the advent of the railroad, which brought about a drop in the coastwise trade and the consequent decline in the demand for coastal vessels. Another important factor was the exhaustion of the timber supply. An 1882 account of the township of Washington, in the shore section of Burlington County, stated, for example, "Within the past few years the heavy timber has been hewn down and utilized for shipbuilding until at present nothing but the shoots of scrub oaks, with a limited amount of pine timber, remain to mark the once rich forest."<sup>76</sup> The contemporaneous drop in the bog-iron industry also deprived the shipbuilder of a nearby source of certain iron equipment and implements.

#### 4. *Highlights of farm life.*

Wide tracts of salt meadows . . . afford an abundance of



coarse hay, free in many places to all who seek it and valuable in the maintenance of stock and making manure. The climate is so mild, near the coast, that herds of cattle subsist through the winter, upon these meadows and in the neighboring thickets, without expense to the proprietors. The sea coast is said also to be favourable to the production of good mutton and wool.

(Description written in 1834.)<sup>77</sup>

The farmer of this period had practically as little cash income as in the years before 1800. Commercial farming did not develop until the last half of the century, although some farmers, especially in Monmouth County, sold produce in the New York market. There was little good farming land in the other shore counties. The inhabitants of these areas were, as we have noted, mainly fisherman-farmers, and depended a great deal upon fishing and lumbering, raising only enough on their land for their own use. Monmouth County, however, developed a fairly brisk trade with New York, with its growing population. In 1834 the *Gazetteer* declared that the county produced "much pork and vegetables" and that the farmers were taking advantage of the "convenient situation for supplying the markets of New York."<sup>78</sup>

A South Jersey citizen, born in 1818, later wrote a vivid account of life in the 1830's on a prosperous farm in the richer soil section of Old Gloucester County, which applies equally to the contemporary situation on a fertile Monmouth County farm. Recalling his youth the commentator remembered particularly the fall season. When winter approached about fifty cords of oak and hickory four feet in length were hauled to the woodpile; some twenty or more fat hogs were killed, the hams and shoulders were sugar-cured and smoked in a large stone house; the sides were salted down in large cedar tanks. The beeves were killed, the rounds dried, not smoked, and the rest "corned." Minced meat and sausages in line chains, by the hundred pounds, cider boiled down in great copper

kettles, and apple butter and pear sauce were all made in considerable quantities. Oysters were put in one of the four cellars and kept fat by sprinkling them in brine and cornmeal. Choice apples were stored in bins, each variety by itself, for daily use, while larger quantities were buried in earthen pits for spring usage. Cheese and butter were kept on swinging shelves in another of the cellars. Cider vinegar was put into four hogsheads and applejack in barrels which were arranged in a row according to age. Old-fashioned demijohns held cherries covered with brandy. Apples, peaches, pears, huckleberries, currants and plums were dried on scaffolds in the sun, to be used for pies and other purposes and the children brought in supplies of chestnuts. Turkey, geese, and barnyard fowl were raised, many for sale. Rabbits, pheasants, partridges and woodcock were procured from the countryside, and the ponds and streams had good numbers of fish.<sup>79</sup>

The harvest season was especially eventful. In this period the sickle and the scythe were the chief implements in getting in the grain. Men from other farms usually helped, and in return, received aid from others. The grain was carried in sheaves to the shockers. On good farms sometimes twenty to thirty reapers could be seen crossing a field of ripened grain. About ten in the morning the farmer's wife and daughters brought lunch, with hot biscuits and cool drink, to some convenient shade tree. At noon dinner was announced by a tin horn or a conch shell, and a brief rest followed. At four o'clock there was another lunch, and as the day's work was from sunrise to sunset, there were a few more hours of work.<sup>80</sup>

During the haying season the grass was cut with scythes, spread with forks and gathered up with rakes. It took about two days to prepare it for the haymow. The whole process was by hand and if the crop was clover, as in the marl belt of Monmouth County and other interior coastal plain counties, and if it happened to rain, little but stems ever reached the barn, for the frequent handling

wasted the head and blossom. When the revolving horse rake was introduced later the farmers were slow to accept it, for they claimed that it picked up all the sticks and stones with the grass and rolled and wadded the hay so that "you couldn't get it apart."<sup>81</sup>

Life was no easier for the women on the farm during these years than it had been in the 18th Century. There was so much to be done. As one woman recalled the second quarter of the 19th Century, this included "heavy washings, . . . ironing of caps, sunbonnets, aprons, and ruffs; the bountiful meals to be prepared for the family and for the help; the stockings to be knitted for the whole family; the patching and darning to do; the great batches of bread, pies, tarts, and puddings to be baked in the brick oven; the fowls to be attended to; and the milk, butter and cheese to care for; and finally, the washing, combing, carding, spinning, and weaving into heavy cloth of the last wool crop." Moreover, company had to be entertained; "the itinerant tailor who made up the homespun into clothes for the menfolk, or the itinerant cobbler who mended boots and shoes of coarse cowhide or made new ones had to be overseen, or perhaps, the weary travelling preacher was to be made to feel he was here at 'home'."<sup>82</sup>

The quilting party offered an opportunity to the womenfolk to get together and exchange items of interest. One writer from Atlantic County explained the procedure. The quilting frame consisted of four boards about twelve feet long and one inch thick and four inches wide with holes about six inches apart into which could be fitted wooden pegs. On starting the quilt the four corners of the frame were placed on the tops of the chairs to which the figured quilt-covering was attached face down. Then rolls of cotton were laid over the covering. The under cover was then placed over the cotton and the women worked on each side of the frame, sewing on the rosettes that held the three layers together. As the work progressed the wooden pegs were set further in until



the workers on each of the four sides met at the center and the quilt was finished. As the women sewed, they talked about everything. The big event of the day was dinner, for which the visitor usually brought something to be added to the food prepared by the hostess.<sup>83</sup>

An unusual though temporary phase of farming activity which affected a few shore communities was the short-lived effort in the latter 1830's to raise silk worms. During the period of low prices in the years following the Panic of 1837 a number of shore county farmers, particularly in the shore section of Burlington County and also parts of Cape May, turned to this unusual industry for a cash crop. It received wider publicity than results justified. The existence of imported mulberry trees in some areas give evidence of the movement. One writer declared in 1913 that there were still several white mulberry trees in Cape May County. They were called by that name locally because the fruit was white and because it was necessary to distinguish them from the ordinary mulberry that bore a darkish red fruit. They had been set out to furnish food for silk worms when silk production was being tried in the vicinity.<sup>84</sup>

A number of factors influenced people to turn to raising silk worms. A booklet was distributed in the latter 1830's by a group of Philadelphians to a number of South Jersey farmers, advising them to secure as many of the silk worms as they could and to feed them on mulberry leaves. The pamphlet enthusiastically promised that in almost no time the worms would grow and multiply, and the owners could wind off large amounts of silk from the cocoons. Soon, when the supply of leaves became exhausted, the enthusiasts urged that mulberry trees be planted on an extensive scale. About this time some cuttings were brought back from the Orient of a many-leaved variety of mulberry upon which the Chinese silk worms fed. This type, called "*morus multicaulis*" was a shrub rather than a tree, and grew fast.

The fever of speculation was stimulated in the latter 1830's when the New Jersey Legislature offered a bounty of fifteen cents a pound for cocoons produced. South Jersey responded particularly. The activity centered mainly in the Delaware River section of Burlington, Camden and Gloucester counties, but evidences of it were found in Cape May County, as noted above, and also in the shore section of Burlington, particularly at an isolated village called Harrisville on the Wading River, a tributary of the Mullica. Advocates had said that land of little value could raise many pounds of cocoons at a profit of from forty to fifty dollars an acre, and there was plenty of that type of land around Harrisville.<sup>85</sup> One authority on the village wrote that although the industry was planned on a large scale there it never reached beyond the experimental stage. A large mulberry tree grove was planted and a building set up as a cocoonery, where the cocoons were fed. By 1931 he wrote that the building had disappeared. Only a few straggling stumps of the trees remained. The industry and the silk worm died a natural death. Most of the trees were burned by forest fires.<sup>86</sup>

By the fall of 1839 the boom collapsed. Lack of knowledge in producing the cocoons and the time and effort in unwinding them were factors in bringing about the decline of the "mania." Occasional efforts were made later in the century to produce silk. One occurred in 1878 among the newly arrived Italians in the Vineland area of Cumberland County, but few could undertake the raising of raw silk in competition with the more cheaply produced material coming from the Orient to Paterson.<sup>87</sup>





## CHAPTER XIV

### THE MAKING OF IRON AND GLASS

Furnaces and glasshouses are scattered here and there among the pines. Agriculture is but little pursued.

(Comment made in 1844.)<sup>1</sup>

The bog-iron ore industry was an important factor in the economy of the central portions of the shore area the first half of the century. It peopled the pines as they had never been peopled before or since.<sup>2</sup> The production of iron from bog ore reached its peak in the years following the War of 1812, although it continued an important factor for a number of decades after it had passed its height. Its decline was co-incidental with the exhaustion of the bog ore and the era of railroad development which allowed the transportation of iron from Pennsylvania, where there were large quantities of ore close to coal for fuel.<sup>3</sup>

Both the iron and glass industries were products of the Pine Barrens. The production of glass in the shore area was restricted primarily to what became Atlantic County, although it developed widely in the interior counties of South Jersey. In the latter district glass making continued well into the period from 1850 to 1900, but the brief story of the industry in the shore territory is discussed in the last section of this chapter, since its decline occurred there before mid-century.

#### I. *The production of bog-iron.*

These sandy lands yield an immense quantity of bog iron ore, which is worked up to great advantage in the iron works.

(Comment in 1799.)<sup>4</sup>

A number of factors favored the development of the bog iron ore industry in the shore area. Everything

needed in those earlier years was available. The bog ore deposits were comparatively rich and extensive; the forests gave an ample and seemingly inexhaustible supply of wood for charcoal, the fuel in the smelting process; the streams when dammed, provided power for the trip hammers and bellows of the iron works. Many of the small waterways also afforded a direct avenue for the transportation of supplies and finished articles. The ore was found in wet meadows and swamps. Sometimes it occurred in large sheets from two to six inches thick, and occasionally in fine particles known as "shot ore." In quality it was superior to much mine ore, since it was comparatively free from slag and stone.<sup>5</sup>

Bog-iron is created by the chemical action of vegetable-laden water sifting through ferruginous strata. It can still be found as a soft, red, muddy substance in swamps and varies in hardness from a thick liquid to stone. Deposits are found where drainage of the land is poor and where sluggish streams exist. The Great Egg Harbor River falls but five feet in twenty-five miles and the Mullica River drops only five feet in sixteen miles. These conditions are typical. The bog-iron is above tide-water, although some of the swamps are just above sea level. The major deposits that were worked were situated in the basins of the Great Egg Harbor River and the Mullica River systems. Other deposits employed were near the Tuckahoe River in Cape May County, and along tidewater streams in Burlington, Ocean and Monmouth counties.

The ore is formed by the reducing action of decaying vegetable matter on soluble iron salts. The waters, highly tinged with vegetable matter, percolate through, and take into a solution a considerable quantity of iron in the form of oxide. As these waters emerge from the ground and become exposed to the air, the iron solution decomposes and deposits a reddish muddy "sludge" along the banks, in the coves of water courses, or in the beds

of swamps or wet meadows. This process is a slow but continuous one and after a hundred years or so the deposit becomes of sufficient thickness to be classed as a bog ore bed.

The problem of producing iron involved several complicated procedures between raw material and finished product. Even the digging of the bog-iron required considerable skill. A typical method could be seen at the Atsion Furnace, in the southeastern section of Burlington County, which employed about 120 workmen by 1840. The Atsion River, a part of the Mullica River system, passed through extensive ferruginous sand regions near Berlin, then through cedar swamps, and finally to the Atsion Furnace swamps. The ore was dug three miles above the furnace, and floated on barges to it from the bogs. The swamp was large and numerous shallow coves at its edges were covered with water from one to two feet deep. The ore was chiefly dug in these coves. Excavations from eight to ten feet square were made and between each a thick dike or dam was left to prevent the water from flowing upon the diggers or ore raisers.<sup>6</sup>

A considerable outlay of money was often necessary to build dams and sluiceways and install water wheels in order to produce sufficient waterpower at all seasons of the year to run the bellows and trip hammers. Moreover, the large amount of charcoal needed for even a moderate sized furnace or forge necessitated control over extensive tracts of land. It was estimated that for an average furnace at least four square miles of woodland should be available. Thus all the early iron works were situated on rivers or creeks and in unsettled and heavily wooded territory.<sup>7</sup>

For continued operation at least 20,000 acres of woodland were needed to supply charcoal for one furnace. This was hauled to the furnace by mule or ox teams. Some tracts were divided into sections of 1,000 acres, one of which was cut each year for timber to be used in making



charcoal for the season's blast. By the time the last section had been cut, the trees on the first one had grown up again, and were ready to be converted into charcoal. It was possible in the pine belt to have a crop of charcoal wood every twenty years, since wood could be used in diameters ranging from seven inches to twelve inches. With wood available the question of the nearness to the source of iron was not always of primary importance. A number of years later, some furnaces obtained their iron ore from the Hudson River district.<sup>8</sup>

The first furnaces were usually built in isolated areas. Since brick and iron were hard to get, they often were made of large gum trees hollowed out and lined with the clay. The hearth also was of clay, a foot thick. Above the hearth were sets of tap holes, the lower set to draw off the molten metal; two upper sets a foot or so above the first were used to draw off the slag. The airblast was produced by a bellows, first by manpower and later by water power. Still later, more permanent furnaces were built. These usually consisted of a four sided stack of stone or brick about twenty feet or more in height and twenty to twenty-four feet square at the base.<sup>9</sup>

Fire was kindled on the hearth of the furnace and kept going until its stack was thoroughly heated. Then a small charge of ore, charcoal, and flux in the form of oyster or clam shells, was added in alternate layers and the air blast turned on. The purpose of the latter was to keep the molten mass in a state of agitation and to produce the intense heat required to separate the metal from the accompanying impurities. As the mass was melted, the impurities or dross rose to the top and the metallic iron gradually sank to the bottom. The slag or dross was drawn off through the upper outlets from time to time, and the iron was tapped from the lower opening every nine to ten hours. As the iron was drawn off new charges were introduced into the top of the furnace, the process being a continuous one during the "blast." In

the earlier furnaces the blast, which was under the intense heat, seldom exceeded sixteen to eighteen weeks. Later, better resisting materials were found and the length of the blast increased to seven or eight months. When the blasts were out, the furnaces were relined and new hearths installed and the work of repairing roads and dams was carried on.<sup>10</sup> The furnaces usually reopened in March, as soon as the cold weather broke and scows could get into the swamps for the ore. They were in constant operation until the end of the year, and in the earlier years, even on Sundays.<sup>11</sup>

The forge was similar to the blacksmith's forge except that the hearth was larger and the sides deeper. Many forges used pig iron as raw material and converted it into bar iron. Some made bar iron directly from the ore.<sup>12</sup>

The industry that emerged in the shore counties was a substantial development even prior to the Revolution, in spite of the limitations placed on it by the British. The earliest iron works in the four shore counties started in the 17th Century at Tinton Falls, Shrewsbury Township, Monmouth County. Lewis Morris bought the area in 1675 and the following year the General Assembly gave him tax exemption for his works, "rate free for seven years." By 1680 the "ore tract" was employing seventy Negroes and a number of whites. The bog-iron ore contained forty per cent metallic iron and a good quality of refined iron was made. The usual price for a ton of iron ore was \$6.50 and a ton of bar-iron in London brought eighteen pounds sterling, giving a large profit. Later restrictions by the British and a decline in available raw materials curtailed production.<sup>13</sup> The only other ore location in Monmouth County was established in 1812 at Allaire.

A number of furnaces and forges were established in what became Ocean County. The first one, known as Federal Furnace, was set up in Manchester in 1789, and later another one was started there. In 1797 Stafford Forge was built. More were established in the first two

decades of the 19th Century. In 1808 one was built at Laurelton, then known as Butcher's Forge, on the Metedeconk River. In 1809 Dover Forge was constructed.

In the same year the first forge at Ferrago, later called Bamber, and then Cedar Crest was built for General John Lacy, for whom Lacy Township was named. The word "Ferrago" was derived from the Latin "fer-rum," meaning iron. The forges influenced the construction of roads here. In 1810 Lacy applied for authority to have a road laid out from Forked River Landing, from which the products were shipped, to Ferrago and thence on to Hanover Furnace in Burlington County. The road, which had but one bend in it between Forked River and Ferrago, became known as Lacy Road. When the bog ore at Ferrago became exhausted in the 1830's through steady use, iron ore was procured for a while from the Hudson River region, near Fishkill. It was brought to Forked River by schooner and carted on mule-drawn wagons to Ferrago.<sup>14</sup>

Washington Furnace was built by Jesse Richards in 1814 in the location which became the resort town of Lakewood. Later it was bought by Joseph W. Brick, who rechristened it the Bergen Iron Works. Some of the iron water pipe used in New York in the latter part of the first quarter of the century came from these works. It was carted over a corduroy road to the nearest landing on Barnegat Bay and shipped by water.<sup>15</sup> Another establishment was the Phoenix Furnace, which was built in 1820 a short way below Federal Furnace, on a branch of the Toms River.<sup>16</sup> In some instances the land containing the bog iron was worked by a tenant who leased the area, removed the ore, and let the swamp revert to the owner when the supply was exhausted.<sup>17</sup>

Other furnaces were constructed in the shore section of Burlington County. In the 1780's the iron foundry of Edward Drinker on the Mullica River made iron parts for John Fitch's famous steamboat, which was being



operated on the Delaware River by 1790.<sup>18</sup> There were furnaces and forges at Wading River, Atsion, Martha and Batsto, and still more were established further in the interior of the county.

In Atlantic County, Gloucester Furnace was constructed in 1813, near the present site of Egg Harbor City and Walker's Forge was built about 1816, three miles from Mays Landing in Weymouth Township. By the 1830's Gloucester Furnace consisted of a charcoal blast furnace, sawmill and tenant houses. There were about 17,000 acres of timber land, which was sold in the 1850's to the men who developed Egg Harbor City. In 1830 a gristmill was built near the Furnace. The capacity of the furnace was twenty-five tons of iron weekly. The manufactured articles from the forge consisted of stoves, lamp-posts and castings made to order.<sup>19</sup>

The leading establishment in Atlantic County was Weymouth in Mullica Township, while there was only one in Cape May County, Etna Furnace.

## 2. *Four typical bog-iron localities.*

There is a furnace (at Batsto) where are usually employed about 125 men and it is estimated that 700 or 800 persons derive their subsistence from these works.

(Observation made in 1844.)<sup>20</sup>

There are many accounts of the iron works in the shore counties during this period. A selected few deserve special attention. Especially enlightening are descriptions of the establishments near Tuckahoe, in Cape May County at the edge of Atlantic County; at Weymouth, in Atlantic County; at Batsto, Harrisville and Martha, in southern Burlington County; and at Allaire in southern Monmouth County.

The Etna Iron Furnace was constructed in 1816 of bricks and stones brought by water to the head of navi-

gation on the Tuckahoe River. The furnace was twenty-five feet high, with fourteen feet of clearance at the base and three feet at the top. It was enclosed with five layers of brick, a wall three feet thick. Outside the brick were two and a half feet of sandstone, which acted as insulation to retain the heat inside. At the back of the furnace was a long inclined trestle which led to the top. The material to charge the furnace was hauled up this ramp.

Employees of the furnace made charcoal from pine trees on its own acres of woodland. Other workers gathered loads of shells from Great Egg Harbor Bay. Men in boats brought bog ore from the swamps. The three essentials were then brought to the furnace. To charge, a heavy layer of charcoal was placed on the bottom, then a layer of shells, next a layer of bog iron ore, until the furnace was full. Waterpower furnished by the dammed-up river forced a big bellows to blow into the mass until a wavering flame of fire leaped high above the tree tops. Under the intense heat the particles of iron ran together and flowed down into earthen ditches to harden into pig iron. The shells formed a slag which carried off the impurities, and all the organic matter was consumed. Pig iron in this shape was as brittle as glass. It was reheated in the forge and great trip hammers pounded it until it could be shaped and welded. The noise of these huge hammers could be heard far across the surrounding countryside. This furnace went "out of blast" in 1832.<sup>21</sup>

The Weymouth Iron Works, further north on the Great Egg Harbor River, were active for a long period during the 19th Century. Few travelers down the Black Horse Pike today notice the remains of the old village about a quarter of a mile east of the Pike, a few miles above the Mays Landing "cloverleaf."

Weymouth in its heyday was a busy place. Little is left of the furnace, but the ruins of a paper mill which was built afterwards on the site can still be seen. The furnace was erected in 1800. It was thirty feet square at the base, thirty feet high and fifteen feet square at

the top, which had a circular opening eight feet in diameter. It was built of native ironstone and lined with brick. It required eight large wagon loads of charcoal a day to keep up the blast. Men used wheelbarrows to carry the materials up the outside trestle to the top of the furnace. Every few minutes two men dumped six large baskets of charcoal with a quantity of ore into the opening. When this was sufficiently settled, the operation was repeated. This was called a charge. Other men removed the molten metal as it ran out below. The air blast was maintained by a huge bellows driven by water power from the Great Egg Harbor River. This forced the air through pipes of iron and leather into the furnace at a point just above the molten metal. Large tanks were necessary as air chambers in order that a steady blast might be maintained. To obtain the ore, canals were dug and scows were run into the swamps. The forge trip-hammers were also operated by water power. With two of these trip-hammers two men could produce each week one ton of malleable iron. Later a superior process was devised, and two men could produce a ton a day. This was the highest production point reached before the period of the rolling mill.

Products of the Weymouth forge included stoves, cannon, cannonballs, pipes of all sizes and other articles. In 1900 a hitching post still stood on Delaware Avenue, Philadelphia, which was made at Weymouth as a cannon for the War of 1812. The forge also produced cannonballs for that war. The furnace opened in March, as did most others, and operated for the balance of the year. It was closed during January and February because of adverse weather conditions. In later years, as the ore supply became exhausted locally, Weymouth was forced to import its ore. Some was brought from Staten Island, Peekskill and Albany; some from the Schuylkill area and some from Smyrna, Delaware. The first cast iron pipes laid in the streets of Philadelphia came from Weymouth



in 1801; and in 1804 more were laid down Vine and Water streets. By the 1820's a great deal of Weymouth pipe was being used in Philadelphia.<sup>22</sup>

The manufacture of finished iron products continued until 1862, when the forge burned. In 1865, when the foundry burned, all iron production was abandoned. The Civil War shut off the market in the southern cities. Mobile, for example, had bought a considerable quantity of iron pipes when it started its waterworks in 1842. Improved methods, the development of railroad transportation and the use of anthracite coal for fuel made it no longer profitable to ship pig iron into the charcoal districts of South Jersey to be manufactured.<sup>23</sup>

The problem of getting iron products to market was very serious for an interior site such as Weymouth. Cartage by wagon-team to Philadelphia proved too difficult, and the producers turned to the Great Egg Harbor River. Most of the iron was transported down the six miles to tidewater at Mays Landing on large scows. These flatboats were carried down by the current, and were poled back by hand with whatever supplies in the way of groceries it might be convenient to carry. Lockage rights through the dam at Mays Landing were held by the Weymouth proprietors. In 1846 a mule tramway was built from Weymouth down to Mays Landing. Three teams of six mules each operated the tramcars to and from the Landing, and whenever the occasion demanded a one-horse car was provided for passengers.<sup>24</sup>

Batsto, Harrisville or Wading River, and Martha furnaces were all located in Washington Township, in what is known as the Mullica River region. Batsto takes its name from an old Indian word meaning a place for bathing. The furnace there was built by Charles Read in 1766. It provided material for the patriots during the Revolution and was one objective of a British attack. Non-military articles were also produced. According to a notice in the *Pennsylvania Journal*, May 8, 1776, an

advertisement of the Batsto works offered for sale either there or in Philadelphia, a "great variety of iron pots, kettles, Dutch ovens, and oval fish kettles . . . , skillets of different sizes, much lighter, neater and superior in quality to any imported from Great Britain. Potash and other large kettles, from 30 to 125 gallons; sugar mill gudgeons,<sup>25</sup> neatly rounded and polished at the ends; grating bars of different lengths . . . weights and forge hammers of best quality. Also Batsto pig iron as usual."<sup>26</sup>

The problem of procuring labor in out-of-the-way Batsto was especially difficult in these years, as can be seen from these two advertisements which appeared in the *Pennsylvania Evening Post* of Philadelphia. One, on November 14, 1776, stated "Woodcutters wanted at Batsto Furnace . . . in West New Jersey, where sober, industrious men may make good wages by cutting pine wood at two shillings and six pence per cord." Six months later, in the issue for June 23, 1777, the price for labor had risen and exemption from military conscription was offered as a special inducement when Batsto advertised for a "number of laborers, colliers, and nailers, . . . Four shillings per cord will be paid for cutting pine wood . . . *N.B.* The workmen at these works are by law of this state exempt from military duty."<sup>27</sup>

By the latter 18th Century, Batsto had become an important village in the pines. The War of 1812 gave the works a further increase in business and by the 1820's the village was thriving. By 1834 the furnace was producing about nine hundred tons of castings and the forge nearly two hundred tons of bar iron annually.<sup>28</sup> After this date competition gradually increased and in 1848 the fires of the furnace were allowed to die out and were never again lit. In 1874 a fire laid most of the village in ashes and in 1876, at a Master's sale on a mortgage for \$14,000, the area of about one hundred square miles was purchased for an estate by Joseph Wharton of Philadelphia, who modernized the manor house.<sup>29</sup>

Martha Furnace was established in 1793 on the Oswego Branch of the Wading River, about four miles above the head of navigation. When it was visited in the early 1940's by the writer, few vestiges remained. Isaac Potts built the furnace and named it in honor of his wife, Martha. He produced fire backs, hearths, jambs, stoves and iron hollow ware. Once his establishment was running smoothly, Potts moved to Philadelphia. In 1800 ownership was transferred to Joseph Ball and Samuel Richards, who ran other South Jersey forges and furnaces, among them the one at Weymouth.

By 1834 Martha Furnace was making about 750 tons of iron castings annually and was employing about sixty hands. These with their families made a population of nearly four hundred, requiring from forty to fifty dwellings. There were about 30,000 acres of land appurtenant to the works. When outside competition increased in the 1840's, Martha Furnace closed down.<sup>30</sup>

Closely associated for a short time with the Martha Furnace was the Wading River Slitting Mill, built in 1797, and later known as Harrisville, where pig iron from Martha and other nearby furnaces was processed into strips and other forms of wrought iron products. The mill was bought later by another concern organized to make paper boards, and in 1848 it was purchased by John W. Harris, who began the Harrisville Manufacturing Company there, the ruins of which may be seen today.<sup>31</sup>

The population trend in Washington Township, Burlington County, which at that time contained the last three iron ore villages discussed, indicates the effect of the closing of the furnaces. In 1850 the population in the Township reached the highest point in its history, 2,010. In the State Census of 1855 this dropped to 1,190. In 1870 it dropped to 609; in 1880 to 389; and in 1890 to 310.<sup>32</sup>

The ruins of the bog-iron works at Allaire in Mon-



mouth County are the best preserved in the state. The works, then known as Monmouth Furnace, and built near the Manasquan River in 1812, later were purchased by Benjamin B. Howell and called Howell Furnace. By the middle 1820's activity at the works had declined, and in



(Courtesy Asbury Park Press)

*Ruins of Allaire Furnace and Forge, in 1891*

1828, with the hope of improving business, the company chose for its president James B. Allaire of New York, a man of Huguenot descent. James Allaire knew the iron making business. He had made the air chamber for Fulton's first steamboat, the *Clermont*, and had made the engines for the *Savannah*, the first steamer to cross the Atlantic. Soon after he went to the works as president of the company, he bought 11,000 acres of woodland in the surrounding country.<sup>33</sup> In 1832 Allaire secured part ownership, and in 1841 he bought entire control. For some years he kept the name of Howell Works, but later the plant was referred to as Allaire.

As elsewhere in the bog iron locations, the furnace here was square in shape and the air blast was furnished

by water power, with a mill pond and race way. The water fell to an undershot wheel with a drop of thirty-four feet. By 1836 a three mile long canal was in use for the works, going from the headwaters of the Mingamahone Brook near Farmingdale to the works. The articles manufactured were mostly what were called "hollow-ware," and included cauldrons, various sizes of iron pots and kettles, covered bake-pans, stoves and some pipes. Engines were built for steamboats and screws and sad irons were also made. The screw factory was built in 1829. Three Frenchmen were brought in for that purpose. They fitted special small lathes, which were used in threading screws. After the screws had been cut and headed they were formed in one operation by use of a heavy press weighing three tons, which was worked by an Englishman named Charles Makepeace.<sup>34</sup>

In the early years the manufactured products were carted to Red Bank on the Navesink, where they were shipped by packets to New York. In 1837 James Allaire bought the steamboat "Isis" and operated it himself for the New York trade.<sup>35</sup> In 1844 a dock was built near Eatontown at a location now called Oceanport, and Allaire found that a shorter trip. He thereupon erected there a large stone warehouse, fifty feet square and four stories high, in which he stored pots, kettles, and all kinds of ironware from the works, and sent them from there to New York, as he had orders for them.<sup>36</sup>

Allaire was a perfect example of the company town of the period. At the height of operations, between 1834 and 1837, the works employed as many as five hundred men, who represented many nationalities. During this period it was claimed that Allaire was the largest concern in the world for making marine engines.<sup>37</sup> All types of workers were required to run such an establishment. Included among the employees were moulders, ware-cleaners, carpenters, pattern makers, wheelwrights, black-



smiths, millers, screw factory and mill operators, masons and builders, teamsters, ore raisers, charcoal burners, woodcutters, stage drivers, warehousemen, farm laborers, grooms, tailors, harness makers, bakers, gardeners, foremen, clerks, ordinary laborers, and a teacher and a preacher.<sup>38</sup> The two latter were hired by the owner, Mr. Allaire, who in 1832 had a school building erected for the use of the children of his workmen, and in the middle 1830's provided a church for his employees and their families. The church was Episcopalian, and undoubtedly was chosen by Mr. Allaire rather than his workmen, for this denomination was small in the shore area of New Jersey.<sup>39</sup>

A number of buildings were constructed by the management to serve the economy of Allaire. Among them were a gristmill, a forge, a bakery, a store, a tailor shop, a carpenter shop, a slaughter house, grinding, polishing, wheelwright and file cutting shops, a screw factory, shops for enamelling hollow ware, a large storehouse for charcoal, boarding houses for unmarried workmen, another for superintendents and clerks in the store and offices, offices, stables, a post office, a church, a schoolhouse, and many other buildings.<sup>40</sup>

The life of Allaire ended in the 1840's, for the same reasons which caused the end of the other bog-iron ore communities. By 1844 a contemporary account referred to Howell Furnace as the place where iron "has been" extensively manufactured.<sup>41</sup> The last iron was made at Allaire in 1846.<sup>42</sup> The closing of the works caused a drop in the number of people in the township. The population of Howell Township, in which Allaire was situated at the time, declined from 4,699 in 1840 to 4,058 in 1850. It is not possible to follow the trend of population accurately after this, for the Allaire Works were included in the territory set apart from Howell Township to form Wall Township in 1851.<sup>43</sup>



### 3. *Life in the bog-iron community.*

The iron works in many respects represent little kingdoms.

(Comment in 1846.)<sup>44</sup>

Life in the iron-producing villages during the first half of the 19th Century was similar, in some respects, to the situation on a feudal barony in the later Middle Ages, with the proprietor's manor house taking the place of the castle. The laborers' houses were only a short distance from the works and not far distant stood the iron master's mansion. The surroundings of the "big house" were elaborate. The extensive grounds contained shrubbery, fine trees and a flower garden.

The manor house was the center of social activity. Visitors were always welcome. At Allaire, for instance, in wintertime as many as forty sleighs brought loads of visitors to be entertained at a single time. At all seasons of the year many visitors came to view the works, and all were received at the Big House. James Allaire gave frequent social gatherings in the large dining room, at which his sons and daughters, together with the elite of other places, including ladies and gentlemen from Freehold, were present. Balls and concerts were given and on Independence Day, July 4th, there were many celebrations, with the ringing of bells and firing of cannon.<sup>45</sup>

Life at all the bog-iron establishments was paternalistic. The proprietor exercised great influence over the villagers. He was the counselor to whom the workmen often brought their troubles and anxieties. At Batsto, which at its height contained nearly 1,500 people, if a doctor, lawyer, or minister was needed, the villagers appealed to the ironmaster. As at Allaire, the owner often built the schoolhouse and at times provided at his own expense the teacher and the minister for the church. At Weymouth, the employer in 1807 built a meeting house for his workers which was used chiefly by the Methodists

and Presbyterians. The proprietor possessed political as well as denominational influence. At elections most of the workers, in contrast to modern times, were willing to follow the party candidate favored by their employer. There may have been some who feared to differ, but the greater number considered the master better qualified to decide the issues which would be best for their own interest.<sup>46</sup>

The employees seldom travelled further away from the works than the neighborhood tavern or the general store. A company store sold all the goods needed by the workers and their families. It had no competition, and set prices which provided a good profit. The old general store at Batsto may still be visited. On top of the building there was originally a bell which was used to announce to the villagers the arrival of new goods.<sup>47</sup> It was the boast of the Allaire storekeeper in the 1830's that no workers could call for anything at the store that he did not have in stock. One enterprising customer sought to test the truth of the declaration and asked the storekeeper for a set of goose yokes. It so happened that on that day, this very merchandise had been received in trade from an old wood ranger long the scourge of the timber lands because he stole wood from the company's tract. Now the storekeeper was glad to have the yokes even though they were made from the company's wood.<sup>48</sup>

At various intervals, the workers' wages were paid in company script, redeemable only at the company store. Banks were far away and often unreliable. At Allaire between 1834 and 1837 the iron works issued its own money, with payments made to the employees by orders on the company's store. These orders were neatly engraved and had the appearance of money. The bills ran from six and a half cents to ten dollars. On the face of each was an engraving of the furnace, and all were signed by James Allaire.<sup>49</sup>

At Weymouth, where more than one hundred families lived at the height of operations, the son of the company manager recalled that it was not uncommon, on a Friday or Saturday, when the week's supplies were sold to the workers at the company store, to weigh out four or five barrels of pork and a ton or more of flour, and to measure out forty or fifty bushels of potatoes and a hogshead of molasses. Often twenty-five double teams, loaded with fresh pork from the farms of Salem and Gloucester Counties, were driven into Weymouth in one string. The pork was salted down in large tanks in the cellar and re-tailed as called for. Salt pork was cheap, and the workers had a great liking for it. Ninety thousand pounds a year were sold in the store at Weymouth.<sup>50</sup>

In the account books for the company store at Allaire, during the two years between 1825 and 1827, one significant item recurs persistently, that of laudanum, which is an alcoholic tincture of opium. This was used by many in these days as a form of narcotic. One account shows purchases of laudanum once a week. Addicts took the drug in diluted form, probably cut with water or with applejack whiskey.<sup>51</sup>

Near the company store was the carpenter shop where the moulds and patterns were made for plowshares, pots, pans, stoves, firebacks, water pipes, and a variety of other articles that were made in the casting houses. Not far from the furnace were the charcoal sheds, or "coal houses," as they were called.<sup>52</sup>

It was customary at the older furnaces for the bookkeeper to make daily notations of news items along with his regular accounts. The journal of the bookkeeper of Martha Furnace provides one of the best sources concerning life in an ironworks community. It is evident from his comments that cold winter weather and the "Training Days" affected production adversely. When the water wheels froze with ice it was necessary to suspend work. On January 4, 1809, it is stated, "Frost



stopped the furnace wheel several times." Three days later comes the entry: "Blew Furnace at eight o'clock in the evening." The celebration then started and the bookkeeper wrote, "All hands drunk." Rain also caused difficulties. The December 21, 1810, entry laments "Rain. Furnace made very bad iron owing to the wet weather."

After the Revolutionary War, the workers at the furnaces no longer had military exemption, and the requirement that they attend training days often cut down production. The entry for May 6, 1808, for instance, comments: "Several hands gone to the Training." On June 10th of the same year comes this, "Training at Bodines was very fully attended from ye works. Most of the hands . . . returned orderly." Fewer holidays were observed in those days. For example, Christmas was not a holiday in the earlier years of the century. The December 25, 1810, notation reads, "Teams carting iron casting to the landing."

Difficulties with laborers receive frequent comment. Many immigrant workers from Germany and Ireland were employed. The entry for May 18, 1808, notes "Report says James McGilligan made a violent attempt on the chastity of Miss Druky Trusty, ye African." James must have been quite a fellow. On August 29, 1810, it was noted: "James McGilligan sick after being drunk at Michael Micks," and on September 8th, he "galented E. McLaughlin's wife to Batstow." Heavy drinking was common. On August 5th: "John Cannong returned from frolicking. Not yet able to work," while on August 15th: "Jacob Williamson done little work today. Slept most of the afternoon on the Shop Bench," Christmas Day, 1808, saw "A general engagement between the Irish and the Country borne . . . in which the latter took the field."

Sometimes the laborers refused to work. In the entry for May 18, 1809, after noting it had rained from 1:30 to 3:30 in the afternoon, the bookkeeper added that the manager "Ordered the teams to go. All refused. Went

a second time and required the ore teams to go but would not."

When summer came the shore lured the worker. The July 25, 1809, notation reads: "Moulders all agreed to quit work and went to the Beach . . .", and on July 30th



*Bishop Memorial Library, Toms River*

it was observed, "Molders returned from the Beach. J. Ventling drunk . . . Joseph Townsend wanting to fight. Furnace boiled and the metal consolidated together."

Other inhabitants got away from the village occasionally. The journal states on October 11, 1809, for example, that "several of the women and children went to Bodines to see the learned Goat," while on the 25th it says, "all the men gone a deer hunting. S. Reeves drunk and his wife dere not come to milk."

The agricultural sections of South Jersey found a market for their foodstuffs at the iron works communities. The entry for November 1, 1809 reads, "Corn nearly all gone. Mr. Evans (the owner) started for Evesham (near Moorestown) to purchase grain," and on November 2nd, "Mr. Evans returned from the Country." Batsto

in the 1830's and early 1840's was referred to as the "market place" for the farmers about Mt. Holly, who sold tons of pork and produce there during the prosperous years.

The arrival of babies often received special comment in the Martha Furnace journal. On May 10th "Hannah McEntire mustered the ladies to watch for a young Irishman," and on August 14, 1810, Charlotte Cross "makes a muster. John Howard fetches the granny for her but arrived too late," and on September 22nd "Delilah Mick makes a muster this evening." On the next day's notation is "Delilah Mick Delivered of a Son who is to be called Joseph. Michael Mick, the husband, was put to bed through the effects of too much Tiff."

A schoolhouse was provided at Martha's Furnace, and on February 12, 1810 it is stated, "School began this day." On February 14th, Mr. Evans was having a desk made for the schoolhouse. The building was also used for a church, for the January 11, 1811 entry observes: "We had a very good Sermon preached at the Schoolhouse last evening." Others who had religion attended special services nearby. The July 13, 1813 entry reads, "Camp Meeting at the Bank. (Green Bank on the Mullica River.) The Sons and Daughters of Thunder from Martha attending it."

Weddings in the furnace community offered local excitement. The entry for July 30, 1814, is "Solomon Truax and E. Hambleton was married this evening. Had a great time, ended of kissing the Bride and others, some taking gates off the hinges and throwing them in the woods and some to quarreling."

In the opinion of the bookkeeper, strong drink was the bane of existence at the Furnace. This influence became so serious that, according to the entry for August 20, 1811, "Mr. Evans made Solemn resolution that any Person or Persons bringing Liquor to the work enough to make drunk come, shall be liable to a fine." However,



no reference appears in the later entries of any "Person or Persons" being fined.<sup>53</sup>

#### 4. *The decline of the bog-iron industry.*

Man nowadays plays small part in the life of these sandy wastes . . . , yet time was . . . when iron furnaces and forges were in active operation throughout the Pines. . . . Today (1904), when the traveller passes through these woods, he will come at times upon the ruins of these old forges, as at Batsto, Weymouth, Etna, Atsion, and Martha, where great beds of slag, houses showing signs of decay, tumble-down fences, and choked up wells are left.

(Comment in 1904.)<sup>54</sup>

The making of iron from bog-ore reached its highest point in the years between the War of 1812 and the 1820's, but it continued to be important through the early 1840's.<sup>55</sup> In 1830 there were fourteen furnaces and as many forges in active operation in the state, and the 1834 *Gazetteer* makes frequent references to the importance of the industry to certain localities.<sup>56</sup> The federal census of 1840, however, lists only five furnaces, two in Atlantic County, one in Burlington and one in Cumberland.<sup>57</sup>

The decline in the industry after 1840 was abrupt. The precipitous drop during this decade was startling, and caused contemporaries to mourn. One observer wrote that while driving in September, 1849, with a horse and buggy on the "long sandy road" from Millville to Tuckahoe, through an "almost interminable waste of stunted pine and oak" that he came upon a hamlet in Cumberland County, not far from Tuckahoe, that had been known as the Cumberland Works. It consisted of about twenty-five cottages and other buildings once occupied by the mills, foundaries, and forges. Not long before it had been a busy community, but now only silence hung over it. The tenements were dilapidated and looked ready to fall. The water wheels were motionless; the furnace was dead. The

trip-hammer which once beat night and day was quiet, and "all . . . has departed."<sup>58</sup>

Various factors brought this about. Primarily the drop was due to the development in Pennsylvania of anthracite coal in the immediate vicinity of iron ore deposits. The profits from the Batsto furnace, for instance, began to decline about 1835 because of competition from the Pennsylvania furnaces.<sup>59</sup> Furthermore, the bog ore was high in sulphur and phosphorus which, with the methods of smelting known then, rendered it unfit for steel.<sup>60</sup> The State Geologist noted in his Journal for April-July, 1856, that there was more phosphorus in the bog-iron than there had formerly been.<sup>61</sup>

Another factor in the decline was the virtual exhaustion of the timber supply. Every year for years more than the annual growth had been harvested. A letter written in 1849 gave this as one of the causes for the closing of the Cumberland Works, which had been "abandoned about thirteen years ago because of the rapid decrease of timber in the neighborhood."<sup>62</sup> The development of the railroad network left in an even more isolated situation many of the out-of-the-way bog-ore communities which were not reached by it. A few closer to water transportation were able to hold on longer, since water transportation was cheaper than that by railroads.

A further cause of the decline was the over-working of many of the bog-iron beds, which forced some companies to go afield for their raw material. Bog-ore swamps are reproductive, and a bog-ore bed renews itself in about twenty to thirty years provided the soil in which it is deposited has not been drained and if there is sufficient vegetation to act on the iron salts. But the industry had used the beds up completely, and there had not been time for much new ore to form. In modern times, as signs of exhaustion have appeared in the production of minerals in this country, the renewal of the bog-iron ore beds has a certain significance.<sup>63</sup>

Long before 1900 the iron industry in the Pines was a thing of the past. Here and there are remains today of what once were centers of a flourishing industry. The furnaces and forges have been completely obliterated in some places, in others only bits of black slag remain, while in a few the ruins are still standing.<sup>64</sup> It was not until the advent of the horseless carriage and new improved highways to the shore that the area was again invaded by large groups of people, and these usually drove through as fast as they could.

##### 5. *The production of glass.*

On Steven's Branch of Great Egg Harbor River . . . , five miles south of May's Landing, are Estell's Glass Works, employing about 80 men; a Methodist Church, a grist and saw mill and a few buildings.

(Comment in 1844, concerning glass-making in Atlantic County.)<sup>65</sup>

With plenty of silicate sand and wood for fuel readily available, glass production began early in New Jersey, even before the Revolution in the interior counties of the southern part of the state. In contrast to the iron works, which could be found in all the shore counties, the glass industry for this area was confined almost completely to what became Atlantic County. The only other locations in the region included brief developments in the southeastern part of Burlington County, at Batsto in 1850-51, and at Crowleytown on the Mullica River and at Herman City in the last quarter of the century. A short-lived establishment was built about 1816 in Cape May County at Tuckahoe. The plant at Crowleytown, a few miles below Batsto, was opened in 1851, and employed twelve glass blowers. It was closed in 1866 because of the drop in demand which followed the Civil War.<sup>66</sup> The first Mason jar in the country was blown in these glassworks in 1856. It had been invented that year by John L. Mason of Vineland and was blown in Crowleytown by Clayton



Parker of Bridgeton. This container for home-canned products proved so practical that Mason in the first year sold twenty gross of the jars. Within seven years sales increased to 50,000 gross. When Mason's patents ran out the jar was manufactured by numerous firms, but his name was molded into every jar to distinguish its type.<sup>67</sup>

The two most important glass factories in the shore counties were established at Estellville and at Hammon-ton, in Atlantic County. In 1895 a good sized plant was built at Minotola, in the northwestern corner of the county near Vineland.<sup>68</sup>

The glass works at Estellville, on the Great Egg Harbor River a few miles below Mays Landing, were built by Daniel and John Estell in 1825. The plant was operated successfully by the two brothers for a number of years. By the 1840's eighty men were employed. According to a regional history the establishment was purchased at mid-century by "two practical glass men." In 1875 another proprietor came into possession, but he was not able to make a financial success.<sup>69</sup> In 1877 the works went out of business, partly because the demand for glass had dropped during and after the Panic of 1873, and partly because the fuel supply had dwindled.<sup>70</sup>

The Hammonton Glassworks were started by William Coffin and Jonathan Haines in 1819. The works and the town that grew up nearby took their name from John Hammond Coffin, William's son. For a number of years the owners were able to operate the works at a profit. Transportation was slow and expensive, but there was plenty of white sand and an abundance of timber for fuel.<sup>71</sup> In 1849 a traveller noted that there were glass works near Hammonton, a "hamlet" on the main stage route. "There is a cluster of neat and comfortable dwellings, a glass house, and a little church on a spot where once was forest."<sup>72</sup> Within eight years, however, glass-making at Hammonton had ended. The village of Ham-

monton soon became the center of an important real estate development.<sup>73</sup>

The peak of the glass industry occurred in the mid-century decades. One main factor in the decline of the business was the shift in the type of fuel used to run the glass furnaces. In the early days wood was used, and since the amount of fuel burned was very large and transportation facilities were limited, the glass factories established before 1850 were located in heavily wooded districts where a supply of sand of good quality was available.<sup>74</sup> When the supply of nearby wood became depleted, the factories began to turn to Pennsylvania anthracite coal. This fuel required an artificial blast for melting sand, and its use made possible the enlargement of the melting pots until they were more than three times as big as in the times when wood was used as fuel. Under these circumstances, operating a glass factory was too expensive unless the establishment was on a navigable stream where coal could be brought in by water.<sup>75</sup>

Glass-making involved considerable skill, as is shown by a description of the making of window-pane glass at a plant in nearby Gloucester County in 1873. In the "Pot House," where the materials were prepared for building the vessels in which the elements of glass were to be melted, careful work was demanded. To construct the pots, clay was broken into small pieces and finely ground by a massive iron roller propelled by horse power. After this it was sifted and taken into a mixing room where it was mixed with water and placed in two large troughs, in which men manipulated it by constant treading. After it was thoroughly kneaded, the potmakers took it and it was given form by careful pounding. The pots measured about three feet high, the base about two feet and the crown about two and one-half feet. They were placed in an oven and subjected to severe heat, after which they were used for the furnaces.

At the furnace, with its sixteen pots, the labor was

definitely skilled. The work required accuracy and evenness of motion and judgment. It was the duty of the tender to collect from the pot the required amount of molten glass, which was composed of three parts of silicate sand to one each of soda and lime. He took a long



*Veterans of Foreign Wars Home, Toms River*

hollow iron rod and plunged it into the pot. A quantity of glass adhered to the rod. The tender then turned the rod on a cloth saturated with water, in order to cool the glass a little. At the same time the blower put the other end of the hollow rod in his mouth and blew a red ball of glass, giving it its first hollow impression. This process was repeated three times. The blower then subjected the extreme end of the rod again to the intense heat in the furnace, after which it was taken out and blown again. By constant swinging, blowing, and holding the rod in a perpendicular position, the blower gradually made the glass assume first, a conical shape, and then a cylindrical shape, until it measured about four feet in length and ten inches in diameter. The cylindrical form was then separated from the hollow iron and it was ready to be taken to the "Flattening House."



Here the "flattener" worked on it. Under the influence of intense heat it became thoroughly pliable. It was placed on a heated large flat stone and an evenness of surface was acquired by having a wooden block gently moved over it. Then the plate of glass was passed through cooler divisions of graduated temperature and finally taken to the "Cutting-House," where it was cut into window panes.<sup>76</sup>

Glass bottles and chimneys for kerosene lamps were also produced in South Jersey glass-plants. For glass bottles, the pot house was the same type as just described. The furnaces had tenders and blowers, who, using the hollow rod, plunged it into the molten glass three times. After it had been repeatedly exposed to the furnace heat, the molten glass was blown into an iron mold by the blower. The cast iron form was divided into two sections and was opened and closed by small boy apprentices who were constantly in attendance to the blowers.

In the "finishing process," the bottles were taken from the mold still hot enough to receive an impression. The boy apprentice placed the bottle on a curved wooden surface. It was kept in constant motion for the purpose of cooling it and retaining its perfect shape. The mouth of the bottle was left shaggy and rough. To remedy this, another worker subjected the extreme end to an intense heat in a separate blast until the mouth became pliable. It was then handed to the "finisher" who, by use of an iron instrument, reduced the rough edges and made them smooth and ready for use. The article was then taken into the "tempering chambers" for annealing.

Chimneys for kerosene lamps, then in great demand, were manufactured in another part of the same establishment. This occupied the attention of five workmen with boy attendants. Again the blower took the hollow rod with the molten glass on it. Holding it at an angle of forty-five degrees, he lengthened the mass through a circular vibrating motion. Repeated blowing through the

pipe retained the cylindrical and conical shape of the mass of glass. Another man then took it and finished the two ends by reducing the uneven edges. This was done by successively heating them at the mouth of the furnace and manipulating them with tongs.<sup>77</sup>

The coming of the glass industry was not always viewed with enthusiasm. One man in Gloucester County told his grandson that before the glass plant came to the village in 1835 life was quiet, serene and neighborly, with everyone trusting and helping his neighbor. After the glass factory was built, it brought cheap labor and Saturday night drunken brawls, and the factory store where everyone was indebted to the company.<sup>78</sup>

The conditions of excessive heat affected the workers in the glass factories and led to the general practice of closing the plants during July and August. A State report written at the end of the century deplored the situation as menacing the health of the workers. "Glassblowers," it was explained, "work in a temperature of from 100 degrees to 130 degrees. . . . They become chilled when leaving the plant. . . . There is scarcely one found who does not suffer from some form of catarrh." Another occupational trouble was inflammation of the eyes. As the worker approached the open furnace to gather molten glass, his position was such that the eye, right or left as the blower might be right or left handed, was brought close to the intense heat and glare of the opening through which the glass was gathered. A progressive dimness of the sight resulted.<sup>79</sup> Nowadays little glass is blown by hand and modern methods of making glass have done away with these hazards to the workers' health.

As the bog-iron ore and glass industries passed their peak, there developed in the shore counties a new opportunity for making a livelihood, which burgeoned into big business with the coming of the railroad. The first resorts on the seashore were a far cry from the grimy ore furnace and forge and the penetrating heat of the glass furnace.





## CHAPTER XV

### THE FIRST RESORTS

Sometimes, in early July, daily about noon (there) might be seen ten to twelve stages filled mostly with ladies whose happy faces, quiet in demeanor, and sombre garb, told you that they were from the Quaker City and that after a rest at Rice's Hotel (in Freehold), they would be on their way to Long Branch for the season.

(Account of traffic to the shore, 1845.)<sup>1</sup>

During the first half of the century a few sites along the shore developed as New Jersey's first seaside resorts. Cape May could be considered a resort in these years, as could Long Branch, and to a certain extent, Tucker's Beach and Long Beach, although accommodations at the latter locations were limited. A number of other localities were entertaining a few summer guests, though they were too small to be termed resorts. This last category included the places described by Gordon in his *Gazetteer* as having boarding houses, such as Somers Point or Manasquan.

The problems of transportation to the early resorts, the story of life at the boarding-houses and an investigation of other aspects of summer visits to the shore constitute the topics for discussion in this chapter.

#### I. *The trip to the shore.*

There was more penance than joy in a trip to the seashore. A few sturdy people went. . . . Their pilgrimage was as weary as that of the Mohammedans to Mecca.

(Recollection of trips to the shore in the 1830's and 1840's, using the overland route through the Pines.)<sup>2</sup>

Before the railroad provided adequate facilities, vacationers had two means of getting to the seashore. One was the overland route, which necessitated a long and difficult journey through the pine belt by wagon and later by stagecoach from either Philadelphia or New York.

This method was most frequently employed to reach the central section of the shore, including what became Ocean County and Atlantic County. The other was the approach by waterway, which was used to get to Cape May and to Long Branch. Cape May was patronized principally by Philadelphians and Southerners. In the early part of this period Long Branch was visited mainly by Philadelphians, but later many people from New York went there.

Before the stagecoach lines developed, the overland route to the shore relied on makeshift arrangements. This trip was often made by using the freight wagons, known as "Jersey wagons" or "oyster wagons," mentioned in Chapter XIII. Another name for this type of vehicle was "shore wagon." They carted salted fish and oysters from Little Egg Harbor through the pines to Philadelphia and to Trenton in the latter 18th and early 19th centuries. On their return trip, they brought back to the shore visitors, who, before boarding houses were established, carried with them their stoves, blankets and food.<sup>3</sup> Women seldom travelled by wagon, as the trip was considered too long and too rough for females.<sup>4</sup>

"Of all wheeled vehicles, the greatest atrocity was this Jersey wagon," declared one resident in 1885 as he recalled jouncing trips to the shore in the 1830's and 1840's. "It seemed to have been designed by the Shakers in protest against every semblance of luxury or even comfort." The back and sides were square, straight and "as free from graceful lines as those of a ready-made coffin." The springs were "cumbrous contrivances of unyielding wood so constructed as to make riding a weariness to the flesh and the spirit." Insect pests added to the travellers' discomfort. When the passengers stopped for meals voracious green-head flies made "one continuous meal" off them. By the time they reached their destination "the more robust were generally able to climb out but the feebler ones . . . had to be lifted out."<sup>5</sup>

An enlightening description of a trip from the Cam-

den area to the coast by "shore wagon" appears in a manuscript called "A Journal of a Route to Absecon Beach and the Passing Events." The journey was made in August, 1843, a decade before the first railroad was built to the shore. By this time stage lines ran to the shore, but the fares by wagon were cheaper, for good reason.

The group crossed the Delaware from Philadelphia to Camden about half-past four the morning of Tuesday, August 8, 1843. After breakfast in Camden, the party left for Absecon in an oyster wagon, following a route which approximated the present-day White Horse Pike. The sandy road was "tolerable, made so by the late heavy rains." At half-past nine the wagon arrived at White Horse, which then consisted of three dwellings, a blacksmith and wheelwright shop and a tavern. They rode on for about an hour and then stopped to refresh themselves "with a draught from a brook of clear water," having provided themselves with leather cups for such occasions. About eleven o'clock they drove up to the tavern door at Long-a-Coming. This town seemed very appropriately designated for, owing to the heat and sandy roads, the company was "long-a-coming" the distance of 15 miles. A late dinner was eaten at three o'clock at another tavern. The party stopped again at eight o'clock at a tavern called the "Sailor Boy," ate and started on for an all night trip. Inclement weather brought more discomfort. The showers which had poured at intervals all the afternoon changed to a steady northeast storm. The wagon, however, was filled with hay and the riders, according to the narrative, "snoozed it off during the night quite comfortably."

It was daylight on August 9th, when the wagon pulled into Absecon. There the group breakfasted at the houses of two of the oystermen, and then at seven o'clock crossed the bay to the beach on Absecon Island, now Atlantic City. The trip was made on the sloop "Henry Clay," a "dirty little craft." The group stayed at a boarding house.



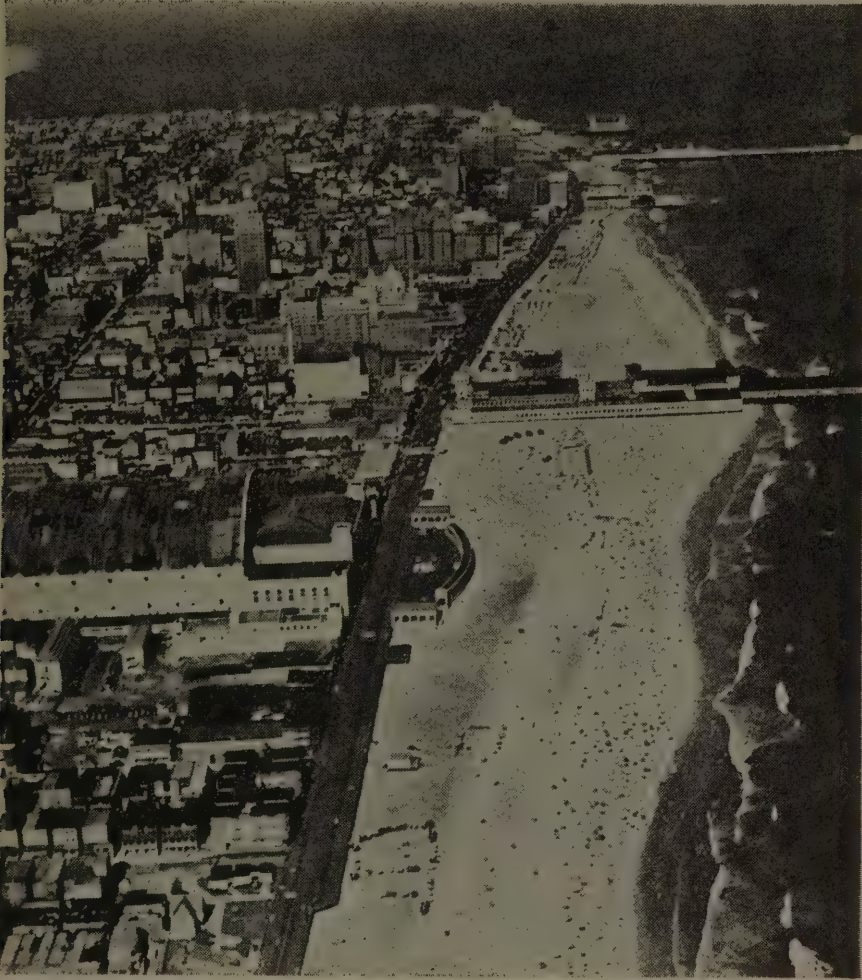
The trip back was made mostly by stagecoach. On August 19th the travellers went by boat to Bakersville, Great Egg Harbor. At three o'clock the next morning they journeyed by private conveyance up the Great Egg Harbor River road to Mays Landing. They left there at half-past seven by stagecoach, passing through Weymouth and Winslow and Blue Anchor and reaching Long-a-Coming by half-past two. They arrived in Camden at half past five, crossed by ferry and "got home for tea."<sup>6</sup>

The stagecoach was a great improvement over the Jersey wagon. The line from Camden to Cape May, by the middle of this period, left Camden at four o'clock in the morning and got to Cape May somewhat after midnight, a hard trip of about one hundred and ten miles. The first stage between Philadelphia and Tuckerton was established in 1816. One round trip a week was made. It took two days to travel each way, and the horses were allowed to rest a day. Visitors were transported by boat from Tuckerton across the bay to Tuckers Beach and to Long Beach.<sup>7</sup>

Improvements in the roads and the construction of spring carriages brought out more feminine travellers, one commentator noted at mid-century, "thus giving an air of gaiety and courtesy to the . . . stagecoaches."<sup>8</sup> By 1833 access to Long Beach had been improved. An excursion was recommended that year to the resort, opposite the little village of Manahawkin, to which a good stage with four horses ran every Monday, Wednesday, and Friday from Burlington.<sup>9</sup>

Lines to Absecon and to Leeds Point were available for Atlantic County. For Beesleys Point on Great Egg Harbor, in northern Cape May County, passengers took the Tuckahoe stage leaving Philadelphia every Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday morning.<sup>10</sup> No steamboat connections developed for the central shore points, and when railroad facilities became available, no need for them arose.

Travel by boat to the vicinity of Cape May was less taxing. Although sporadic service started earlier, it was not until 1802 that vessels using sails and carrying freight and passengers were running regularly during the season between Philadelphia and Cape May.<sup>11</sup> In 1815 a sailing



(Courtesy Dept. of Public Relations, Press Bureau, Atlantic City)

*Shore View of Atlantic City*

sloop was especially constructed to bring people down the Delaware from Philadelphia. The trip usually took two days under sail. By the end of the first quarter of the century the first steam boat began to ply between the two places.<sup>12</sup> An account of a trip to Cape May in 1823

exclaims "Behold us pushed off from the wharf (at Philadelphia), with about 80 passengers. . . . What elegance in this vessel! How rapidly the passed objects fade from view! . . . We reach the Cape at 6 o'clock. As we near the beach (Delaware Bay side) we see many carriages in waiting to bear us to the boarding-houses three miles off on the opposite sea beach. . . ." <sup>13</sup>

Boats for Cape May stopped at Newcastle, Delaware, to take on Baltimoreans and visitors from the South. In the 1820's these passengers came from Baltimore by carriage to Frenchtown, Maryland, on the Susquehanna near Havre de Grace. From here they went to Newcastle by the newly-constructed Frenchtown to Newcastle Railroad. In 1823 one observer declared: "Cape May at some future day must be the great resort of the southern gentry. All those who live in Maryland and Virginia near the city of Baltimore will ride there and take the steamboat to the Frenchtown and New Castle railroad. . . . In this way they will get to the Cape on the *same day from Baltimore*." <sup>14</sup> In 1828 the "superior steamboat, Charles Carroll," was advertised to make trips from Philadelphia to the Cape twice a week. The fare, including meals and carriage hire, was \$5.00. <sup>15</sup> By the middle 1830's, steamers in the summer season were making regular trips twice each week, leaving Philadelphia at 6:30 A.M. for Cape May. The fare was then \$4.50. Southerners left Baltimore on the "Railroad Evening Line," went aboard the vessel at Newcastle the following morning, and reached Cape May that afternoon. The fare from Newcastle was \$4.00. <sup>16</sup> In the next decade trips were made to New York as well, once every two days; and at the height of the season there was daily communication by water to Philadelphia.

During its earlier years as a resort, Long Branch in Monmouth County was frequented chiefly by Philadelphians. When connections by vessel were made with New York, however, more vacationers began to come from



that city. The overland route was used by Philadelphians to reach Long Branch, and before the stagecoach routes were begun, the trip was an arduous one. The diary of one Philadelphian who wrote in 1792 gives a vivid account of the transportation difficulties in these early years. August was the month of his holiday. On August 5th of that year he wrote that he set out on horseback for Long Branch with a group of people in "2 chairs," small two-wheeled wagons which usually seated only two persons, and one "four-wheeled carriage." They crossed Dunk's Ferry near Burlington and spent the night at "Crosswix." The next day they breakfasted early and drove on to Burnt House. Since the mercury was at 94 degrees they rested until four o'clock. They then proceeded to the Court House (Freehold) for the night. On August 7th they went on to Colt's Neck Tavern and after breakfast, set out again. At noon the mercury stood at 98. One of the horses gave out and the writer put his own horse in its place and drove to Thomas Chandler's at the shore.

The vacationers were greatly bothered by mosquitoes. The entry for August 9th reads, "In the evening, Jones and I drove to . . . Edentown (Eatontown) to escape the mosquitoes." On August 11th, the writer stated, it was "cool and pleasant, which happens almost daily between 10 and 4 o'clock, owing to the sea breeze; at other hours, the mosquitoes are exceedingly troublesome."

Later in the month the Philadelphian took his family and stayed in a farm house at Long Branch. On August 21st he started on the journey home with his family. In the entourage were "2 light wagons, 3 chairs, and 2 servants on horseback." The diarist led the way with his gray horse, "Camillus."<sup>17</sup>

In the decades that followed, the overland route to Long Branch was considerably improved. Faster and more comfortable accommodations became available. By 1825 or thereabouts many travellers took a steamboat up to Bordentown on the Delaware, where they found

good stage connections to Long Branch, going via Allentown, Smithburg, Freehold, Colts Neck and Eatontown. At the height of the season, from twenty-eight to thirty stages regularly used this route.

One of the favorite stopping places on this trip was the Smithburg Tavern, which was mentioned in Chapter XII with respect to the Training Days held there in 1827. It was mid-distant from Bordentown and Long Branch, being twenty-four miles from each, and it became a sort of half-way house, where travellers stopped for dinner and a change of horses and drivers. There were frequently almost as many guests from Trenton as from Philadelphia. During the season, many private carriages, headed for the shore, stopped at the Tavern for dinner. Some stayed a day or two, to "breathe the pine-laden breezes."<sup>18</sup>

A new stage route to Long Branch, which became very popular, came into existence in 1848. A railroad which went through Hightstown had been constructed in that year in inland New Jersey, and stage coaches began to meet the train there and take passengers down to the resort. No railroad actually reached Long Branch until 1860, when a spur line of the Raritan and Delaware was built from Eatontown to the ocean.<sup>19</sup>

The development of water transportation from New York to Long Branch brought new facilities which greatly increased the patronage of that resort. As early as 1809, only two years after Robert Fulton's first run up the Hudson, an anonymous writer to the *New York Herald* suggested that steamboat service be instituted between the two places. However, no direct service materialized for two decades. For a number of years New Yorkers reached the resort by taking a ship to Red Bank on the North Shrewsbury River, from which there was a six-mile stage trip down to Long Branch. Later a steamboat company inaugurated service between New York and Sandy Hook, where stages from Long Branch,

"odd, wide-wheeled beach wagons," carried New York passengers on the slow hot drive down the sea-island to the resort. Sixty stagecoaches were frequently lined up to convey passengers down the beach road to Long Branch.<sup>20</sup> Still later, steamboats landed just inside Old Shrewsbury Inlet. The boat trip from New York to the Inlet, travellers agreed, was likely to be more comfortable, but the road from there down the beach to Long Branch was so sandy that salt meadow grass had to be spread over the ruts to prevent the eight-inch wide wheels from sinking to their hubs. Boats did not dock directly at Long Branch until 1828.<sup>21</sup>

The improvements which were made in travel to the shore during the first fifty years of the 19th Century impressed contemporary observers greatly. Soon after mid-century one marvelled at the astonishingly increased facilities of communications that had "diminished distances. Now," he said, "steamboats transfer us to far distant places. . . . Post coaches and fleet horses roll us as easy as on our own couches."<sup>22</sup>

## 2. *The era of the boarding-houses.*

We take the boarding house nearest the surf, Aaron Bennet's, because we wish to be salted and pickled with the sea air. We find the three houses very full of guests. . . . Our first night, we were crowded so that I had to take my rest on a pallet of wood, an old settee. . . . The last comers had to accept the roughest.

(Description of trip in 1823 to Cape May.)<sup>23</sup>

In the early decades of the summer industry, visitors to the shore stayed in farm houses which took in a few guests, or in the boarding-houses which were scattered along the coast. Conveniences were few, but the rates were comparatively low. At one on Long Beach Island, for instance, from four to five dollars a week was charged for board and room, and a quarter of a dollar a day paid for boat and bait for fishing and crabbing. The proprie-



tors made a specialty of feeding their guests on chicken, fish and oysters. The chicken and fish were served at regular meals and the oysters were to be found in a heap under the shed where the boarders were free to go and eat as many as they chose to open.

Contemporary observers made many comments on life at the boarding-houses. Cape May was described by one in 1823 as a village of about twenty houses, with very clean and grassy streets. He added in a disappointed tone that time often passed slowly for the guests. They had to make their own amusements. "Last night," he wrote, "One of the gentlemen played tunes on his flute and several made themselves merry with dancing in the dining hall." A number of his fellow lodgers who had stayed out their time were expressing much desire to see the steamboat again to take them home. The semi-weekly turnover of guests offered excitement, even though it brought inconveniences. The arrival of the new company and the departure of some of the old twice a week produced a great bustle, for the first night both parties remained in the house and several gentlemen were usually left to take their rest on tables, chairs and settees.<sup>24</sup>

No reservations were made prior to the trip to the shore, and crowded conditions often resulted. A visitor who went to Absecon Beach by stagecoach in 1843 explained that his group went to Andrew Leeds' boarding-house, where they were shown to a room ten by twelve feet. Four of them were to occupy it. The house was already full of boarders and the proprietor was not eager to accommodate them.

The weather was of first importance then, as today. It stormed all day the first day of their visit, and their spirits were low. On the next day they were able to go in the surf for a while, but the writer complained of the ravenous mosquitoes. After tea they formed a cotillion, partly to amuse themselves awhile, but more for the purpose of ridding themselves of those "consining insects." They had

not danced long before they were asked to discontinue by the landlady, who gave two reasons: her neighbors might be disturbed and complain, though the nearest house was a mile and a half away, and in the second place she did not think it "a very moral recreation." On the following day the group took a walk along the beach, but the mosquitoes since the rains had increased to an alarming number. They swarmed about their victims in myriads. "We decided to leave the following morning," the commentator stated succinctly.<sup>25</sup>

Boarding-house life at Long Beach in these decades also had its disadvantages, although since less comfortable accommodations were expected, fewer criticisms were made. In the 1820's travellers to Long Beach usually went from Philadelphia by stage to Tuckerton and by boat the next day over to Long Beach. The boat ride fare was twenty-five cents. One popular hostelry was Horner's Boarding House, recently built by Philadelphians for the "purpose of sea-bathing." One guest recalled in 1823 that this boarding-house was made for good cheer and free and easy comforts without any attempt at elegance. None of the floors were planed and the side walls were rough boards and the ceilings white-washed. The liquors and food were very good. The boarding-house was set down on an extremely desolate beach full of small sand hills without a solitary tree. The bathers had to walk half a mile to the shore across the sand, and the ladies were obliged to ride in a cart. As there was fine shooting and fishing and good surf, Long Beach was very popular with men who liked a rough and vigorous outdoor life.

This same traveller described another boarding-house, a few miles south at Tucker's Beach. It was said to be the original house first opened to summer guests by Reuben Tucker in 1765. It was a one story house with a hipped roof and front piazza. It stood about five hundred feet from the shore, and was elevated on a heap of sand and shells. The beaches were pictured as much more

dreary in aspect than those at Cape May. Nothing grew on them but wild and scattered tufts of grass. Around the walls of the piazza about a hundred clam shells of large size were nailed up, with the names of previous summer visitors inscribed on them. A further display of names had been cut in the boards of the house.



*Hackney's Restaurant, Atlantic City*

Even in those decades there was a feeling of non-restraint in the boarding houses, which often led to antics that gave rise to contemporary criticism. The guests felt a relaxation from all the usual cares of housekeeping or business, and some behaved in a very uninhibited manner. This was often deeply distressing to the more sedate patrons. A summer visitor at a boarding-house in Cape May in the eighteen-twenties described the arrival of ten new guests, chiefly Quaker ladies, who came by steamboat in the late afternoon. Soon afterwards a company of fifteen men and five women, from Cape Henlopen in Delaware,



entered to have supper and spend the night. This latter group had a fiddler and considerable to drink. After supper they set to dancing and kept it up boisterously until midnight. The discomfiture of the earlier arrivals can be imagined.<sup>26</sup>

This situation was true at all the summer places. In the 1840's, at a lodging called Ryan's Boarding House at Absecon Beach, one observer described an occasion when many of the guests went down to the beach and danced "to the strains of Fisher's hornpipe discoursed by a single fiddle . . . a regular jump-up-and-down, cross-over-Jonathan and figure-in-Jemina terpsichorean fling!" At high tide, they bathed. The hilarity of the occasion culminated when the men carried the "blushing and screaming maidens" to the tops of the steep sand hills and tying their feet together, rolled them down to the water's edge. There were no bath-houses and the guests went among the hills to change into their bathing clothes.<sup>27</sup>

Long Beach, too, had its "gay lifers." At the lower end of the beach, it was recalled, practical jokers were very busy. One of their oft-repeated pranks was to requisition the hotel mule and in a personally conducted tour, lead him up and down the bare floors of the halls without regard to the sleep of the other guests. One proprietor once returned to his establishment and found a favorite cow marooned on the third floor. It took some time and effort to get the animal back to the ground.<sup>28</sup>

By mid-nineteenth century larger establishments which went under the category of hotels had been built in many places. By 1834, according to the state gazetteer, there were in Cape May six boarding houses, three of which were very large.<sup>29</sup> Cape May was the first of the resorts to have hotels. In 1832 the first house on the island with laths and plaster, called the Mansion House, was constructed. Another was built soon after. In the Census of 1840 it was announced that Cape Island then contained two large hotels and a third one in the process

of erection.<sup>30</sup> Two more had been built by mid-century, the New Atlantic in 1844 and the Columbia in 1846.<sup>31</sup>

At Long Beach Horner's boarding-house, which had been built about 1815, was sold in 1851 to Thomas Bond, who enlarged it, adding a billiard room and a bowling alley for the men. Re-named the Long Beach House, it was referred to as a hotel and not a boarding-house. The proprietor charged from five to seven dollars and fifty cents a week board. The fare was plain, but good. It included milk and vegetables raised right on the island and fresh fish, along with oysters, clams, crabs and game in season. Bond even kept his own flock of sheep for fresh mutton and lamb chops. The building was still some distance from the beach and the bathers, as in earlier years, were driven there in a stage wagon. Usually there were too many for the stage, so some walked. The path led through the swales and over the dunes and finally crossed two sloughs by means of a rickety foot bridge before coming on the beach. Tallow candles furnished light at night.<sup>32</sup>

By 1805 there were accommodations on the beach at Long Branch, as well as in the old village of the same name which was not on the ocean. One New Yorker recorded in that year that there were on the beach three large frame buildings or boarding houses, each capable of entertaining a hundred boarders. The number was constantly fluctuating, some going, others coming. Considering that the season lasted but three months in a year, the terms of board, eight dollars per week, appeared to him to be very reasonable. The food was excellent, for there were vegetables in season, a great variety of fish, fresh from the sea, and good wines. The proprietors and waiters were very attentive, but the lodgings themselves left much room for improvement. He complained particularly of the straight-backed rush bottom chairs and suggested that Windsor chairs would be much more comfortable.<sup>33</sup>

For some years boarding houses continued to cater to the people who went to Long Branch. Gordon in his *Gazetteer* of 1834 marked the immediate seaside on his map merely with "Boarding-houses." He noted that along the beach there was a strip of fertile black sand several miles in length and more than a mile in width. The land adjacent to the ocean rose perpendicularly from the beach nearly twenty feet. He described the boarding-houses as being several rods from the water, with lawns in the immediate space. He also stated that on the outskirts of Long Branch village there were a number of farmers who received boarders.<sup>34</sup>

The boarding-houses continued their ascendancy through the 1830's and into the first years of the 1840's. The diary of a storekeeper at Long Branch, William Maps, notes on July 13, 1839, "but few boarders at the shore." On July 29, however, he wrote "Boarding-houses most filled up." On July 31, 1840, he observed "Boarders quite plentiful at this date." On August 1, 1841, there was a brief spell of bad weather, for the entry is "boarders frightened by cold." On August 4, 1843, he stated, "Boarding houses at the Branch well filled," and on August 14, "filled to over-flowing."<sup>35</sup>

In the 1840's, however, the modest farmhouses and small frame dwellings used as boarding-houses were being augmented by more imposing structures called "houses" and later hotels. One, the Conover House, built in 1839, accommodated 175 guests. In 1846 Joseph D. Wardell opened the Allegheny House, the largest hotel at that time. Like most of its predecessors it was remodelled from a farmhouse. It stood on the northeast corner of present Broadway and Liberty streets. This was the first step toward the introduction of luxury hotels at Long Branch, but it was not until the period following 1850 that hotels reached the new height of purveying "elegant hospitalities."<sup>36</sup>



### 3. *Other aspects of resort life.*

To those who chiefly desire to restore languid frames and to find their nerves new-braced and firmer strung, nothing can equal the invigorating surf and genial air.

(Observation made at mid-century.)<sup>37</sup>

The pièce de résistance of a vacation at the shore was, of course, "sea-bathing." This pastime was considered of sufficient attraction to be used as a headline in an advertisement of the "Philadelphia and Absecombe Accommodation Line of Stages" in 1835,<sup>38</sup> and a few decades later it was referred to as "the principal amusement," with "no end of watery joy till the dinner bell rings." Plenty of noise was made. The crowds scampered in the waves and yelled continually, but as each contributed his share of noise, none were annoyed.<sup>39</sup>

Throughout the nineteenth century people went in bathing and not in swimming. Thanks to the type of bathing suit then in vogue, swimming was a most difficult form of exercise. "Sea-bathing" consisted of wading in the water and jumping up and down in the surf. An advertisement for Cape May appearing in a Philadelphia paper in 1801, stated that Cape May was a good place to visit for those "who use sea-bathing; . . . the shape of the shore is so regular that persons may wade a great distance."<sup>40</sup> The ladies did not venture very far into the water. A Cape May visitor describing the sea-bathing in 1823 observed that the ladies wore flannel and other woolen dresses, and that none went in the water beyond half their depth.<sup>41</sup>

Mixed bathing was frowned upon in the early years of the century. "In order to prevent intrusion," read a sign on the Mansion House in Cape May in 1839, "a white Flag will be on the Bath House during the Ladies hours and a red Flag for the gentlemen." This sign also announced regulations about the seating of guests. At the table, the new guest was to take his seat at the foot

when he arrived and was allowed to proceed to the head as others left. Guests were warned that the house closed at ten-thirty in the evening. Breakfast was at half past seven, dinner at two, supper at six-thirty. A bell was rung half an hour before meals. For baths inside the hotel, special times were reserved, since there were no rooms with private bath in those days. The sign stated: "Bathing Hours, In the Forenoon, Gentlemen until 6 o'clock, Ladies from 6 to 7 and from 11 to 12. Afternoon, Ladies 4½-5½, Gentlemen 5½-6½."<sup>42</sup>

During the season at Cape May, it was the custom for girls to go into the sea with flowing locks, regardless of the damage the water might do. It was said that the popularity of a girl was measured by the number of men who asked to dry her hair. In fact, the most popular ones let men either "cut in" on the drying, or "take turns."<sup>43</sup>

Other than the "sea-bath," there were few opportunities for recreation. "Among our few amusements," a commentator explained in 1823, "we swing; gather curious shells and pebbles upon the strand; walk the piazza and converse. A curious and laughable exercise is to try to walk blind-folded to any given object in a direct line. Ladies and gentlemen exercise at this. Some pitch quoits; some play *domino*. We go out to see the drawing of the seine about one-sixth of a mile from shore."<sup>44</sup>

In the eyes of many guests, one of the most thrilling diversions at Cape May was the opportunity afforded them to see in the flesh the distinguished visitors who came to the resort. This was true to some extent by the 1840's, although more famous people "seasoned" at Cape May in the decades following 1850. It is probable that no other visitor in the 1840's caused as great excitement as did Henry Clay, who was a guest at the Mansion House for a week during the summer of 1847. He came to Cape May to rest following the death of his son in a battle in the Mexican War.

Although Clay had been defeated in the 1844 campaign, he was still highly popular. It was recounted that he liked sea-bathing and went in twice a day, but lost much of his hair to souvenir hunters! It was told that the ladies would catch him and with a pair of scissors carried for just that purpose, clip locks from his head to remember him by. These were the days when the making of hair wreaths was popular.

Horace Greeley, who by that time was interested in the Monmouth County Phalanx, came to Cape May in the steamer from New York to try to persuade Clay to go to New York as a guest of the city. Clay declined, explaining that his grief over his son's death made him desire to remain quiet. A newspaper account of the episode asserted that Clay was completely overcome by his feelings. He covered his face with his hands and was silent for several minutes. At length he recovered himself and resumed. Tears were copiously shed during his speech.<sup>45</sup>

With the growth of the city of Philadelphia and the increasing number of guests from the South, Cape May began to emerge as a major resort on the Jersey shore. As early as 1801 well-to-do Philadelphians were being told of the beauties of its location, at the juncture of Delaware Bay with the ocean. Here, it was explained, carriages might be driven along the margin of the ocean for miles and the wheels would scarcely make an impression on the sand.<sup>46</sup> In the following half-century its growth was steady. A survey published in 1844 called it "a favorite watering place," and added that it now contained two large hotels, three stories high and a hundred and fifty feet long, and a third lately erected, four stories high and a hundred feet long, besides numerous other houses for the entertainment of visitors. It had in all about fifty dwellings. In the summer the island was described as thronged with visitors, principally from Philadelphia. It was estimated that three thousand strangers



annually visited the place.<sup>47</sup> By these years guests from the South were coming in increasing numbers. Southern planters, cotton, sugar, and tobacco brokers, and southern statesmen and their families found the gay life to their liking.<sup>48</sup>

Visitors, mainly from Philadelphia, went to Tuckers Beach and Long Beach, in what became Ocean County, even before the Revolution. In fact, these two places were among the earliest of summer resorts.<sup>49</sup> About 1765 Reuben Tucker, who had bought the whole island south of Long Beach in 1745, opened his home for the "health and entertainment of pleasure seekers."<sup>50</sup> His boarding house became well-known, and was still in business in 1823. On the southern end of Long Beach, near what is now Beach Haven Inlet, the first house, built about 1815, was sold in 1822 to a group of Philadelphia men who had been patronizing it for summer outings. They enlarged it in 1823. About twelve miles north of Tuckers Beach was another boarding house called the "Mansion of Health." It was built in 1822 near what was then known as the "Great Swamp," near present-day Surf City. The house was a hundred and twenty feet long and located a tenth of a mile from the sea. It was placed so far back from the ocean, however, that the few lady guests were provided with an ox-wagon to get to the surf and to ride along the beach, "wherein they amuse themselves greatly in a rustic novel way."<sup>51</sup> Nearby was the house owned by the Inmans, which was the center of considerable whaling activity in earlier days. The whale bones "lying about bleaching in the sun" could still be seen by the visitor in 1823.<sup>52</sup>

Further attractions of the area were listed in a Philadelphia paper in 1833. The Long Beach boarding-houses charged but five dollars a week, and it was stated that the diet had the advantage of oysters, clams, crabs, sheep-heads, seafish, and wild fowl. The location of Long Beach was also extolled: "Set off from the mainland some

3 or 4 miles from shore, . . . the whole atmosphere becomes oceanic and presents to the imagination a floating voyage on a great ocean."<sup>53</sup>

By 1848 Harvey Cedars, still further north on the island, had a boarding-house to which groups of Philadelphia young people went on brief two or three day excursions. The young men in the party divided the expenses. The main attraction there, in addition to the usual sea-bathing, was a series of dances held in an old dance hall just south of the boarding-house. Three locally celebrated fiddlers furnished the music, one of whom, it was said, could play any tune after hearing it once and would also reel off his own compositions by the score. There was a raised platform for the fiddlers at the south end of the hall and from here the dances would be "called."<sup>54</sup>

The building of cottages and the development of a summer settlement on the island, however, did not materialize until well into the latter part of the century, when with improved transportation facilities the area became more accessible. As late as 1878 one observer declared that Long Beach had been sparsely settled for several years. With an eye to the future, however, he added, "It is probable that before long, the place will be used for summer homes of city families. . . . Already new and tasteful cottages are rising."<sup>55</sup> At that time the resort was reached by a nearby railroad, which had been constructed to Tuckerton in 1871.<sup>56</sup>

Long Branch in Monmouth County had a number of opportunities for recreation. Wrote "Amicus" in the New York *Herald*, after visiting the resort in 1805, "I am an utter enemy of gaming, the ruinous pursuit of the idle and vicious, also to resorts . . . to trap the unwary, but am a friend to innocent and reasonable amusements, many of which the visitors to Long Branch already have: viz.: the sedentary or serious enjoy riding, walking, reading, social converse,—a cheerful cigar and a half pint of wine after dinner; the young and gay have dancing and tea

parties, excursions to the neighboring villages; and lately horse racing has been introduced which, by the by, I don't like much, but hope it will be hereafter on the . . . plan where there is to be no gaming,"<sup>57</sup> a hope, however, which was not fulfilled.

The water was the magnet that drew people to the resort, and in the second decade of the century people were coming to the boarding-houses for a few weeks' sunshine and rest on the beach. As in Cape May, efforts were made to prevent mixed bathing. Unmarried men and girls did not bathe together. On the bluff just south of what became Broadway, where stairs later descended to the beach, a flag was raised to announce which sex then had the privilege of using the beach. Again as in Cape May, a white flag was the signal for the women, a red for the men. Husbands, however, could accompany their wives when the white flag was up. An unwritten law forbade women from appearing on the beach before six in the morning, for prior to that hour, according to a guidebook published later, "the gentlemen had the only privilege of disporting themselves in natural abandon."<sup>58</sup> Apparently the women were early risers themselves, for an undated issue of another periodical reassured the reader that the ladies were so far back from the beach in their boarding-houses that the bluffs adequately concealed the early morning bathers.<sup>59</sup>

Life was taken seriously by those who came to the beach in these earlier years. The resort was described in the 1820's as a sedate watering place with grace at each meal, hymn singing in the evening, and regular prayer meeting. Almost all the clients were Philadelphians.<sup>60</sup> The visitors enjoyed simple pleasures. They promenaded along Ocean Avenue, which was then a narrow wagon track with only six buildings along it. They collected shells and vari-colored pebbles. Ladies were fond of drying starfish, which they wore suspended from satin ribbons. Amateur art flourished in the form of round cheesebox covers,



wooden shovels and even rolling pins decorated with colorful seascapes. These articles were packed at the close of the visit and removed to the city to adorn parlor walls. It was recounted that yards and yards of dark



*Front View of Main Building, The Oxford Academy of  
Individualized Education, Pleasantville*

green seaweed were often draped over curtain poles to serve as portieres. Fishnets were also sometimes used for the same purpose.<sup>61</sup>

By the 1830's Long Branch had begun to assume a gayer air. Card playing, billiards, bowling, dancing and faster driving on the beach gradually became a more familiar sight, although these departures drew the fire of the traditionalists. One observer referred to this new spirit of restlessness and blamed it on the wives; he had nothing but pity, he said, for the husbands who "stalk gloomily about, catching one meal here and another there."<sup>62</sup>

Long Branch had fewer famous visitors prior to 1850 than did Cape May, although in the second half of the century it attracted a good many. The resort gained publicity, however, from Mrs. Frances Trollope, the English commentator. Even though she did not get to the resort in her "snoopy peregrinations" over America in 1830, she provided advocates of Long Branch something to talk about. When she reached Philadelphia that summer she found that many of the best families had left for Long Branch. When she heard of the bathing customs there, she wrote she was amazed that the ladies did not follow the English practice of being wheeled into the water in bathing machines, a kind of portable bathroom in which they undressed and dressed. Mrs. Trollope did acknowledge the propriety of one custom which she heard was followed at Long Branch. When ladies at their boarding-houses asked gentlemen to accompany them "to taste the briny wave," two ladies always selected the same male companion, for, she added, "custom does not authorize a tête-a-tête immersion."<sup>63</sup>

These three areas along the shore grew especially rapidly as resorts during the 1840's. In the same decade another development was occurring in Monmouth County, whose claim to be a road to Utopia gave rise to a great deal of contemporary discussion.





## CHAPTER XVI

### THE NORTH AMERICAN PHALANX, AN AMERICAN EXPERIMENT IN COMMUNAL LIVING

He wanted to see the individual system carried out among them, for in proportion as they adopted that, they are made free or happy, but in proportion as they progressed toward Communism, the result was the reverse.

(Comment written in 1852 by a visitor to the Phalanx.)<sup>1</sup>

The present conflict between democracy and communism makes particularly timely the story of a form of communal living that existed in New Jersey for more than a decade in the mid-Nineteenth Century. The colony, located a short distance from Red Bank in Monmouth County, a dozen or so miles from present-day Asbury Park, was known as the North American Phalanx, and the property it occupied is still known by that name. Even though a century has passed, the records of this communitarian experiment of the 1840's and 1850's has meaning for Americans today. The story of the Phalanx community and an investigation of the causes of its failure yield conclusions that have application to contemporary situations.

The experiment was not communist in the exact sense of the word. The form of communal living practiced there did not involve the complete community of goods which was then being put into practice by the contemporary Shakers. The Phalanx was organized into an elaborate form of joint-stock establishment, with safeguards for vested property interests.<sup>2</sup> It was quite different from the form of pure communism advocated by Lenin in the Twentieth Century, and it was poles apart from the dictatorial procedures of the Stalin variety of communism. Its basic idea of communal living, however, with its accom-

panying denial of the importance of the individual, was contrary to the fundamental basis of modern democracy.

### I. *Organization.*

The first year we lived on buckwheat cakes and sorghum.  
(Recollection of life at the Phalanx.)<sup>3</sup>

The theory of the North American Phalanx stemmed from the French social reformer, Charles Fourier, who was born in 1772. Fourier encompassed the whole world in his plan. His unit of society was named for the Greek military formation, the phalanx, and was to consist of approximately 2,000 persons. In this phalanx there would be enough trades and professions represented to make the colony self-sustaining and economically independent. The hierarchy of sub-divisions was fully planned. A phalanx would in some measure represent a township. Three or four phalanxes would form a union; three or four of these would make a district and so on. It was explained that surplus products were to be exchanged between phalanxes, like the Lenin idea of the early 1920's in Russia. Government was to be republican, with an annual election of officers. Neither soldiers nor policemen would be needed since all, it was believed, would live in harmony.

The center of each community, according to Fourier, was to be a large building called a phalanstery. Each family was to have a separate apartment in it. This would help preserve the privacy of family life. There was to be a common dining-room, however, and all activities connected with living were to be carried on co-operatively. Fourier differed completely from the theories of pure communism in that he did not believe in abolishing private property or inheritance.<sup>4</sup> The philosopher averred there might be richer or poorer members but these were to intermingle and thus no broad social distinctions would become obvious between them. Neither did the French philosopher favor government ownership of land and

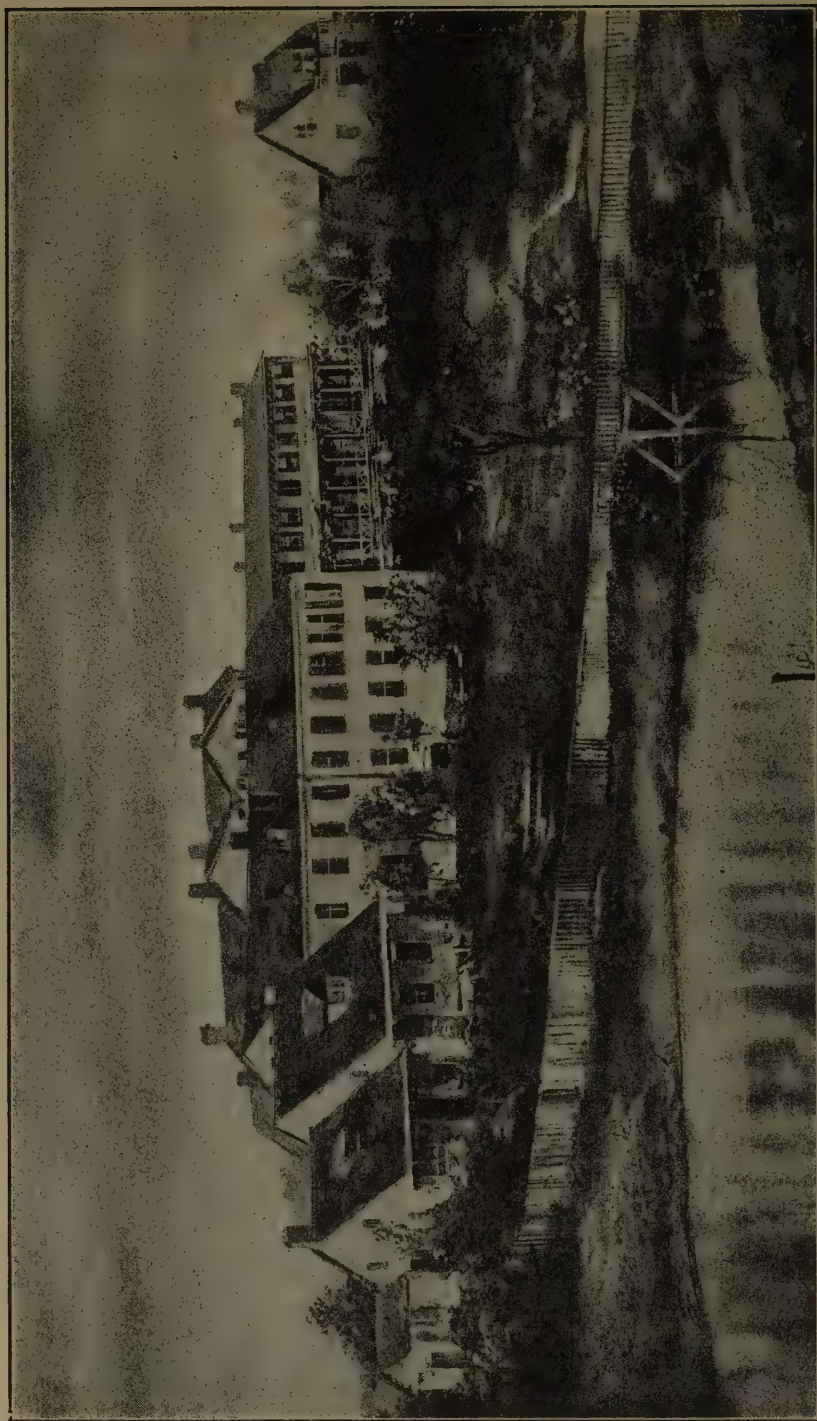
machinery, and in this respect he differed from pure socialism. Fourier advocated a joint-stock ownership of property, with each stockholder receiving a share of the profits he had helped earn and in addition, the amount earned by capital he had invested. Perfect social equality was to be preserved. This, and equality of opportunity, especially in educational offerings, were to be the drawing-cards.

The core of the scheme, however, was associated living. This, it was claimed, would offer economies in expenditures and efforts to such a degree that man might need work only ten years of his life from three to five hours a day. It was believed that 1,000 people in one great combined household could be fed, clothed, and lodged more economically than if each family had its own separate dwelling. But the plan never materialized during Fourier's lifetime. He died in 1837, in France, before a single Phalanx had been established.

The idea was brought to America by Albert Brisbane, the father of the noted Hearst editorial writer, Arthur Brisbane. Albert Brisbane had come to know Fourier in Paris, and returned to the United States an ardent advocate of associated living. In 1840 he wrote an exposition on Fourier's teaching, *The Social Destiny of Man*, which gained considerable attention. Horace Greeley opened the columns of his *New York Tribune* to Brisbane's writings in 1842, and famed Brook Farm near Boston became converted to the ideas of Fourierism.<sup>5</sup>

The North American Phalanx, however, was the test-experiment on which Fourierism staked its all in this country. The community outlasted all others based on this type of associated living.<sup>6</sup> Its immediate origin stemmed from the organization in 1843 of the Albany Branch of the Phalanx, set up as a joint-stock company. Membership included persons from Albany, Troy and Catskill. It was voted to take particular care in finding a suitable location for the attempt at communal living and after





(Courtesy of the New Jersey Historical Society)

*The North American Phalanx, near Red Bank, about 1850*

careful investigation, the committee representing the company purchased the six hundred and seventy-three acre Van Mater farm, four miles from Red Bank, Monmouth County and about forty miles from New York City. According to a description in the local paper, the farm contained arable uplands of about 315 acres. Seventy of these lay in meadows from which two crops a year could be cut. Two hundred acres were in woodlands of oak, hickory, chestnut and locust. The property contained several brooks and springs and, especially valuable at this time, an extensive marl bed. The price paid by the committee was \$14,600 or about \$20 an acre.<sup>7</sup>

The first settlers arrived in September, 1843, mainly from Albany and Troy and nearby towns, and they used the two farmhouses already on the farm. Another house, forty by eighty feet, was built for the other families which came in the spring of 1844.<sup>8</sup> This building was three stories high with long corridors. Suites of rooms on each side were set aside for families. The third floor was reserved for bachelors. Passageways connected the new building with the old ones which now became a dining room and a kitchen for the group. The big barn already on the place served the association during the twelve years of its existence. By 1844 the population included about ninety persons and at one time there were nearly forty children under sixteen in the community.<sup>9</sup>

The chief industry at the Phalanx was farming. Land was planted as soon as it could be worked. The impoverished earth was improved by marl, which was used to build up the soil before the advent of commercial fertilizer. During the years the community lived on the farm, it was claimed that 40,000 tons of marl were scattered over the land. Three separate beds were found on the property, on a stream known as Hop Brook. Excavations as deep as forty feet failed to reach the bottom of the deposit.<sup>10</sup>

The first months were difficult ones. Day after day

men who had never before come into contact with manual labor worked with shovels and picks, hoisting marl from the pits with derricks. It was then carried in oxcarts and spread over the land.<sup>11</sup> Even though the men were of a more practical type than most of those who had joined Brook Farm, few had had much experience in farming. Two tales are told that indicate their inexperience. When two cattle got their horns locked in the woods, the men sent to the carpenter shop for saws with which to cut off the horns. Again, when some of the workmen attempted to drive a wide farm wagon through an open gateway, they broke down both sides of the opening.<sup>12</sup> It was recalled by one of the members that the first winter the Phalanxers lived on buckwheat cakes and sorghum and the second winter they depended for some time on buckwheat cakes and water.<sup>13</sup>

In a few years life became easier. A few new members joined who were good farmers and expert mechanics. More implements were purchased and shops and mills were constructed for those mechanically inclined. Slowly the business organization was systematized and co-operated living developed in full swing. The products of the Phalanx mills, wheat, rye and buckwheat flour, mustard, cornmeal, hominy, and samp, gradually became favorably known, especially in New York.<sup>14</sup> The marketing of boxed cereal, particularly a fine type of hominy, was begun. It was claimed this was the first boxed cereal in the country.<sup>15</sup> The colony also started the practice of sending choice fruits and vegetables in attractively marked containers to the New York City market where they brought a good price.<sup>16</sup> In July, 1852, the first bushel of tomatoes was sent to New York, where it sold for eight dollars. The orchards also provided a source of income; peaches, apples, pears, plums, nectarines, quinces and grapes were grown. Small fruits, especially strawberries, were raised in considerable abundance.<sup>17</sup> In 1848 a large kiln was constructed to dry okra and fruits, principally peaches



and apples.<sup>18</sup> Later bottled fruits and tomatoes sealed to preserve their original flavor, also found ready sale. The New York market was reached by water and for a few years, the colony owned part interest in one steamboat that ran from Red Bank and another from Keyport.<sup>19</sup>

## 2. *Life at the Phalanx.*

It was easy enough to get lazy men, but practical and thorough business men were scarce. Five or ten cents a day extra was not sufficient to secure them. Promising, ambitious young men, growing up among them, did not see great inducements.

(Visitor's report on the Phalanx in 1852.)<sup>20</sup>

Despite an improving economic situation, the community was soon forced to face increasingly serious problems. The difficulty in acquiring the right type of new members for the colony limited its development and finally became an important factor in its demise. Horace Greeley declared this a serious obstacle to the success of any socialistic experiment. Along with the noble and lofty souls, who were willing to labor and suffer reproach for any cause that promised to benefit mankind, there thronged "the conceited, the crotchety, the selfish, the headstrong, the pugnacious, the unappreciated, the played-out, the idle and the good-for-nothing generally." Mr. Greeley added that these people, "finding themselves out of place and at a discount in the world as it is, rashly conclude that they are exactly fitted for the world as it ought to be. These may have failed again and again, yet they are sure to jump into any movement as if they had been born expressly to direct it. . . . Destitute of all means, of practicability, of prudence, tact and common sense, they have such a wealth of assurance and self-confidence that they clutch the responsible positions which the capable and worthy modestly shrink from."<sup>21</sup>

Planned for an optimum membership of 2,000 in ac-

cordance with the Fourier scheme, the Phalanx never numbered more than 150 adherents. Obviously, new members were needed if the colony was to progress. After a visit in July, 1852, Greeley mourned that the property could support a thousand people yet could not get them. Men who sought security from a competitive world found a haven in the associated living of the Phalanx, but many residents admitted that they individually would be better off outside than they were inside. A discontented member who had been in the colony five years complained that after the community had been in existence for nine years there were fewer members than at the beginning. He felt there was something wrong in the system being practiced. In theory all the work was to be done by members, yet it had been found necessary to hire sixteen Dutch and German laborers to help conduct the farm. Carpenters were especially needed, but they had to be hired at \$1.50 a day. Carpenters did not join the Phalanx. Some members thought the wages were too low, though to offset this the cost of living was not much over two dollars a week. This included washing and everything but clothes and luxuries.<sup>22</sup>

To avoid the ne'er-do-well, new applicants for membership were carefully screened. By requiring credentials and a long term of probation, the colony avoided what had been one of the main causes of disaster in other communities, such as in Owen's New Harmony experiment. Once the applicant was approved, he was invited to come to the colony as a visitor for thirty days. Following this period, he might be allowed to stay as a probationer for one year, during which time he was given a try at various kinds of work and at the same time, the members with whom he worked side by side were able to judge his eligibility. At the end of the year a vote of the entire membership was taken. Only one applicant was eventually deemed unworthy and he and his family were required to leave.<sup>23</sup>

The community nevertheless did not escape the inevitable consequence of bringing together a body of mature people with their families, among whom there were many individuals who came reluctantly. It was realized at the outset that new members would be slow to readjust themselves to the new relations. In fact, wide differences of opinion were manifest soon after the colony was founded. There were two principal views. One group, opposed to Fourier's principles, advocated the centralization of power, with the view of making the administration autocratic. This group claimed that only in this way could order be maintained. The other sought to emphasize the rights of the individual. After many days of argument, the form of industrial organization advocated by Fourier prevailed. Everyone was to become his own employer, doing what he was best qualified to do and receiving for his labor precisely his share of the product.<sup>24</sup>

Of special interest to today's citizen who has read about the collective farms in the USSR, is a discussion of labor in the Phalanx. According to Fourier's plan, all adults were divided into groups with a head for each. Related groups were known as "Series." The Agricultural Series was divided into the market garden, the marling, the farming and the orchard group. The Manufacturing Series was composed of millers, carpenters, iron workers, tin workers, and woodmen. The Livestock Series looked after the horses, cows, and oxen. The Festal Series had charge of music, dancing, and dramatics. The heads of the groups formed a sort of industrial council which met each evening to plan the work for the next day. Before each worker went to bed, he could read from the bulletin board his assignment for the following day. The heads of the groups took their responsibilities very seriously. The chief of the agricultural group complained that if he were awakened in the night by rain, his mind was so busy revising his next day's plans that he was not able to go back to sleep again.



The Domestic Series was composed of the women in the colony. They were divided into groups in charge of cooking, dishwashing, dining-room work, dormitory and halls, lamps, dairy, sewing, dressmaking and millinery. A former member recalled that the most energetic woman was put in charge of the washing group. This meant she had to work the hardest. Some of the women, though filled with enthusiasm for the cause, broke down with hard work. "The idea that woman in Association was to be relieved of many cares was not realized."<sup>25</sup>

Every able bodied person, including children who had reached the proper age, had an appointed task and promptness was insisted upon as a cardinal virtue. Compensation for labor was rated by the hour. Time books were prepared for each group and each member recorded his or her time under its proper division.<sup>26</sup>

The seriousness with which the residents viewed their membership in these various groups is evident in a description of the first funeral held at the Phalanx seven years after its establishment. The deceased member had been head of the Kitchen Garden Group and on the top of the coffin, draped and crossed, rested a hoe and a spade. The other members of this group acted as pallbearers. In the funeral procession, following the family, came the rest of the Agricultural Series, including the Market-Garden group, "with pickaxes and shovels in rest, draped"; the Farming Group, the Orchard Group, "all with their implements draped." The Domestic Series attended in a body, "with the proper implements draped" and the Festal Series bore with them "Humboldt's Cosmos, as a symbol of all knowledge, draped," and two members carried special equipment: one, a "flute, draped," and another, "a roll of music, draped." The Livestock Series led "four robust farm-horses with head-stalls, draped"; the Manufacturing Series "with a draped miller's staff, represented the millers with their tools, the carpenters with theirs, the iron and tin-workers and woodmen each with an appro-

priate implement . . . , draped." It was explained that the ceremony at the grave differed little from a similar one anywhere. Nothing was said which would startle or shock the most orthodox Christian.<sup>27</sup>

Fourier believed men would be happier if relieved of the monotony of their labor, and hence the members of the colony were allowed to change from one kind of work to another. During the first years of the community's existence, there seems to have been an atmosphere of happiness among the general workers, although the heads of the groups sometimes felt that their responsibilities were too heavy. Visitors noted cheerfulness and elasticity of spirit, and lack of exploitation of one class by another. One commentator felt that servile relations between employer and employee had been abolished.

There was a differentiation in wages according to the type of work done. Wages at the Phalanx were set on the principle that the least agreeable and the most exhausting work would receive the highest pay. In general earnings ranged from six to ten cents an hour. The head of a group received an extra five or ten cents a day for planning and supervision. Women earned more relatively in the colony than in outside society. The pay was low, but the members received everything at wholesale cost, including material for clothes and shoes, which were made by their own dressmakers, tailors, and shoemakers. The cost of food was low since most of it was produced on the farm. No one grew rich under such a system, but it was felt that since provisions for the sick, infirm and aged were guaranteed, if a member spent his life in the community there would be no need for saving, or for worry about sickness and old age.

In 1847 a large building known as the phalanstery was built. Suites were provided for families on the top or second floor; the first floor contained the office, library, reception room and the "grand saloon." This latter hall was large and well proportioned. At one end was a musi-

cians' gallery under which was placed the grand piano; at the other end was a large fireplace. The room was lighted by windows on both sides and the walls were decorated with historical scenes. Portraits of famous men were hung on the walls. The old buildings which had served as dining hall and kitchen were put to other uses and eating facilities were established in the phalanstery. The grand saloon served as the dining room and when needed, as a lecture room and ball room. There was no institutional atmosphere in the dining room. Small tables were arranged on each side of the room, and most families preferred to have their own. The tables were well appointed, and were set with gleaming porcelain and spotless linen.<sup>28</sup>

The food was simple but wholesome. The doctrines of Sylvester Graham were popular at the time. In addition to the making of bread and porridge from unbolted flour, he taught that there was better food for man than the flesh of animals and that spices and salt, except in the smallest quantity, should be avoided. A special table in the dining room was provided for those who wanted to follow the Graham diet. The cooking was done entirely by steam supplied from a boiler and engine adjoining the kitchen. The main building was heated in the same manner, and a steam laundry with every convenience then known for lightening labor was also connected with it. Water was forced through pipes by pump and water wheel.<sup>29</sup>

A change from the boarding house type of menu to a restaurant system was advocated in 1848. It was well established by 1852, for a Mr. MacDonald, whose writings are one of the best sources of material on the Phalanx, visited the colony in July of that year, and observed that the members had "altered their eating and drinking arrangements" and had "adopted the eating house system."<sup>30</sup> Each individual was provided with a bill of fare and order book. The waiters gave metal checks for each



article of food. At the close of the meal these were added up in the book bearing the name of the family or person. At the end of each month the total of meals and of room rent was ascertained, and then a balance was struck between labor given and the cost of boarding and lodging. The living expenses averaged from two to two dollars and a half a week. Each person was charged thirty-six and a half cents a week for the use of the dining room. The waitresses were usually young women of the Phalanx. They received six and one-fourth cents an hour for their labor.<sup>31</sup>

The prices for food were in keeping with the comparatively low wages. Ham and eggs were fifteen cents; sausage, ten cents; fish, ten cents.<sup>32</sup> At the time of MacDonald's visit to the colony in 1852 coffee was half a cent a cup; bread, one cent a plate; butter, half a cent; meat, two cents, and pie, two cents. Breakfast averaged from one cent to three and a half cents; dinner from four and a half to nine cents; and supper from four and a half to eight cents. MacDonald noted, however, an increase in charges since his first visit, and complained, "For five meals and very inferior accommodations twice, I paid \$1.75." He then added sententiously, "The Phalanx paid 5% dividend on stock for the last year."<sup>32</sup>

Two problems developed in the dining-hall. From the beginning it proved difficult to give everyone served equal treatment. Some members contrived their work so as to be nearby at mealtime. They always heard the first ring of the bell, and got the choicest food. In separate family living, this could be dealt out fairly, but at the Phalanx, those who were ready to eat seized upon them the first thing. Some workers could not avoid being late, for on a farm, teams must be fed and watered, cattle driven up or out, and bars or gates closed. Those who did these things were not able to drop their task at the sound of the bell, and they had to wash before they could eat, since they were sweaty and dirty. For all to have

equally good food, it was necessary to provide only the very best, and when this was done, living became expensive and the economies of the Association disappeared. The other problem concerned the functioning of the restaurant system. The counters or tickets which the waiter gave out necessitated a great deal of bookkeeping, and a full time bookkeeper was required to keep the dining hall accounts.<sup>33</sup>

With respect to education the Phalanx followed a far-sighted program which gave children an insight into the actual production and distribution of wealth, the administration of affairs, and the science of keeping accounts. An evening school was established for the young men who were working during the day. The subjects taught in it included common and higher mathematics, music and languages. A good library was available. Much of the teaching for the children was carried on directly around the activities of the child. He learned from immediate contact about the miller and the mill, the farm and farm products, the blacksmith and his forge and the tailor who was working on his clothes. Formal classes were held in an old farmhouse on the property, about a quarter of a mile from the main building. Here again direct methods of instruction were used. One former member recalled that when she was a child in the school the pupils drew from objects and studied the plants themselves rather than relying upon a written description in a botany book. A letter written in 1846 observed that the children spent the whole day at the school. They set out and cleared up their own dinner and were soon to have an "herbary" and a flower garden by themselves. At this time the school numbered about twenty children whose parents were free from the cares of children during the day and could thus work without interruption. In one of the smaller houses near the main building was a day nursery where the youngest were cared for if the mother wished to work.<sup>34</sup> By 1853, however, the situation had

deteriorated. A visitor writing in a New York paper, observed disparagingly "There is a sort of a school, but they don't teach much there worth knowing if results are to be the criterion. Cigar smoking is bad enough for men, but particularly objectionable for twelve-year olds."<sup>35</sup>

The steady stream of visitors offered opportunities for further education, especially for the adults, for many of the guests were persuaded to give talks and conversations with them were stimulating. At one time a regular course of lectures was maintained.<sup>36</sup> The inaccessibility of the colony did not discourage the visitors. Red Bank had no railroad facilities until 1869 and the trip from New York involved a sail to Keyport and a long ride in the horse-drawn stage to Phalanx, or a long sail up the Shrewsbury River to Red Bank and a four mile drive from there. Horace Greeley, who was one of the largest stockholders in the venture, was a frequent guest. He usually brought his wife with him. Alexander Woolcott, who was born on the property, recalls in his *While Rome Burns*, that in the afternoon Greeley was particularly fond of taking a siesta on the front porch in a rocker. Woolcott remembers that the billowing of the bandanna which Greeley spread over his physiognomy and which bellied rhythmically with his snores was the signal for all the youngsters at the colony to walk on tiptoe.<sup>37</sup> Another enthusiast was Albert Brisbane, who, as we have already mentioned, wrote many articles on the Phalanx for the *New York Tribune*.<sup>38</sup> Other visitors included Margaret Fuller from Boston, considered by many to have had the sharpest mind at Brook Farm.<sup>39</sup>

Life at the Phalanx was not all work. The Festal Series of the Fourier plan provided for recreation as an important part of the communal life. It was the custom at the colony for all to join in a social meeting in the big hall at the close of day. Both young and old participated in singing and dancing. A dancing class was a regular feature, and on special occasions a Negro fiddler or an



orchestra was provided by the management. Dramatic ability was fostered and each winter several plays were presented before appreciative audiences. Between the main building and the highway leading toward Red Bank a brook had been dammed and a small lake was formed. During the summer members enjoyed canoeing on the lake after supper, or strolling along the shore. At times work and play were intermingled, as when the farmers brought baskets of peas from the field and the women and girls gathered at the kitchen door and sang as they shelled them. Particular holidays were observed with special events. An occasion was made of Fourier's birthday, April 7th, when a fancy dress ball was held in the evening. On July 4, 1845, MacDonald reported that he listened to addresses by Greeley and Channing in the walnut grove near Phalanx. At the time of the visit of the Swedish feminist, Miss Bremer, children wearing garlands greeted her by strewing flowers in her pathway.

Two aspects of life at the Phalanx caused uplifted eyebrows on the part of the inhabitants of the surrounding countryside. One was the dress worn by the women; the other the rumors of "free love" in the colony. The Phalanx had been in existence for several years before the matter of dress was raised. In 1849 Mrs. Amelia Bloomer of New York State introduced a reform to emancipate woman's dress by adopting the Bloomer costume, which consisted of a sort of Turkish trousers over which was worn a full skirt which ended just below the knee. Within the year the young women who served as waitresses in the restaurant at the Phalanx had adopted a slightly modified version of it. Soon other women at the Phalanx were wearing the costume. They found it well suited to their work in the fields and around the machinery in the flour mill. The costume was usually changed for a long dress when shopping expeditions were made to nearby villages, and especially to Red Bank, which was then a village of about sixty houses. Red Bank

at that time was just large enough to enjoy being scandalized and doubtless the appearance on its main street of two or three bold young misses who had not seen fit to trail their long skirts through four miles of sand between the Phalanx and Red Bank would have been enough to cause the inhabitants to believe the worst.<sup>40</sup>

Visitors to the Phalanx generally approved of the costume. During her visit Miss Bremer commented favorably on the pretty and becoming toilets of the girls.<sup>41</sup> When Mr. MacDonald paid his first visit to the colony in October, 1851, he saw several couples dancing cotillions to the music of a violin in the large dining room, from one end of which the tables and chairs had been removed. Several of the women were dressed in the new costume, which he described as no more than shortening the frock and wearing trousers the same as men. "I had not thought much of this dress before," he wrote later, "but now I was favorably impressed with it when I contrasted it with the long dresses of some of the dancers. This style is decidedly superior, I think, for any kind of active employment." It seemed to him that the costume was very simple. The frocks were worn about the same length as the Highland kilt, and ended a little below the knee. The trousers were straight and both were made of plain material. Afterwards he saw some of the ladies in more elaborate suits of this fashion, and thought they looked very elegant.<sup>42</sup>

The popularity of the costume continued until the end of the experiment. A visitor to the colony following the disastrous fire of 1854 noted "several young ladies in their picturesque working and walking costume—a short dress or tunic coming to the knees and loose pantaloons."<sup>43</sup>

Neighbors also looked in doubt and in some cases fear, at what seemed to be a heathen colony in their midst, for the rumor got around that the Phalanx was a "free love" institution. It is a matter of fact that the members did not develop the same attitude toward the institution of mar-

riage as did some Fourier adherents. Some of the latter were not averse to unconventional relations between the sexes, and the public often classed all communal groups alike. Unimpeachable witnesses averred that there was never cause for scandal at the Phalanx. Marriage among the members was frequent and happily celebrated and the marriage relation was honored and respected.<sup>44</sup> Fourier himself had declared his views on marriage when he stated firmly that "That man has no claim to confidence who advocates such absurdities as . . . absence of divine worship or rash abolition of marriage."<sup>45</sup>

### 3. *The end of the community.*

There was a large quantity of hominy and flour and feed destroyed with the mill. The carpenters' shop, a little south of the mill, was saved by the great exertion of all the members, men and women. All else in that vicinity was a smouldering mass.

(Description of Phalanx fire, 1854.)<sup>46</sup>

In 1850 the Phalanx was considered a thriving colony, but within six years the domain had been sold and the joint stock company dissolved. The immediate cause for the colony's end was a devastating fire in 1854. In the middle of September of that year at about 6:30 Sunday morning fire broke out in the main mill. By the time of discovery it had gained great headway. A strong easterly wind carried the flames into the center and western end of the structure. The wooden building was about a hundred feet square, and three stories high. In the basement was a thirty horse power steam engine, and on the floors above were machinery for the manufacture of flour, hominy and samp. Adjoining the mill on the north was a general business office. This contained the account books of the Association, the most valuable of which were saved. Adjoining the office was the sawmill, blacksmith shop, tin-shop, and so on, with valuable machinery. All was destroyed.<sup>47</sup>



Unfortunately the insurance company which issued the policies to the Phalanx possessed insecure resources and was put into bankruptcy by the fire. The loss, estimated at about \$10,000, was complete. Horace Greeley, still interested in the venture, is said to have offered \$12,000 with which to replace the buildings, but the offer fell on deaf ears<sup>48</sup> because of more fundamental influences which had been affecting the community for a number of years.

An analysis of the basic factors which brought an end to this attempt at communal living presents pertinent comparisons with certain salient and indispensable characteristics of present-day democratic living. Even prior to the fire, there were evidences of underlying difficulties. A spirit of division had entered into the communal life. "The Phalanx failed," stated one analyst in 1868, "because it lacked *the faculty of agreement*. Divisions in a household, in an army, in a nation, are disastrous and unless healed are finally fatal."<sup>49</sup> Illustrations of this feeling are plentiful. In the spring of 1853, in the tenth year of the experiment, a secession occurred which resulted in the formation of another Association called the Raritan Bay Union, at Perth Amboy, New Jersey. This splinter group, which belonged to the industrial series at the Phalanx, believed that many branches of business might be carried on advantageously at Perth Amboy and that "the best class of mechanics" would "soon find their interests and happiness promoted by joining." They promised that extensive shops would be erected and either carried on by the corporation or leased. Every man was to be paid for what he did, but no one would be paid for doing nothing.<sup>50</sup> The brief Perth Amboy colony, which laid less emphasis on communal living, held an intermediate position between the Phalanx and ordinary society. The offshoot drew away a portion of the members of the Phalanx, although it amounted to little as an experiment, the secession weakened the parent community.<sup>51</sup>

Another example of the spirit of disagreement occurred soon after the fire. A group of members wanted to establish a steam mill for making flour at nearby Red Bank. They felt that since the Red Bank location offered immediate water communication with New York City, about \$2,000 a year would be saved in teaming. The Secretary of the Association was absent during the discussion. When the plans were laid before him on his return, he vetoed them. A number of members were dissatisfied with the decision and thirty left in a body to start another movement.<sup>52</sup>

The lack of zeal and the accompanying loss of the spirit of initiative on the part of the leaders of the colony was another factor in its disintegration. A reporter from the *New York Tribune* visited the colony in September, 1853, a year before the fire, and observed that most of the people were of a decent sort, but they were evidently not working for an idea. They did not appear to make any effort to extend their principles and as a general thing they did not do any building unless persons wanting to join built for themselves. The number of members and probationers had recently decreased to the point where the community had found it necessary to employ more hired laborers.<sup>53</sup>

This lack of inner conviction made room for invidious comparisons between economic conditions within the colony and those in the outside world. Some of the more outstanding members were especially dissatisfied when they compared their wages with what they would earn outside for the same type of work. Indeed, some authorities believe that the Phalanx wage regulation scheme was the principal cause of its dissolution. For example, a skillful teacher, who received nine cents an hour at the Phalanx, might earn five dollars for two hours' labor in the outside world. The foremen of the departments received only a few cents a day more than the common laborers. After working hard all day with the hired men, they had to

spend their evenings planning what each worker was to do in the morning. The additional pittance they received was not sufficient to keep them satisfied. It was evident that too little difference was made between the labor of brain and of muscle.<sup>54</sup> A good number of the members of the colony were beginning to feel that working for money would be better for them than working for an idea. Thus many of them gradually began to lose their first deep-rooted idealism.<sup>55</sup>

Other basic factors worked against the success of the Phalanx. A serious reaction developed from the impact of denominational influences upon the religious life of the community. Denominational religion had no place in the Fourier plan even though Brook Farm in Massachusetts remained Unitarian to the end. The Phalanx was non-sectarian, but not non-religious. The members represented every denomination, and everyone was free to follow his own religious instructions. On Sundays the hall was at the disposal of any group which cared to worship there. Although several ministers were resident members, the community did not pay any to preach. However, religious services were held every Sunday. The spirit of religious toleration was mistaken by sectarians for irreligion.<sup>56</sup> In a local Freehold newspaper in 1851 an observer who called himself "A Friend to Bible Religion" professed to see what he called "the cloven foot of infidelity" in the members' failure to follow what he considered orthodox teachings.<sup>57</sup>

Evidently an acrimonious controversy developed within the community over this question. An article by one of the Phalanx leaders, published in the fall of 1853 in the New York *Tribune* under the caption "Religion in the North American Phalanx," lamented the recent imposition of a missionary effort among the colonists, and mentioned attempts to kindle old fires. The writer censured the officiousness of busy sectaries who were not able to understand how people could associate without adopting



some sectarian profession of religious faith and a partisan form of religious observance. The authorities of the Phalanx had never interfered in the matter of private faith and had allowed various groups the use of a room and whatever audience they could attract. He deplored the fact that during the past summer there had been a very persistent effort to press upon the colony special denominations, and there had been a public discussion of religious dogmas, during which the usual sectarian uncharitableness had been exhibited. An immediate outcome of the controversy was the withdrawal of one stockholder from the Phalanx because of the theological quarrel.<sup>58</sup>

Still another difficulty arose from the actual ownership of the colony's property. Since it was a joint-stock company, it was important for the members to feel themselves part owners, but the capital of the concern was nearly all owned by non-residents who had invested their money without expecting a profit, since the stock was nearly always below par. Most of the members who did make any savings during their stay at the colony invested their money in more profitable stock, leaving absentees to keep up an Association in which they had no immediate interest. Some commentators felt that the majority of members who did not have stock in the organization failed to show enough interest in the movement and it was the zeal of the few disinterested philanthropists that caused the institution to be carried on.<sup>59</sup>

Definite limitations had been put on the type of new members who might be allowed to join the community. It was the policy of the colony to admit only those who could do some kind of farm work, or someone who had mechanical ability. These restrictions tended to neglect the intellectual and aesthetic element. The founders of the Phalanx attributed the failure of the Brook Farm Association to an undue predominance of these types and in trying to avoid this danger they may have run into the opposite error. It was necessary to have idealists to carry

out an ideal, but farmers and mechanics were likely to be practical men.<sup>60</sup>

The Phalanx did not come to an immediate end after the fire. Communal living continued for a while, even though there was no agreement on the reconstruction of the grain mill and the other buildings that had been burned. A visitor from New York wrote in August, 1855, "After supper the lawn, the gravel walks and little lake-front of the Phalanstery present an animated and charming scene. . . . Nearly the whole of the place is out-of-doors. Happy papas and mammas draw their baby wagons, . . . groups of little girls and boys frolic in the clover under the big walnut trees by the side of the pond, . . . men and women are standing here and there in groups engaged in conversation while others are reclining on the soft grass. . . . There seems to be a large measure of quiet happiness here." But he noticed that there were signs of anxiety in the community. The future appeared in doubt, and some of the members were clamoring for a dissolution of the Association, which they felt had proved a failure.<sup>61</sup>

The end of the community came only a few months later. In the winter of 1855-1856 the domain was sold for approximately two-thirds of its value.<sup>62</sup> Fair treatment was given the stockholders, especially those who were non-resident. They had been receiving from four to five per cent interest annually, and now they were paid completely for their stock at par value. The few resident stockholders were given about sixty per cent on their investment when all the other debts had been paid.<sup>63</sup>

The new owners of the acreage tried to keep the remaining buildings in repair, but they could not care for the grounds. A member of a Phalanx in Ohio visited the North American Phalanx in 1866 and noted that the large building was still standing in good repair, and was about to be used for a school. Almost twenty years later, in 1883, a newspaper correspondent observed that the buildings could be seen through the trees and were in good

enough repair that a passerby would find it difficult to decide in a glance whether the place was deserted or whether people still lived there. The pond, the lawn, and the trees were neglected.<sup>64</sup>

By 1935 the north wing of the big building, the Phalanstery, was razed as unsafe. This had fallen into rapid decay because of a bad leak in the roof. In 1949 the last building of the Phalanx was sold at auction for \$500 to satisfy a claim and when the present writer visited the place in the summer of 1950, much of the eastern end of the remaining building, in which two or three families were living, was on the verge of falling in. Possibly to some idealists or escapists the Phalanx was a socialistic experiment "100 years ahead of its time,"<sup>65</sup> with its scheme of profit-sharing and a thirty hour week, but it is evident it did not meet the needs of its members. The American people have not hurried into co-operative communities like the Phalanx. In fact, few people today would suggest that such co-operative living holds the clue to the best life mankind can hope to enjoy.<sup>66</sup>

#### 4. *The end of an era.*

We hear no more the clanking hoof,  
And the stage coach rattling by.  
For the steam king rules the travelled world  
And the Old Pike's left to die.  
The grass creeps o'er the flinty path  
And the stealthy daises (*sic*) steal  
Where once the stage horse day by day  
Lifted his iron heel.

(Verse written in 1850.)<sup>67</sup>

By mid-century the era of the stagecoach and waterway was drawing to a close. Reliance on these methods of transportation had reached its height in the three decades before 1850. With the spread of the railroad network, patronage decreased on both stagecoach lines and river boats, and the accommodations were slowly but



steadily discontinued. These changes were gradual, and there was considerable overlapping. Some of the stagecoach lines were continued after the introduction of the railroad. Stagecoach and scheduled steamboat lines connecting certain localities were not abandoned until the construction of railroads between the same points offered serious competition.

The change in transportation facilities caused widespread shifts in such occupations as that of the roadside inn-keepers, stagecoach drivers and teamsters. One of the latter was moved to lament:

Oh! 'Tis once I made money by driving my team,  
But now all is hauled on the railroad by steam,  
May the devil catch the man that invented the plan,  
For it ruined us poor wagoners and every other man.<sup>68</sup>

Even though the coming of the railroad cut short a number of occupations, it provided a stimulus to many others. It brought new life into the shore region and inaugurated a period of tremendous development. An analysis of the influence of these new forces in the latter half of the century comprises the major portion of Part IV.



## PART IV

### THE AGE OF THE IRON HORSE, 1850-1900

Now we have commenced upon a new career and of this there is every evidence. Only a few years since, almost the whole section was lying in a stagnant condition waiting for a new outlet or an opportunity for its development. That chance came with the opening of the railroad and the construction of tributary lines. . . . Now there is scarcely a town on the lines of the railroads but is feeling the impulse of renewed vigorous life.

(Newspaper comment, 1874.)<sup>1</sup>

The spread of the railroad network brought vast change to the Jersey shore. No other single influence, except possibly the advent of the gasoline engine and with it the automobile and truck, proved so catalytic a factor in the development of the four shore counties. Few contemporaries realized the full import of the new type of transportation, although one citizen in 1871 called it "the great revolutionizing agent." Seven years later, however, Walt Whitman was more impressed. In a letter describing a railroad journey from Camden to Atlantic City, he observed: "The whole route . . . has been literally made and opened up to growth by the . . . railroad. That has furnished spine or vertebra to a section previously without any. . . . The railroad thaws, ploughs up, prepares and even fructifies the fallows of unnumbered counties and towns. . . . It sets in motion every indirect and many direct means of making a really substantial community, beginning at the bottom, subsoiling as it were, bringing information and light into dark places, opening up trade, markets, purchases, newspapers, fashions, visitors, etc."<sup>2</sup>

In 1850 much of the shore region was a waste. Many areas a short distance back from the coast were dreary expanses covered with dense masses of brush. The coast



villages were all more or less dependent upon the sea, and despite their industry and thrift, the people moved along in primitive lines.<sup>3</sup> With the advent of new transportation facilities which made the shore easily accessible to the increasing population of the Newark-New York metropolitan area as well as that of the Camden-Philadelphia region, the development of the seaside ensued. In 1850, the last census taken before the coming of the railroad, the population of the four coastal counties was 55,700. By 1885 it had risen to 111,000, an increase of 100% in thirty-five years. Similarly, Atlantic City reported a population of 700 in 1860. By 1900 it had grown to 28,000. The rate of population increase for this resort between 1870 and 1880 was 425%; and from 1890 to 1900, 113%.<sup>4</sup>

The coming of the railroad did not put an end to the horse and buggy. These continued a major influence in the lives of all the shore people until the coming of the automobile. The railroad, however, did put an end to the age of the stagecoach. The horse still served all localities for local transportation, but not for long distance. Neither could the freight wagon that hauled products through the pines compete with the railroad. The change was gradual. The stagecoach disappeared slowly. It was still important as a means of conveyance in the earlier decades of the second half of the century, when the railroad was just beginning to be an influence in the shore counties. Similarly, the railroad as a major factor did not disappear in 1900; it did not feel the competition of the automobile seriously until the 1920's. But the chief influence of both periods, 1850-1900 and 1900-1950, were the railroad and the automobile, respectively. The construction of the railroad lines; the expansion of the shore resorts and the development of the life there, with the resulting changes in population; the emergence of new economic opportunities such as the development of the cranberry crop and new forms of specialized agriculture; the growth of new

homes in the hinterland; the problem of pine land and the opportunity for mining cedar; the highlights of village life in the period; the changes in education and religion; and the impact of war on the Shore in these years, are all considered in Part IV.





## CHAPTER XVII

### THE COMING OF THE RAILROAD

The whole country along the line of the road is undergoing a peaceful revolution. . . . The residents seem to have awakened from their Rip Van Winkle sleep by the neigh of the iron horse, and caught that "newness of life" which his presence infuses into inanimate things.

(Newspaper comment, 1860.)<sup>5</sup>

The railroad age began earlier in the interior of the state than in the four shore counties. By 1850 a number of sections of the former area had been opened up by the new means of transportation.<sup>6</sup> The first track laid in the state was at Bordentown in 1831. By 1833 a line was finished north to South Amboy on the Raritan, and in January, 1834, south to Camden. Horse cars were operated in the early 1830's between Newark and New York, with ferry connection over the Hudson, and in 1835 the first steam engine came into Newark from Jersey City. Early in 1836 the train reached New Brunswick from Newark; in 1838 a road was completed between Bordentown and Trenton, and in 1839 it was finished on to New Brunswick.<sup>7</sup>

The first line to the Jersey shore was not built until much later. In 1854 a road was finished from Camden to Absecon, and by 1855 the bridge was completed to carry the line from the mainland to the sea island which became Atlantic City, and the first road to the seashore was opened. Although Cape May adherents favored the idea of a railroad at this time, the resort had no rail connections until nearly a decade later. It was claimed that the route from Camden to Cape Island lay over an unsatisfactory upland grade and that Absecon Island was more accessible.<sup>8</sup> Long Beach in Ocean County was about as short a distance from Philadelphia as Absecon Beach,

but the direct route from Camden to Long Beach cut through a much less productive pine area than the line from Camden to Absecon. Furthermore, the Long Beach route involved the construction of a comparatively long causeway or trestle over Manahawkin Bay, while Absecon Island was closer to the mainland, as can be seen by a study of the railroad map printed on the inside covers of these volumes. No great demand existed at this time for seaside resorts in Monmouth County to try to tap New York City's population. In contrast to New York, which had sea beaches on nearby Long Island, Philadelphia's thousands had no ocean beach nearer than the Jersey shore.

1. *The first line to the shore, and other Atlantic County railroads.*

There never has been a time when the resorts on the New Jersey coast were so easy of access . . . as the present. . . . From Philadelphia, 9 express trains leave every week, 2 additional on Saturday and 4 on Sunday. . . . An equal number of trains run from the coast to the interior. . . . Such facilities place a trip to the seaside within the reach of every class of persons.

(Newspaper comment, 1884.)<sup>9</sup>

The railroad from Camden to Absecon Island was not built for the sole purpose of bringing visitors to the resort, although property owners on the Island were highly in favor of such an undertaking. In addition to Dr. Pitney of Absecon, others who aided in procuring a charter for the Camden and Atlantic Railroad from the legislature in 1852 were men who held land in the interior and who needed better distribution facilities for their products. Included in the group were Samuel Richards whose glassworks were at Jackson, a few miles southeast of Berlin, in Camden County near the route of the proposed railroad and who had to use teams to do the heavy hauling

to and from the works at considerable expense; Joseph Porter, who was making glass at Waterford in southern Camden County; William Coffin and Andrew Hay, glass manufacturers at Winslow at the southern end of Camden County and owners of a large tract of land in Hammonton, in northern Atlantic County; Jesse Richards, "lord of the manor" at Batsto; Joseph DaCosta, for whom DaCosta south of Hammonton was named; Stephen Colwell and Walter Bell, owners of nearly 100,000 acres of land near Weymouth where iron pipe was still being made; and finally, Enoch Doughty, saw mill proprietor and owner of between twenty to thirty thousand of acres near Absecon.<sup>10</sup>

Skeptics belittled the effort. One group of people told the entrepreneurs that a "railroad with but one end" (that is, Camden) should never be built.<sup>11</sup> Others said: "Build your road and the people will starve to death when they get to the beach."<sup>12</sup> Still others warned that the mosquitoes would drive summer residents away.<sup>13</sup> Absecon Island was called at that time "a succession of barren sand hills and unproductive swamps."<sup>14</sup> The old salt works at the northern end of the island had been abandoned in the 1840's.<sup>15</sup> In fact, the Camden and Amboy Railroad, which then held powerful influence over the Legislature, waived its objections to the proposed charter of the Camden and Atlantic on the grounds that this line was an impossible scheme.<sup>16</sup>

Construction was begun in Camden in September, 1852. By August, 1853, trains were running to Haddonfield and by January 1, 1854 the tracks had reached Winslow. The line was finished to Absecon on the bay by July, 1854. At that time a Philadelphia newspaper noted "The grades are remarkably light and the curves easy. From Winslow east the track is laid in a straight line for a distance of 25 miles."<sup>17</sup>

The first train to the shore had "nine commodious cars." According to a contemporary description, "A short



ride through the Pines brought us to Waterford, home of the celebrated Glass works. . . . Our arrival was greeted by a volley of fire arms in the hands of workmen. . . . A number of ladies there presented to the railroad company in a graceful manner two magnificent bouquets." The next stop was Winslow, and from there the route to Absecon was direct, passing for twenty-five miles through an almost unbroken forest. From Absecon the road was laid across a salt marsh five miles in width, the rails in some places being but a few inches above the water. The bridge across the "Thoroughfare" (water channel) was not finished until 1885 and so the passengers were conveyed across to Absecon Island in boats. The train left Camden at 9:30 and in the words of the contemporary "at 12½ o'clock we reached Atlantic City, at least thus it is *termed on paper*."<sup>18</sup>

The Camden and Atlantic Railroad cost about \$1,800,000 to build, which was higher than the original estimate. Bonds were issued at 7%. The gross receipts in 1854 were \$117,000. During the Panic of 1857 the road went into bankruptcy. It was reorganized and the debt reduced. By the 1860's traffic had increased and the road became prosperous. The gross receipts rose to \$564,000 in 1876.<sup>19</sup> Others sought to get in on so profitable an enterprise. In the year just mentioned the Philadelphia and Atlantic Railroad, known popularly as the "Narrow Gauge," was chartered. Construction was begun in Camden on April 1, 1877, and completed to Atlantic City by way of Pleasantville in the record time of ninety days. The roadbed was easier to build than that of the Camden and Atlantic, for it had a three and a half foot gauge instead of the standard four feet eight and a half inches.

Following its construction a "fare war" started with the Camden and Atlantic. Round trip tickets which had been three dollars now sold for one dollar, and summer excursions at times were offered for as low as fifty cents a round trip. As a result larger and larger crowds went

to Atlantic City. During the four years following the advent of the Narrow Gauge to Atlantic City, the population of the town doubled. In fact, so taxing were the demands that at times, especially over week-ends, the supply of meat, milk, bread and provisions often became nearly exhausted.<sup>20</sup>

With the fare war being waged to the hilt, the Narrow Gauge eventually began to feel the pinch, and found itself in a poor financial condition by the end of the 1870's. Finally, in 1883, it was sold in foreclosure proceedings to the Philadelphia and Reading and made a part of the Reading System. That company then made the roadbed standard gauge and provided a double track, which increased its business.<sup>21</sup>

The third and last railroad to reach Atlantic City was built in 1880 by the Pennsylvania Railroad from Newfield, as a branch from its West Jersey Railroad's Cape May Line.<sup>22</sup> The distance from Newfield was 34.4 miles via Mays Landing and Pleasantville to Atlantic City. The business men of the resort were particularly pleased to have the Pennsylvania facilities. The road was opened on June 16, 1880 and, according to one contemporary, "Immediately the name of Atlantic City became familiar in every ticket office in the land in control of that great and powerful corporation. The reputation of the place became national and people from all parts of the country began to appreciate its health imparting properties."<sup>23</sup>

The following day, June 17th, the *Camden Daily Post* described the new railroad. "Newfield is the junction, and switching off to the left we leave the old and start on the new track. . . . It was a new road but the grand iron horse glided along at great speed . . . and only the go-ahead motion was perceptible. Some of us were writing as easily as on our reporter's desk when one asked 'Conductor, are we stopped?' 'No,' was the reply, 'Why do you ask?' 'Because,' said the writer, 'we seem almost to stand still.' 'We are near Buena and going 45 miles an

hour,' said the conductor. We made Pleasantville, 30 miles from Newfield, in 40 minutes. We were 21 minutes crossing the meadows and arrived at the Excursion House, Atlantic City, at 2:25 P.M. . . . The cost of the new road, including stations, was \$500,000."<sup>24</sup>

After the Pennsylvania had built its line from Newfield to tap the Atlantic City traffic it found it could not get adequate terminal facilities in Atlantic City, for they had been pre-empted by the two railroads already there. In 1883 the Pennsylvania secured control of the first line to the shore, the Camden and Atlantic. In 1896 the Pennsylvania consolidated it with the West Jersey to form the West Jersey and Seashore Railroad. In the same year a railroad bridge was built across the Delaware just above Camden. Now trains could go to the shore directly from Broad Street Station in Philadelphia, and through excursions were run to Atlantic City for the first time from Baltimore, Washington, Pittsburgh and points further west. In 1898 the route from Philadelphia to Atlantic City was double-tracked, and by the end of this period, in 1899, new Vogt engines, built especially for Atlantic City travel, were introduced, making what was claimed to be the fastest regular running record in the world.<sup>25</sup>

Other lines subsidiary to the ones which have been discussed were constructed in Atlantic County the latter part of the century. A road was built to Brigantine Beach, north of Atlantic City. This joined the Narrow Gauge at Brigantine Junction, just below Cologne, as shown on the railroad map of 1903. On October 26, 1880, a short line, from seven to eight miles long, was completed between Pleasantville, on the Narrow Gauge, to Somers Point, serving the communities of Bakersville and Smiths Landing. The primary purpose of this narrow gauge line was to provide access to the new resort of Ocean City. The conductor was Will Edge, father of Walter E. Edge, who was Governor of New Jersey from 1944 to 1947.

At the time of the opening of this road in 1880 a



complimentary excursion was run from Philadelphia to Ocean City. Dinner was furnished at the Ocean Hotel by the Association which owned Pecks Beach, and according to a contemporary story, "the occasion was one long to be remembered." Several hundred persons, among them some of the most prominent citizens of New Jersey and Philadelphia were present. At the dinner it was announced that the Association had purchased a steamboat which had been making regular trips five times a day across the Great Egg Harbor Inlet to Somers Point. The Association claimed that with the through line of railroad and steamboat, it took little longer to get to Ocean City than to Atlantic City. Round trip tickets for ten days were sold from Philadelphia to Ocean City for \$1.65.<sup>26</sup>

The influence of the railroad upon every area it touched was enormous, but perhaps no other line in New Jersey brought more economic changes than the Camden and Atlantic. Before the railroad existed, declared an observer in 1868, the people of Absecon village employed themselves in carting oysters sixty miles to Camden through the sands of Jersey. A few dollars a week was the pay for six days of hard labor. By the latter date a family could earn twice as much a day by raising chickens for hotel use in Atlantic City.<sup>27</sup>

With the advent of the railroad there occurred the democratization of travel to the shore. People could now reach the vacation spots with a minimum of expense, in contrast to the costlier trip by stage or steamboat. In an entry written July 20, 1867, a Rutgers professor noted, "Before the railroad was built it took two days for the trip to Philadelphia. Now it is made in one day, from 2 to 3 hours being taken for the passage. The road . . . has greatly improved the country."<sup>28</sup> Before the railroad came to Absecon Island, which included the site of present-day Atlantic City and its suburbs of Ventnor, Margate and Longport, less than half a dozen fami-

lies lived there. The railroad made Atlantic City New Jersey's premier shore resort.

2. *Cape May railroads.*

My parents boarded two gangs of men who were helping construct the railroad. . . . They liked the coffee mother furnished. It was no poor coffee but pure Cape May Coffee made of sweet potatoes, cut into small cubes, roasted hard and ground, . . . then, adding essence of coffee, this made it a drink far superior to real coffee that sold in those days at 60¢ a bag.

(Recollection of the 1860's, South Seaville, Cape May County.)<sup>29</sup>

In the second half of the Nineteenth Century two railroad lines were eventually built to Cape May. In the latter 1850's, as competition with Atlantic City began to be felt, the Cape Island Council appropriated \$10,000 to aid in building a railroad to the resort. It was not until 1863, however, that one reached there. Despite the exigencies of the war then being fought, the last rail was laid on August 22nd of that year.<sup>30</sup> Known as the Cape May and Millville Railroad, it joined at Millville with the Glassboro and Millville Railroad. In 1879 this line became a part of the West Jersey Railroad, which extended from Camden to Millville via Vineland.

To attract visitors the railroad company built the "Excursion House" at Cape May in 1868. According to a contemporary account it was "the most convenient building perhaps in the world." The trains ran direct to the house, "dispensing with that vexatious hunt for quarters so annoying to excursionists." The "spacious" dining room was finished in cottage rural style, and had 600 seats. There was a "spacious" verandah and a "spacious" bar room on the first floor. On the second floor was a handsomely finished parlor for the ladies with a conveniently arranged wash-room adjoining. In order to prevent overcrowding, the railroad company permitted only one excursion at a time.<sup>31</sup>

The advent of the railroad allowed people to come to Cape May for shorter vacation. Some were drawn to the resort by extravagant eulogies. A paean of 1875 told people that at Cape May "Every ocean breeze is an ethereal tonic, pure as the quintessence of the elixir of life."<sup>32</sup> The new transportation facility also inaugurated an era of cottage building. Many who had spent their summers in the hotels began to build their own cottages. They brought down their own servants and horses and carriages.<sup>33</sup>

The second railroad did not reach Cape May until nearly three decades later, although the need for competitive railroad service had been talked about for several years, especially after the Reading Railroad system had pushed a line in 1893 from Winslow Junction, on its Camden and Atlantic City route, south to Sea Isle City via Tuckahoe. The following year, on June 23, 1894, the line was completed from Tuckahoe to Cape May and the resort declared a holiday to celebrate, with city officials, civic organizations, and the fire department surrounding the new station where a large arch of welcome had been erected.<sup>34</sup> Lack of the anticipated traffic, however, caused a receiver to be appointed for the road of August of the same year.<sup>35</sup>

The construction of this new line to Cape May caused friction with the West Jersey company, which was already there. The latter did not relish the thought of competition. When it was found that it would be necessary for the new road to cross the West Jersey tracks at an intersection just southeast of Woodbine, the West Jersey procured an injunction. After a protracted legal battle, the Court of Chancery forbade the new road from crossing the West Jersey tracks at grade and ordered an overhead crossing.

The matter was settled, temporarily at least, by direct action. An observer who saw the episode recalled that one night, at eight, an engine came into sight from



Tuckahoe, drawing behind it a car on which was the "frog," or intersection, and fifty sturdy Irishmen. The train stopped at the edge of the West Jersey right of way. While the forge casting was being unloaded at the projected intersection, a special train arrived on the West Jersey with more than a hundred Italians on it. These had been kept in readiness at nearby Belleplain. Then the scrap began. While half of the Irish gang was doing the work, the other half, armed with bludgeons, was busily engaged in beating off the Italians. The intersection was constructed in record time.

Public sentiment in the County was ninety per cent with the new road. When the Justice of the Peace held court in a box car on the siding the next day, and the Irishmen were charged with assault and battery and disorderly conduct, scores of local citizens crowded into the car and loudly proclaimed their approval when the Justice discharged all the accused. Despite further injunction the road finally reached Cape May, but it never was profitable.<sup>36</sup>

Another episode which caused friction in Cape May County took place when a rival line was being pushed into what is now Ocean City in the fall of 1898. At that time the old South Jersey railroad, controlled by the Reading, and the West Jersey, controlled by the Pennsylvania, were rivals. The latter had already reached Ocean City. The South Jersey began to lay its track in from Tuckahoe. It was finishing its line into Ocean City when, according to the recollection of a one-time West Railroad employee, orders were received to keep them out. In those days the West Jersey track split into a "Y" between Eighth and Ninth streets. The West Jersey workers were told they could do anything but really come to blows. The only place where they could justifiably contest the South Jersey was where its tracks met the arm of the "Y" on Haven Avenue. The South Jersey officials sent over all their track gangs from off shore to

help lay the track between Eighth and Ninth Avenue, on Haven Avenue. The West Jersey ordered its gangs off shore to remove the track and to clear the area of anything belonging to the South Jersey.

From dawn to dusk the South Jersey workers fastened the rails into their section of the roadbed. From dusk to dawn the West Jersey workers pried up the rails and tossed them away. This business lasted all through the month of October of that year, until finally the court declared that the area could not be pre-empted by one company. That ended the skirmishing, and the West Jersey, forced to open its gates to competition, began to improve its service.<sup>37</sup>

### 3. *Railroads in Monmouth and Ocean Counties.*

In the 1840's and 1850's freight wagon teams would line up for some distance behind the dock where products were shipped to New York. . . . In 1861, a railroad was built through here (Oceanport on the South Shrewsbury River) and from that time Oceanport began to decline from the large business which for several years had been done.

(Comment written in 1885.)<sup>38</sup>

Monmouth County began to feel a need for rail transportation at the same time that Atlantic County was clamoring for it. The discovery and use of marl, the increase of agricultural production and of business, and the growth in population created a pressing demand for a better mode of communication in the central parts of Monmouth County. Freight had to be transported a long distance in carriages and wagons to the sea coast, or to Raritan Bay, which was both tedious and expensive. Travellers found it difficult to reach the area. At one of the meetings held in Freehold to discuss the project of a railroad, a Mr. Richardson, principal of the Young Ladies Seminary, related his difficulties in making his first visit to Freehold. He was in New York City and could find no one there able to give him information about reaching

Freehold, so he went by railroad to Philadelphia, and came the roundabout way by stage.<sup>39</sup>

The building of the first line across the state, from Bordentown to South Amboy, offered an opportunity for access to Monmouth County. The first railroad constructed within any shore county was that connecting Jamesburg, on the old Camden and Amboy line, and Freehold. In 1845 a stage route had been opened between the two villages and so large a traffic had developed that a rail connection seemed feasible. The people of Hightstown wanted the road to terminate there instead of Jamesburg and the attempt to secure a charter from Freehold to Jamesburg was defeated in the Legislature in 1849. The second attempt, in 1852, was successful and track laying commenced in April, 1853. The first locomotive was put in operation on June 16th; by July 5th a train of passenger cars ran to within three miles of Freehold, and on July 18th the track reached the county seat. The cost of building the line, which was called the Freehold and Jamesburg Agricultural Railroad Company, was \$220,666. This railroad preceded the first construction in Atlantic County by nearly a year.

It was not, however, the first road to reach the seashore. In this respect, the Atlantic City line preceded the Monmouth County line by thirteen years. In 1861 the railroad, under other control, was continued from Freehold to Farmingdale, and was called the Squankum Railroad and Marl Company. One factor in its construction was the desire to reach marl deposits. In 1867, another company, the Farmingdale and Squan Village Railroad Company, constructed a road to Squan Village, now Manasquan, and a line of railroad was thus completed from Jamesburg on the Camden and Amboy to the seacoast. In 1879 the three companies were merged into one bearing the name of the first corporation. Later, they became a part of the Pennsylvania Railroad system.<sup>40</sup>

The longest railroad in the shore area was the Dela-



ware Bay and Raritan Railroad, which later became the New Jersey Southern and eventually was taken over by the Jersey Central. It penetrated the interior of Monmouth and Ocean Counties and a portion of Atlantic, crossing the coastal plain as shown on the railroad map.



(Courtesy E. T. M. Carr, Gen. Agt., C.R.R. of N. J.)

### 1864 Timetable, Raritan & Delaware Bay Railway, Monmouth County's first Railroad Running South from Port Monmouth

The Camden and Amboy, which had a monopoly of traffic across the State, had earlier opposed the chartering of the railroad across the shore section of New Jersey. It later withdrew its opposition to the project and the legislature chartered the new line. The principal promoters were William and John Torrey, owners of large tracts of land in Ocean County. They expected the road to secure considerable through traffic and also seasonal traffic from the established resorts in Long Branch and Tuckerton and Long Beach. Across Delaware Bay another road had been projected down the eastern shore of Maryland and Virginia to Cape Charles, opposite Norfolk. It was hoped

that fast ferry boats crossing Delaware Bay would bring passengers and traffic to the New Jersey railroad from the South.

The Raritan and Delaware Bay Railroad was chartered March 3, 1854. The original route authorized by the



(Courtesy T. J. Labrecque, Red Bank)

*New Jersey Southern Train at Red Bank Station about 1888*

Legislature was from a point of Raritan Bay eastward to Keyport, to the village of Toms River, Ocean County, thence to Mays Landing, Atlantic County, and from there to Cape May Point. The northern terminus was selected in Monmouth County at what was called Port Monmouth, where a pier was built nearly 5,000 feet out into the shallow waters of Raritan Bay to take care of vessels from New York City. Construction commenced at Port Monmouth on May 20, 1856. The railroad ran through Middletown Township to Red Bank and thence to Eatontown. The Panic of 1857 forced a halt in construction and the line did not reach Eatontown until 1860.<sup>41</sup>

From Eatontown a spur was built to Long Branch

and that town then celebrated the new facility. A diary of a citizen noted for June 18, 1860, "The cars came to Long Branch for the first time. A public dinner at Stoke's hotel at the expense of the boarding-house proprietors."<sup>42</sup> This railroad did not provide immediate communication with New York. To get to Long Branch this way from the metropolis it was necessary to take a long steamboat ride from Upper New York Bay to Port Monmouth and the railroad. No immediate contact between New York and Long Branch came until the New York and Long Branch Railroad was constructed.

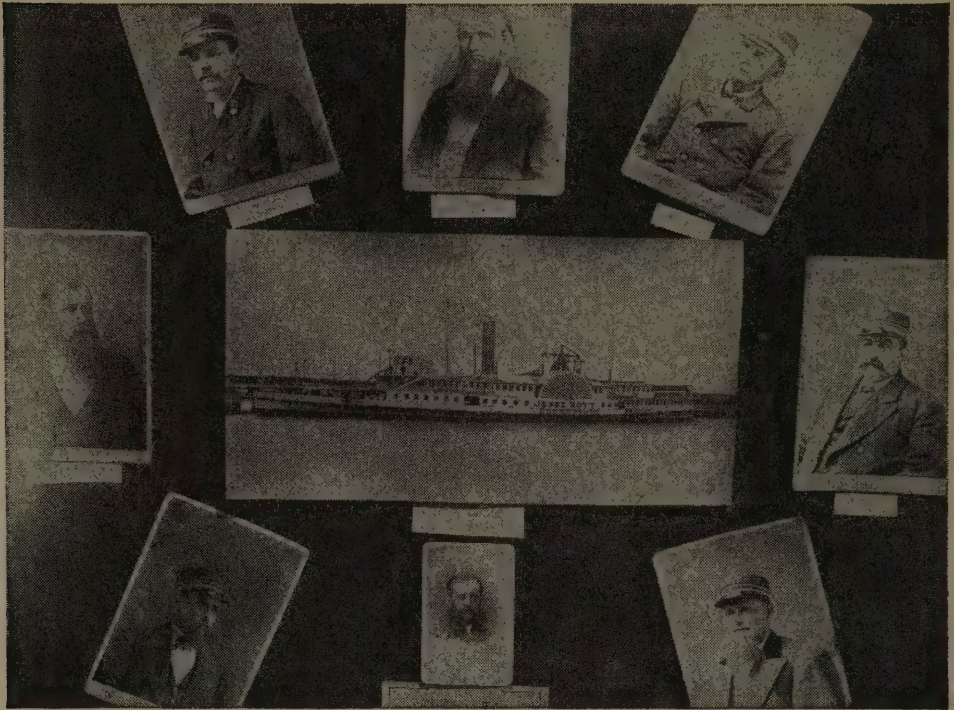
By 1861 the Raritan and Delaware Bay Railroad had pushed on from Eatontown to Farmingdale and that year it reached Bricksburg (Lakewood), Manchester (Lakehurst) in Ocean County, Atsion in Burlington County, and Winslow Junction in lower Camden County, where it met the pioneer road to the shore, the Camden and Atlantic.

Wartime demands during the Civil War brought new traffic. Soldiers and military supplies from New York went to Port Monmouth by boat and then on by way of the Atlantic City railroad to Camden. The route to Philadelphia from New York this way, however, proved too circuitous, and the long ferry trip between New York and Port Monmouth discouraged through passenger traffic. Following the war, the road went into bankruptcy in 1867. It was then reorganized as the New Jersey Southern Railroad and in the early 1870's the road was extended through Vineland and Bridgeton to Delaware Bay and Bayside, in Cumberland County. The Panic of 1873, however, forced the New Jersey Southern into bankruptcy in 1879 and the line was then leased for interest on its mortgage bonds to the Central Railroad of New Jersey. No ferry connection was ever made across Delaware Bay between the terminus of the line at Bayside and the Delaware shore.<sup>43</sup>

Another line built primarily for the export of agri-



cultural produce, the Freehold and Keyport Railroad, was chartered in 1841. The farmers living in that section of the county had been carting their products to either Middletown Point or Keyport, to ship them by water to New York. The wearisome journey, the loss of valuable



(Courtesy E. T. M. Carr, Gen. Agt., C.R.R. of N. J.)

*Steamer "Jesse Hoyt" of the New Jersey Southern Railroad's  
Sandy Hook Line with Officers, in 1876*

time and the wear and tear on the wagon and team were a convincing argument for a railroad. The determined opposition of a few people living along the proposed line and the difficulty of obtaining funds to carry through the project, however, caused it to be postponed. Later agitation was renewed, and the Monmouth County Agricultural Railroad was chartered by the Legislature in 1867. The route was laid out, two-thirds of the grading done, and most of the cross ties procured when the company, in 1875, went bankrupt. In 1877 work was recommenced

on May 2nd, and by July 2nd it was finished into Freehold, but it was not completed into Keyport until August, 1880. It was known as the Freehold and New York Railway. A few years later it was taken over by the Philadelphia and Reading.<sup>44</sup> This line hoped to capture a share of the traffic to and from New York. A large pier was built at Keyport in 1880 out into Raritan Bay for a distance of nearly 2,000 feet. No expense was spared in making the pier substantial. A county history written in 1885 declared: "It is really a magnificent structure though at the present time very little business is done on it."<sup>45</sup>

The road that best served the sea-coast section of Monmouth County from the point of view of the New York trade was the New York and Long Branch Railroad, chartered in 1868 and re-chartered in 1869 to join the main line of the New Jersey Central Railroad at Elizabethport. This gave Long Branch direct access by ferry across the Hudson to New York City. The line passed through Red Bank, where it formed a junction with the Delaware and Raritan Bay Railroad and then pushed on to Long Branch.

Two other roads were also constructed in the county in these decades. The upper Freehold area, in the western part of the County was given railroad service with the building of the road from Pemberton to Hightstown, where it connected with the old Camden and Amboy line. The line passed through interior Ocean County, serving the village of New Egypt in Plumsted Township and thence into Upper Freehold Township, where it reached the villages of Cream Ridge, Imlaystown, Hornersville, and Sharon. The construction of the line was completed in 1867, and the road was later leased by the Pennsylvania system.<sup>46</sup>

The other line, incorporated in 1863, was built to serve the immediate seashore. Called the Long Branch and Sea-Shore Railroad, it was planned to follow a route



from a point on Sandy Hook south to Long Branch. Difficulty was encountered at Sandy Hook, where the terminus of the track was located two miles north of the southern boundary line of a seven mile purchase made by the Federal Government for military purposes. Fol-

CENTRAL RAILROAD OF NEW JERSEY.															
NEW YORK AND LONG BRANCH DIVISION.															
TIME TABLE FOR PASSENGER TRAINS, TO TAKE EFFECT JULY 1st, 1875.															
All Passenger Trains in New York, Port of Liberty Street, North River.															
TRAINS FROM NEW YORK.								TRAINS FROM LONG BRANCH.							
LEAVE.	2	4	6	8	10	12	11	LEAVE.	1	3	5	7	9	11	13
New York	7:30	9:00	10:30	1:00	2:30	5:30	6:30	Long Branch	7:05	8:00	10:55	2:30	4:30	6:20	
Jersey City	7:40	9:10	10:40	1:10	2:40	5:40	6:40	Branch Port	7:08	8:03	10:58	2:33	4:33	6:23	
Elizabeth	7:50	9:20	10:50	1:20	2:50	5:50	6:50	Shrewsbury	7:12	8:07	11:02	2:37	4:37	6:27	
Elizabeth Avenue	8:02	9:32	11:02	1:32	3:02	6:02	7:02	Red Bank	7:18	8:13	11:08	2:44	4:44	6:34	
Bayway	8:05	9:35	11:05	1:35	3:05	6:05	7:05	Middletown	7:20	8:15	11:10	2:46	4:46	6:36	
East Rahway	8:15	9:45	11:15	1:45	3:15	6:15	7:15	Ramoth	7:24	8:19	11:14	2:50	4:50	6:40	
Wahneton	8:21	9:51	11:21	1:51	3:21	6:21	7:21	Matawau	7:28	8:23	11:18	2:54	4:54	6:44	
Port Authority	8:24	9:54	11:24	1:54	3:24	6:24	7:24	Monaca	7:35	8:30	11:25	2:59	4:59	6:49	
South Amboy	8:34	10:04	11:34	2:04	3:34	6:34	7:34	South Amboy	7:38	8:43	10:54	3:02	4:52	7:08	
Morristown	8:38	10:08	11:38	2:08	3:38	6:38	7:38	Port Authority	7:41	8:56	10:48	3:05	4:55	7:13	
Madison	8:45	10:15	11:45	2:15	3:45	6:45	7:45	Woodbridge	7:45	8:51	11:00	3:09	4:59	7:20	
Belmont	8:51	10:21	11:51	2:21	3:51	6:51	7:51	East Rahway	7:48	8:54	11:03	3:12	5:02	7:24	
Middletown	9:00	10:30	12:00	2:30	4:00	7:00	8:00	Bayway	7:50	8:56	11:05	3:14	5:04	7:24	
Red Bank	9:05	10:35	12:05	2:35	4:05	7:05	8:05	Elizabeth Avenue	7:52	8:58	11:07	3:17	5:07	7:27	
Jersey City	9:10	10:40	12:10	2:40	4:10	7:10	8:10	Knappa Harbor	7:55	9:01	11:10	3:20	5:10	7:30	
Branch Port	9:15	10:45	12:15	2:45	4:15	7:15	8:15	Jersey City	7:58	9:04	11:13	3:23	5:13	7:33	
Long Branch	9:20	10:50	12:20	2:50	4:20	7:20	8:20	New York	7:58	9:04	11:13	3:23	5:13	7:33	
NEWARK AND LONG BRANCH.															
LEAVE.	10	11	12	1	2	3	4	LEAVE.	10	11	12	1	2	3	4
Newark	9:10	10:10	11:10	12:10	1:10	2:10	3:10	Long Branch	7:05	8:05	9:05	10:05	11:05	12:05	
Port Authority	9:15	10:15	11:15	12:15	1:15	2:15	3:15	Port Authority	7:08	8:08	9:08	10:08	11:08	12:08	
South Amboy	9:25	10:25	11:25	12:25	1:25	2:25	3:25	Jersey City	7:15	8:15	9:15	10:15	11:15	12:15	
Elizabeth Avenue	9:30	10:30	11:30	12:30	1:30	2:30	3:30	New York	7:18	8:18	9:18	10:18	11:18	12:18	
Elizabeth	9:40	10:40	11:40	12:40	1:40	2:40	3:40	Long Branch	7:25	8:25	9:25	10:25	11:25	12:25	
Jersey City	9:50	10:50	11:50	12:50	1:50	2:50	3:50	Port Authority	7:28	8:28	9:28	10:28	11:28	12:28	
Branch Port	10:00	11:00	12:00	1:00	2:00	3:00	4:00	Newark	7:30	8:30	9:30	10:30	11:30	12:30	
Long Branch	10:10	11:10	12:10	1:10	2:10	3:10	4:10	Elizabeth Avenue	7:35	8:35	9:35	10:35	11:35	12:35	
Elizabeth	10:20	11:20	12:20	1:20	2:20	3:20	4:20	Jersey City	7:38	8:38	9:38	10:38	11:38	12:38	
Jersey City	10:30	11:30	12:30	1:30	2:30	3:30	4:30	Branch Port	7:40	8:40	9:40	10:40	11:40	12:40	
Branch Port	10:40	11:40	12:40	1:40	2:40	3:40	4:40	Long Branch	7:45	8:45	9:45	10:45	11:45	12:45	
Long Branch	10:50	11:50	12:50	1:50	2:50	3:50	4:50	Elizabeth	7:50	8:50	9:50	10:50	11:50	12:50	
Elizabeth	11:00	12:00	1:00	2:00	3:00	4:00	5:00	Jersey City	7:55	8:55	9:55	10:55	11:55	12:55	
Jersey City	11:10	12:10	1:10	2:10	3:10	4:10	5:10	Branch Port	8:00	9:00	10:00	11:00	12:00	1:00	
Branch Port	11:20	12:20	1:20	2:20	3:20	4:20	5:20	Long Branch	8:05	9:05	10:05	11:05	12:05	1:05	
Long Branch	11:30	12:30	1:30	2:30	3:30	4:30	5:30	Elizabeth	8:10	9:10	10:10	11:10	12:10	1:10	
Elizabeth	11:40	12:40	1:40	2:40	3:40	4:40	5:40	Jersey City	8:15	9:15	10:15	11:15	12:15	1:15	
Jersey City	11:50	12:50	1:50	2:50	3:50	4:50	5:50	Branch Port	8:20	9:20	10:20	11:20	12:20	1:20	
Branch Port	12:00	1:00	2:00	3:00	4:00	5:00	6:00	Long Branch	8:25	9:25	10:25	11:25	12:25	1:25	
Long Branch	12:10	1:10	2:10	3:10	4:10	5:10	6:10	Elizabeth	8:30	9:30	10:30	11:30	12:30	1:30	
Elizabeth	12:20	1:20	2:20	3:20	4:20	5:20	6:20	Jersey City	8:35	9:35	10:35	11:35	12:35	1:35	
Jersey City	12:30	1:30	2:30	3:30	4:30	5:30	6:30	Branch Port	8:40	9:40	10:40	11:40	12:40	1:40	
Branch Port	12:40	1:40	2:40	3:40	4:40	5:40	6:40	Long Branch	8:45	9:45	10:45	11:45	12:45	1:45	
Long Branch	12:50	1:50	2:50	3:50	4:50	5:50	6:50	Elizabeth	8:50	9:50	10:50	11:50	12:50	1:50	
Elizabeth	13:00	2:00	3:00	4:00	5:00	6:00	7:00	Jersey City	8:55	9:55	10:55	11:55	12:55	1:55	
Jersey City	13:10	2:10	3:10	4:10	5:10	6:10	7:10	Branch Port	9:00	10:00	11:00	12:00	1:00	2:00	
Branch Port	13:20	2:20	3:20	4:20	5:20	6:20	7:20	Long Branch	9:05	10:05	11:05	12:05	1:05	2:05	
Long Branch	13:30	2:30	3:30	4:30	5:30	6:30	7:30	Elizabeth	9:10	10:10	11:10	12:10	1:10	2:10	
Elizabeth	13:40	2:40	3:40	4:40	5:40	6:40	7:40	Jersey City	9:15	10:15	11:15	12:15	1:15	2:15	
Jersey City	13:50	2:50	3:50	4:50	5:50	6:50	7:50	Branch Port	9:20	10:20	11:20	12:20	1:20	2:20	
Branch Port	14:00	3:00	4:00	5:00	6:00	7:00	8:00	Long Branch	9:25	10:25	11:25	12:25	1:25	2:25	
Long Branch	14:10	3:10	4:10	5:10	6:10	7:10	8:10	Elizabeth	9:30	10:30	11:30	12:30	1:30	2:30	
Elizabeth	14:20	3:20	4:20	5:20	6:20	7:20	8:20	Jersey City	9:35	10:35	11:35	12:35	1:35	2:35	
Jersey City	14:30	3:30	4:30	5:30	6:30	7:30	8:30	Branch Port	9:40	10:40	11:40	12:40	1:40	2:40	
Branch Port	14:40	3:40	4:40	5:40	6:40	7:40	8:40	Long Branch	9:45	10:45	11:45	12:45	1:45	2:45	
Long Branch	14:50	3:50	4:50	5:50	6:50	7:50	8:50	Elizabeth	9:50	10:50	11:50	12:50	1:50	2:50	
Elizabeth	15:00	4:00	5:00	6:00	7:00	8:00	9:00	Jersey City	9:55	10:55	11:55	12:55	1:55	2:55	
Jersey City	15:10	4:10	5:10	6:10	7:10	8:10	9:10	Branch Port	10:00	11:00	12:00	1:00	2:00	3:00	
Branch Port	15:20	4:20	5:20	6:20	7:20	8:20	9:20	Long Branch	10:05	11:05	12:05	1:05	2:05	3:05	
Long Branch	15:30	4:30	5:30	6:30	7:30	8:30	9:30	Elizabeth	10:10	11:10	12:10	1:10	2:10	3:10	
Elizabeth	15:40	4:40	5:40	6:40	7:40	8:40	9:40	Jersey City	10:15	11:15	12:15	1:15	2:15	3:15	
Jersey City	15:50	4:50	5:50	6:50	7:50	8:50	9:50	Branch Port	10:20	11:20	12:20	1:20	2:20	3:20	
Branch Port	16:00	5:00	6:00	7:00	8:00	9:00	10:00	Long Branch	10:25	11:25	12:25	1:25	2:25	3:25	
Long Branch	16:10	5:10	6:10	7:10	8:10	9:10	10:10	Elizabeth	10:30	11:30	12:30	1:30	2:30	3:30	
Elizabeth	16:20	5:20	6:20	7:20	8:20	9:20	10:20	Jersey City	10:35	11:35	12:35	1:35	2:35	3:35	
Jersey City	16:30	5:30	6:30	7:30	8:30	9:30	10:30	Branch Port	10:40	11:40	12:40	1:40	2:40	3:40	
Branch Port	16:40	5:40	6:40	7:40	8:40	9:40	10:40	Long Branch	10:45	11:45	12:45	1:45	2:45	3:45	
Long Branch	16:50	5:50	6:50	7:50	8:50	9:50	10:50	Elizabeth	10:50	11:50	12:50	1:50	2:50	3:50	
Elizabeth	17:00	6:00	7:00	8:00	9:00	10:00	11:00	Jersey City	10:55	11:55	12:55	1:55	2:55	3:55	
Jersey City	17:10	6:10	7:10	8:10	9:10	10:10	11:10	Branch Port	11:00	12:00	1:00	2:00	3:00	4:00	
Branch Port	17:20	6:20	7:20	8:20	9:20	10:20	11:20	Long Branch	11:05	12:05	1:05	2:05	3:05	4:05	
Long Branch	17:30	6:30	7:30	8:30	9:30	10:30	11:30	Elizabeth	11:10	12:10	1:10	2:10	3:10	4:10	
Elizabeth	17:40	6:40	7:40	8:40	9:40	10:40	11:40	Jersey City	11:15	12:15	1:15	2:15	3:15	4:15	
Jersey City	17:50	6:50	7:50	8:50	9:50	10:50	11:50	Branch Port	11:20	12:20	1:20	2:20	3:20	4:20	
Branch Port	18:00	7:00	8:00	9:00	10:00	11:00	12:00	Long Branch	11:25	12:25	1:25	2:25	3:25	4:25	
Long Branch	18:10	7:10	8:10	9:10	10:10	11:10	12:10	Elizabeth	11:30	12:30	1:30	2:30	3:30	4:30	
Elizabeth	18:20	7:20	8:20	9:20	10:20	11:20	12:20	Jersey City	11:35	12:35	1:35	2:35	3:35	4:35	
Jersey City	18:30	7:30	8:30	9:30	10:30	11:30	12:30	Branch Port	11:40	12:40	1:40	2:40	3:40	4:40	
Branch Port	18:40	7:40	8:40	9:40	10:40	11:40	12:40	Long Branch	11:45	12:45	1:45	2:45	3:45	4:45	
Long Branch	18:50	7:50	8:50	9:50	10:50	11:50	12:50	Elizabeth	11:50	12:50	1:50	2:50	3:50	4:50	
Elizabeth	19:00	8:00	9:00	10:00	11:00	12:00	1:00	Jersey City	11:55	12:55	1:55	2:55	3:55	4:55	
Jersey City	19:10	8:10	9:10	10:10	11:10	12:10	1:10	Branch Port	12:00	1:00	2:00	3:00	4:00	5:00	
Branch Port	19:20	8:20	9:20	10:20	11:20	12:20	1:20	Long Branch	12:05	1:05	2:05	3:05	4:05	5:05	
Long Branch	19:30	8:30	9:30	10:30	11:30	12:30	1:30	Elizabeth	12:10	1:10	2:10	3:10	4:10	5:10	
Elizabeth	19:40	8:40	9:40	10:40	11:40	12:40	1:40	Jersey City	12:15	1:15	2:15	3:15	4:15	5:15	
Jersey City	19:50	8:50	9:50	10:50	11:50	12:50	1:50	Branch Port	12:20	1:20	2:20	3:20	4:20	5:20	
Branch Port	20:00	9:00	10:00	11:00	12:00	1:00	2:00	Long Branch	12:						

(Courtesy E. T. M. Carr, Gen. Agt., C.R.R. of N. J.)

### *First Timetable of the New York & Long Branch Division Central Railroad of New Jersey, July 1, 1875*

lowing the laying of the track the War Department removed the rails. Appeal was made by William Newell, then a member of Congress, to President Lincoln. He gave his permission, unless "revoked by Congress or otherwise." This was on June 19, 1864, and in the following April Lincoln was assassinated and the permission was revoked by Edwin Stanton, Secretary of War. Later the terminus of the road was moved to Spermaceti Cove at the beginning of Sandy Hook, from which a line of steamers ran to New York.<sup>47</sup>

In 1865 the road was extended down the sea-island



to Long Branch, "so close to the Ocean beach in some places," according to an account written two decades later, "that the surf blends with the rattle of the cars and the shriek of the locomotive whistle; and at times in high tides, the waves have washed over the track."<sup>48</sup> When the road was finished, the people of Long Branch were jubilant, for now two indirect connections were available to New York, one via Sandy Hook and one via Port Monmouth. A few years later, however, when the New York to Long Branch Railroad was completed, much of this traffic was directed to the all-rail route from Long Branch to Jersey City.<sup>49</sup>

In 1876 railroad connections were completed south of Long Branch as far as Sea Girt and Manasquan village. "This road," declared a contemporary account, "promises to bring about a wonderful change in the future." Later the Manasquan was bridged and connections made at Bay Head and Point Pleasant.<sup>50</sup>

Atlantic Highlands in the northeast corner of the county, then called Bay View, received steamboat service from New York in 1879, when the first pier for excursionists was built. Boat trips became popular with New Yorkers. As the resort became better known, people began to buy lots for summer cottages. In 1883 a railroad was completed to it, with connections at Red Bank, where passengers from New York changed cars. That year it began to advertise itself as a resort in competition with Long Branch. "It will take only a little longer to reach there," read one announcement, "than to reach Long Branch." In 1892 connection was made at Highlands, near the base of Sandy Hook, with the Central Railroad of New Jersey, which by then had leased the line north from Long Branch. A new railroad bridge draw was at that time built over the mouth of the Shrewsbury River at Highlands.<sup>51</sup>

It might be possible to say that the oldest railroad in Ocean County was the nine mile line built in the

early 1840's connecting Manchester (Lakehurst) with the south side of Toms River, the story of which was told in the section on charcoal. But since the steam locomotive proved too heavy for the wooden rails and the owners soon turned to mule teams to pull the cars, it can hardly be called a genuine railroad.

The first real rail facility in Ocean County was the Delaware and Raritan line. As already noted, it brought accommodations in 1861 to Bricksburg (Lakewood) and Manchester (Lakehurst). It did not tap the shore resorts in the county, nor reach the county seat at Toms River. The residents of this town had been finding it difficult to reach either Philadelphia or New York except by taking a stage coach to the nearest railroad. When the first railroad reached Freehold in 1853 a stage line making daily trips and carrying mail and passengers was established between Toms River and that center. A connecting stage line made tri-weekly trips to Tuckerton. Later that same year, according to an advertisement in a local newspaper dated December 20th, a stage left Manahawkin at three A.M., passed through Toms River and reached Freehold in time to make the train for Amboy. Thus passengers could reach New York in one day. This was then considered the height of convenience, but by the time a railroad line had been built through Manchester, Toms River and its vicinity began to desire faster transportation.<sup>52</sup>

Until well into the 1850's Toms River was the most important point on the southern Jersey coast in a commercial way. Shipbuilding and the export of charcoal were still at their height. Sea traffic, however, had come to be too circuitous and dilatory for mails and commercial communication with New York, and private express stages were established by way of Manahawkin to Freehold, from which point there was ready outlet to New York. Considerable capital was available in Toms River, from the lumber, cordwood and charcoal coasting trade. In 1865 business men along the line subscribed sums of

money in stock toward a proposed railroad, and in 1865-1866 a line from Manchester was built to Toms River. The first passenger train was run into the county seat on July 3, 1866.

In 1871 another branch spur was built by Tuckerton and Philadelphia business men who were interested in the summer resort possibilities at Beach Haven on Long Beach. After the completion of the Camden and Atlantic Railroad vacationists had gone to Long Beach by way of Atlantic City, despite the inconvenience, expense, and indirectness of the route. After staying overnight at Bedloe's Hotel in Atlantic City they were brought to Long Beach by Captain "Billy" Gaskill, who sailed his sloop regularly between the two resorts. The stage line still ran between Tuckerton and Philadelphia and many guests continued to use that until the Tuckerton Railroad was finished in 1871. This railroad left the main line at the junction at Whiting, cut across the pine barrens through the old iron ore towns of Bamber and Lacy, touched Waretown and Barnegat, went through Manahawkin, West Creek, Parkertown, and ended at Tuckerton as shown on the railroad map.<sup>53</sup>

The same year Archibald Pharo of Tuckerton, who had taken his wife to Bond's Long Beach House during the hay fever season and liked the island, decided to build another boarding-house on it. Once he had purchased a location two miles north of Bond's he determined to secure better transportation facilities. In 1872 he persuaded the owners of the Tuckerton Railroad to build a short spur down to Little Egg Harbor Bay, and he advanced part of the money to do this. When it was finished, the steamboat "Barclay," which had previously run on Rancocas Creek in the Delaware River section of Burlington County, was purchased and placed in commission between Long Beach and the mainland. Pharo bought land near his boarding-house and organized a land company. The question of choosing a name for the new town arose and





*Seaside Heights and Seaside Park*

Pharo's daughter suggested "Beach Haven." This was adopted, although one ardent soul, overwhelmed by local pride, insisted that an "e" should be inserted in Haven, making the new name "Beach Heaven."<sup>54</sup>

The last line of any length in the county was constructed in 1883 to reach Island Beach. It was a continuation of a road built in 1881 out of Camden east to Medford and Pemberton. The Pennsylvania, aimed at the sea resort trade, leased the Camden-Pemberton road and extended it through the pine barrens to the south bank of the Toms River. From there it crossed upper Barnegat Bay on a trestle over to the southern end of Island Beach to what became Seaside Park. From Seaside Park the line was pushed north along Island Beach through what became Lavallette, Chadwick and Montoloking to meet the Long Branch Railroad which had been built south to Point Pleasant and Bay Head, as shown on the railroad map made at the end of the 19th Century.<sup>55</sup>

Railroad service reached the northern end of Long Beach island in the middle 1880's. Up to that time a steamer had carried passengers from the mainland near Barnegat village across the southern end of Barnegat Bay. The Manahawkin and Long Beach Transportation, which was later absorbed by the Pennsylvania when it took over the Tuckerton line, built a spur on a trestle across Manahawkin Bay into Long Beach, and a line south to Beach Haven and north to Harvey Cedars and Barnegat City on the Inlet, as is shown on the railroad map.<sup>56</sup>

#### 4. *Early railroading.*

Do not find fault with the conductor because he cannot help half a dozen ladies, each of them with half a dozen satchels, bundles, packages, etc. He has a baggage car and a baggage master for such things.

("Hints to Railroad Travellers," published in 1874.)<sup>57</sup>

Railroading in these early days was very different



indeed from railroading today. The speed of the first trains was from fifteen to twenty miles an hour. Schedules were difficult to keep. Since there was only a single track, numerous sidings were constructed for the unavoidable meetings, and plenty of time had to be provided for reaching these passing points. Before the telegraph came into general use, if a scheduled train did not come in within a reasonable length of time, the outgoing train would start on, hoping for the best. If the incoming train was met along the way, one of them would back up to the nearest siding. Under the circumstances, curves were taken very slowly, and if there seemed a possibility some other train might be coming around the same curve a trainman would be sent ahead to make sure the way was clear.

The engineer on these early trains was called a "driver," following contemporary stagecoach usage, and, like the coach driver, he was provided with a tin horn to warn people of the train's approach. When the train was about to stop, the "driver" motioned to the brakeman, who stood on the platform of the front car, at the side of which a small hand bell was attached. The brakeman would ring this bell and put on his brake. The bell was the sign for the other brakemen on the following cars to do the same. Air brakes were not available until the latter part of the century, following Westinghouse's invention.<sup>58</sup>

The first train to the shore between Camden and Atlantic City was not a de luxe vehicle. The conductor of the first few trips recalled that the engine was a wood-burner and made a great deal of smoke, which caused the passengers considerable annoyance. There were no signals of any kind. The cars held forty persons each. The seats were plain boards not even cushioned. The single-track road was constructed on planks lined on one edge with sheets of iron resting on cross beams bedded in the rough sand. Most of the cars were open coaches. "My!" exclaimed this former conductor, "How the dust did fly!"<sup>59</sup>



There were many other interesting procedures. When the conductor wanted to stop the train to let off passengers, he went through the cars to the front of the train and attracted the engineer's attention by tossing a small piece of wood at him and holding up a forefinger. This was the only means of communication with the engineer.

The conductors in those days did not punch tickets. Persons who got aboard at Camden had tickets, but those who got on at various stations paid their fares to the conductor in cash. On the return to Camden the receipts were turned in. The conductor's salary was thirty dollars a month, but extra income was procured from express charges on packages. For this the conductors charged what the traffic would bear; the minimum fee was twenty-five cents. They carried parcels and letters, and provided, after a fashion, a banking service. One conductor said he carried thousands of dollars from different places and received a dollar for every \$1,000 transaction. When the Pennsylvania Railroad secured control, salaries were increased to sixty dollars a month and all perquisites were cut off. At this time a new system of selling and cancelling tickets became effective.<sup>60</sup>

The early trains were a wonder for all to marvel at. They made a vivid impression on everyone. One observer, recalling the trains of the 1860's, remembered that the locomotives were small and burned wood for fuel, since coal was not introduced until the early 1880's. To keep the wood dry, the tender was roofed over. At the top of this tender in "what looked like a buggy top, just wide enough for one man," was a seat from which the trainman could check on the progress of the train, for the cars at that time were fastened together only by several links of chain. This trainman received the conductor's signals by a rope-cord. He, in turn, called down to the engineer. Since this was before the invention of the air brake, the problem of stopping the train at the right place was even more difficult. All the stations had platforms

the height of the floor of the cars, similar to the freight unloading platforms, and upon these the passengers were supposed to "disembark," since the cars had no steps. When the engineer was approaching a station, he would signal by whistle to the brakeman to apply the brakes by turning a wheel. The harder the brakeman turned, the sooner the train could stop. Sometimes the train would run past the station. Then the brakes would have to be released and the train backed up.<sup>61</sup>

The railroad was received with mixed feelings. Resort owners and manufacturers who gained immediate benefits were highly in favor of the new method of transportation. Others were often suspicious of it. In fact, many farmers viewed its advent with considerable misgiving. Some farmers declared that since the engines could not eat hay, they were of no value to the farmer. It was claimed, too, that the noise of the trains would disturb animals as they grazed in the field, the sparks would destroy barns, and the tracks would be unsafe, since they were not then fenced in. Dire warnings were given, too, that the cars would run away and kill the passengers. And worst of all, what would become of the turnpike companies and the stagecoach lines? The more apprehensive maintained that the railroad would put the stage and freight wagon lines out of business, the demands for horses and fodder-crops would then drop, and thus an important market for farm production would be destroyed.<sup>62</sup>

The immediate reaction of many a farmer was one of antipathy for the iron monster which killed his livestock in the early days before protective fences were constructed. Instances of this type of accident were frequently reported. "Seven head of cattle were run over on the Cape May Railroad last year," one paper noted in 1863. The report added solicitously, "No damage was done to the train."<sup>63</sup>

In some cases the farmer retaliated. An item in an

1863 newspaper stated, "An attempt was made to throw the cars . . . off the track by placing ties across the track. This was discovered in time to prevent an accident. It was a scoundrel who did this. The accidental running over and killing a hog by one of the trains is supposed to have been the prompting cause."<sup>64</sup>

The railroad company looked at the matter in a different light. "There are still some people," complained a pro-railroad reporter that same year, "who permit their stock to run on the road. This is wrong. Cattle soon become so accustomed to the approach of a train as to evince no alarm and are only driven off with considerable difficulty and delay to the train."<sup>65</sup> For that matter, it was evident that the railroad company often suffered as severe a financial injury as did the owners of the wandering livestock. In 1865, for example, a commentator reported, "The locomotive of the morning train was thrown off the track by running over a steer which had gone on the track and persistently refused all invitations to leave it. Little damage was done beyond killing the contumacious steer, literally cutting it in two. It took about three hours to replace the locomotive on the tracks."<sup>66</sup>

In the mid-seventies, at the instigation of harassed railroad officials, tart suggestions entitled "Hints to Railroad Travellers" were published in the local newspapers to tell passengers how they should act toward the conductor. Half-fare tickets were allowed for children between five and twelve, but parents were warned not to try to get free rides for the young fry. "Do not quibble with the conductor," urged the railroad. "It is one of the rules of the company that children between those ages pay one-half fares." The novelty of riding on the railroad led passengers to besiege the conductor with unnecessary inquiries, a practice which forced the railroad to point out: "Do not censure the conductor because he cannot stop when first going through the train after leaving a



station, to answer unimportant questions which you already have asked the station agent."<sup>67</sup>

In 1868 a book was published about Atlantic City which included a long discussion of the first railroads to that resort. It concluded with this sentence: "We take our leave of the iron horse, hoping that his snort of enterprise and puff of power may long live to lend the music and enchantment of advancing civilization to the wilds of New Jersey."<sup>68</sup> The remaining chapters of Part IV indicate the effect of this "snort of enterprise and puff of power."

## CHAPTER XVIII

### THE EXPANSION OF THE RESORTS

The shore of New Jersey, stretching away from Sandy Hook to Cape May, affords the widest diversity of advantages and charms for the permanent resident or temporary visitor. . . . Dotting this coast along its entire length is a succession of towns and villages so nearly approaching each other as to almost form one continuous line of human habitations.

(Excerpt from regional history, 1902.)<sup>1</sup>

Between 1850 and 1900 the sea islands and the shore of New Jersey passed through their period of greatest development. After 1900 new growth was mainly in the form of increased population and not in the widespread foundation of new resorts. The author of the history from which the above quotation was taken was deeply impressed by the developments between 1850 and 1900 along the whole eastern seaboard. Within this half century seaside resorts had been established along the entire Atlantic coast, from Maine to Florida. With more than a touch of local pride he declared that while there were spots along the northern coast which were delightful in summer, but almost uninhabitable in winter, and others, as in Florida, which were pleasant during the winter but almost unendurable during the remainder of the year, the resorts along the Jersey shore were enjoyable at all times of the year. He added that these towns were of every characteristic save one—none were “given over to the vicious classes,” and there were none where “good morals are contemned or modesty offended.”<sup>2</sup>

The settlements along the New Jersey coast were indeed of “every characteristic.” Some were cities, with churches, libraries, opera houses and club houses, and expensive shops. In these were palatial hotels, with billiard and card rooms, and special rooms and ground for

children. Other towns were founded to be the summer homes of people of more simple tastes and smaller pocket-books. Among these were several which were founded to be the summer centers for particular churches. Still others were not much more than a cluster of a few cottages. The great attraction in every type of resort was the sea. Great care was taken everywhere to make surf bathing as safe as possible. Life lines were placed at all points where large groups used the beaches, and life savers were on duty all day.

The story of the establishment and growth of the seaside resorts from Monmouth County to Cape May comprises the material discussed in this chapter.

### 1. *Monmouth County.*

The Brielle Land Association . . . in 1881 acquired a tract of land on the . . . Manasquan River which here forms a cove formerly known as Mud Pond and more recently as Glimmerglass.

(Typical change of nomenclature in real estate promotion along the shore.)<sup>3</sup>

Monmouth County, which has been referred to as "A Garden by the Sea,"<sup>4</sup> had special attractions for vacationers. In contrast to the other three counties, most of whose resorts were on the sandy sea islands, much of the shoreline in Monmouth is on the mainland. North of Long Branch the mainland is fronted by a sea island, but south of that resort it is directly open to the ocean. Monmouth's thirty miles of coastline embrace resorts from Sandy Hook south to Manasquan and Brielle, most of which developed in this period.

At the northern end of the county, the federal government acquired in 1790 four acres at Sandy Hook, on which a lighthouse and other buildings were erected. In 1806 the acreage was increased. The lighthouse established there in 1762 was refitted in 1857, and in 1880



a new iron tower was built. The first fort on the Hook was begun during the Civil War, but was not completed until later. North of Spermaceti Cove, which lies about half-way between Highland bridge on the Shrewsbury River and the northern point of the Hook, was the "Horse-Shoe" on Sandy Hook isthmus, and near there, about a mile south of the lighthouse, was the terminus of the Long Branch and Sea-Shore Railroad, with its steamboat wharf, depot, enginehouse, and watertanks. This was on land leased from the government and consequently no cottage sites were ever developed there. By the latter 1880's the government was using much of the reservation as a proving ground for cannon. Pieces of artillery were placed near the lighthouse and there was a range of two miles, with targets at one mile and two miles. In the vicinity was the "Ordinance Graveyard," which, according to an 1889 guidebook, was "strewn with fragments of bursted cannon and with guns which remain there as monuments of their own failure."<sup>5</sup> Immediately south of the Hook was Highland Beach, which became an excursion resort especially designed for family parties. The bathing there was very fine, and varied, since the ocean and the Shrewsbury River were but fifty yards apart.<sup>6</sup>

South of Highland Beach was Sea Bright, which was purchased in 1865 by a physician from Freehold for five dollars an acre. Within a few years land there sold for as much as a hundred dollars an acre, and by the latter 1880's some lots were selling at the rate of \$7,000 an acre. Sea Bright was known as one of the gayer resorts on the coast. The sandy tract between the cottages and the railroad track, and even to the river, was sodded, so that there were lawns and flower-beds which reached in some places almost to the strand. This gave the place a fresh and attractive appearance. There was a lawn tennis and cricket club, with tennis courts, cricket and base-ball grounds and four bowling alleys. It was possible to hire carriages not



*Manasquan about 1870*



only by the hour, but also for the "morning," "afternoon," and "evening" drives, four dollars for the morning, and five dollars for the last two. Stages ran to Sea Bright from the station at Oceanic, at twenty-five cents a trip.<sup>7</sup>

Opposite Sea Bright, and separated from it by the Shrewsbury River, was Rumson Neck, the peninsula between the Shrewsbury and the Navesink Rivers. It had a fine view of the rivers, the highlands, and the ocean, and it was the site of many beautiful summer homes. South of Sea Bright was Monmouth Beach, which as late as 1871 had not been developed. By 1889, however, there were so many summer residences in the area that there was scarcely a stretch of a few hundred yards without a cottage.<sup>8</sup>

Long Branch, still further south and on the mainland, maintained its predominance as the County's chief resort throughout most of this period. It was not until the end of the century that Asbury Park began to threaten its supremacy. It was one of the earliest resorts established along the shore, and its beginnings have already been described. By 1840 it had developed into an important resort, and in the following decades its popularity increased. A visitor in 1880, recalling a trip there in 1840, mused on the changes that forty years had brought. In 1840 one little steamer made the trip from New York, making her way into the Shrewsbury River through an inlet at Sea Bright. The passage through was the event of the day. From the little dock inside, stages with the tires of their wheels eight inches broad toiled slowly along the sands to the upper end of Long Branch and to a tavern known as the Fish House. At that time very few guests came from New York, and those who arrived from Philadelphia, Trenton, or Princeton drove in their own carriages.<sup>9</sup>

After the Civil War speculators who had purchased land in the resort began an extensive campaign of advertising and kept the name of Long Branch persistently



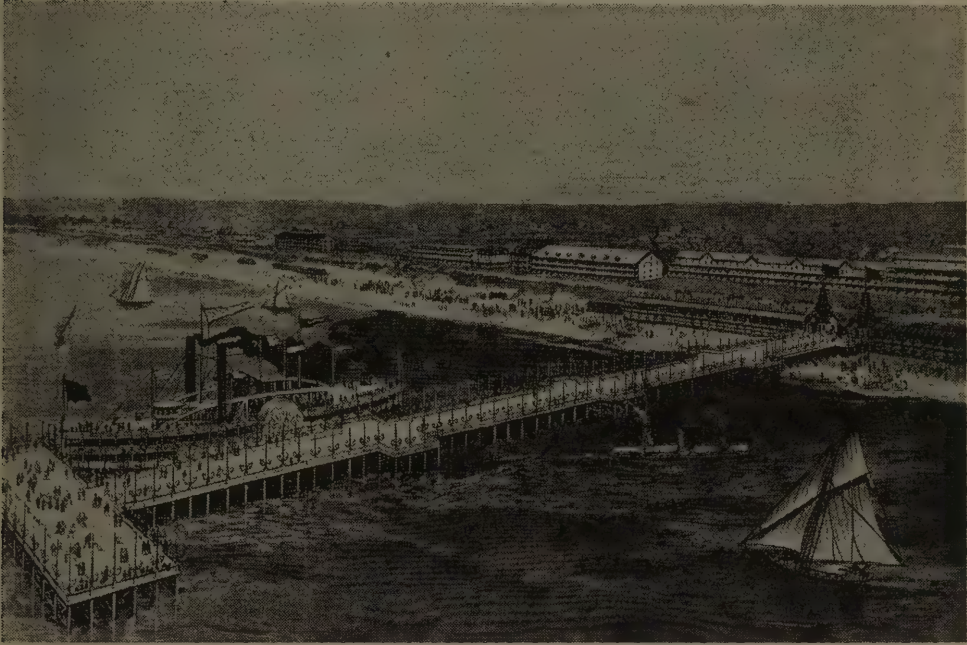
before the public, summer after summer.<sup>10</sup> The public responded so well that within a decade not a single vacant lot was left between North Long Branch and West End. One of the most successful promoters of these years was Lewis B. Brown, who later developed Elberon and whose initials and last name gave that locality its name. In 1866 he purchased a mile and a quarter of ocean front property south of West End. With two other large landowners he laid out and built Ocean Avenue in a deserted section and landscaped a park in the same vicinity. The first sale of land there was to one Howard Wright at \$1,250 an acre. Prices rose from that figure and Brown soon disposed of his holdings at a large profit.<sup>11</sup>

By the 1870's Long Branch was the best known of the New Jersey resorts. It aimed at exclusiveness, and endeavored to attract people of wealth. It offered brass bands on the lawns of the hotels, tents where pop and gingerbread were sold, hundreds of red, white and blue flags and pennons waving from hotels, carriages swirling in the dust along Ocean Avenue, and shooting galleries. All these, it was noted, were a "brave and showy effort in the direction of Newport that never quite managed to lose sight of Coney Island."<sup>12</sup> By 1880 one visitor complained that Long Branch was hardly any longer a place sought for health, but rather only for the opportunity it gave to exhibit new costumes and the ability to spend money.<sup>13</sup>

For a short time in the late seventies Long Branch had immediate contact with New York by water. In 1878 the six hundred foot Ocean Pier was constructed. During the season excursion boats from New York used the pier as a landing place until it was washed away in 1881.<sup>14</sup>

Long Branch began to decline as a fashionable resort during the eighties. New developments were started outside its boundaries which drew off some of its clientele. The constant erosion of the five mile bluff along the ocean which was the resort's special pride, led promoters to

try to get away from this area. At this period the bluff was estimated to be wearing away constantly at a rate of four feet in ten years, and the rate was frequently increased by the battering of severe winter storms. When a seawall was suggested to save property, the hotel



(Courtesy Asbury Park Press)

*Iron Pier at Long Branch, 1879*

keepers argued that it would destroy the bathing beach at the foot of the bluff and the plan was abandoned. Many residents were forced to move their buildings back.<sup>15</sup>

In the latter 1890's, after the attraction of racing at nearby Monmouth Park had ceased, Asbury Park, which Long Branch had never before seriously considered as a rival, began to grow rapidly. It attracted a considerable proportion of the wealthier visitors away from Long Branch. Smaller resorts along the Monmouth County coast, such as Belmar, Bradley Beach, Spring Lake and Manasquan, increased in population, often at the expense of Long Branch.<sup>16</sup>

As Long Branch declined as a resort of the wealthy,

it began to cater to other groups. The first comparatively inexpensive amusement park, Riverside Park on Pleasure Bay, was built in 1898. It was equipped with fish pond games, a merry-go-round, a grove for picnicking, a large dance pavilion, and a floating theatre on the Shrewsbury River. It was here that Charlotte Greenwood broke into vaudeville a number of years later. Later she recalled that at the time "People in rowboats smacked up against the stage all through our act. We were on right after Fink's Mules."<sup>17</sup>

The most serious indications of the resort's decline were found along the bluff overlooking the ocean. As the old wooden structures burned or were shattered by storms, few new buildings were erected to take their place. By 1902 two of the oldest hotels on the bluff had disappeared permanently. A winter storm damaged one beyond repair and it was torn down, while the owner of the other disappeared, leaving a hundred unpaid employees and debts to local merchants. The establishment was never reopened, and in 1905 the city built Ocean Park on the property.<sup>18</sup>

At the turn of the century, when Iauch's Hotel became the Pannaci, the change in name was a recognition of a group that was to become one of the major sources of the resort's 20th Century clientele. Italians first came to Long Branch as gardeners in the eighteen-seventies. By 1900 summer visitors of that nationality were arriving in large numbers. Although one hotel, Christaler's, was patronized exclusively by Jews by 1861, it was not until several decades later that a sizeable summer colony developed. At first Jewish visitors favored the small boarding houses, but later they began to patronize the larger hotels. As Italians and Jews increased, the guests of German descent who used to come became correspondingly fewer, seeking resorts that catered to people of their own nationality.<sup>19</sup>

Although the summer population of Long Branch



reached 100,000 by 1911, it was no longer a free-spending crowd. Efforts to attract new visitors were confined to roller coasters, baby parades, pony tracks, and balloon races. The resort lacked the glamor and cosmopolitan character of its former clientele. In the 1870's visitors had come from many parts of the country; now the sources of summer trade were almost entirely limited to New York and the surrounding metropolitan area.<sup>20</sup>

The permanent population of Long Branch grew steadily during this whole period, and did not reflect the drop in summer residents. It was made a city in 1867. In the 1880 census it numbered 3,833 inhabitants, and in the next ten years it nearly doubled, with a return in the 1890 census of 7,231. In 1900 it reported 8,872 residents. Its emergence as a city of some industrial importance did not occur until the 20th Century.

Immediately south of Long Branch are two resorts which were developed toward the end of the century, Elberon and Deal. The land on which Elberon was built was purchased by Lewis B. Brown from Benjamin Wooley in the 1870's, and the place gradually became an exclusive resort. It was there that President Garfield was brought following the attempt on his life, and General Grant's summer home was there. In 1899 a new railroad station of stone and wood was completed, which the residents considered the "most artistic and costly on the road."<sup>21</sup>

Deal, immediately south of Elberon, was mentioned in the 1834 Gazetteer as having several boarding houses, where from fifty to one hundred persons could be accommodated.<sup>22</sup> Throughout most of the 19th Century Deal remained a farming area, whose hinterland was more important economically than the ocean front. In the latter 1890's, however, real estate promoters began to buy property there, and in 1898 it was taken from Ocean Township and incorporated as a borough. In the census of 1900 its permanent population numbered only seventy



(Courtesy Asbury Park Press)

*Horses and Carriages, Coleman House, Asbury Park, 1876*



(From Woolman & Rose Atlas of the N. J. Coast)

*Coleman House, Asbury Park, 1879*



people.<sup>23</sup> Nearby Deal Lake was an attraction. Once an ocean inlet, it became a fresh water lake when James A. Bradley, founder of Asbury Park south of the lake, had a dike three miles long constructed.

South of Deal are two resorts whose history is closely tied, Asbury Park and Ocean Grove. Asbury Park became the largest city of the northern shore and the center of Monmouth County resorts. Ocean Grove, which is contiguous and just to the south of Asbury Park, was founded by a Methodist Camp-Meeting Association which had been organized about nine months before James Bradley bought the five hundred acres that formed Asbury Park. A number of years previously the germ of the idea for Ocean Grove developed while the Vineland Camp Meeting was in progress. The meeting there was a success, but according to one of the founders of Ocean Grove, "the shade was not good." When the group could not find a suitable location nearby, it was suggested that a camp ground be selected on the seashore and "then the desired rest and the great salvation needed" could be secured at the same time. The coast was explored and Seven-Mile Beach, Cape May County, now Stone Harbor and Avalon, was selected and arrangements made for its purchase for \$50,000. Many felt that the price was too high, however, while others who visited the spot complained of the mosquitoes. One of the prospective purchasers declared, "We don't want to buy the mosquitoes." The plan for a camp meeting on the shore was not dropped, and its advocates travelled through the state, publicizing the need for a seaside summer resort for ministers and a camp meeting by the sea. The whole coastline was again surveyed and in February, 1868, the vicinity finally selected was first visited. The two ministers who went there were first inclined to recommend the point of land which is now Asbury Park, but a spot to the south of the lake, which was then called Long Pond, was selected the following year. The land was high and dry,



with plenty of shade and a fine ocean front for bathing. About three hundred acres were purchased and Ocean Grove was at once adopted for its name.

The first meeting was held in July, 1869, before the Camp-Meeting Association was formally organized.<sup>24</sup> Those attending lived in tents. That year men and teams gradually cleared the grove of its underbrush. Men went through the grove with brush hooks, and hundreds of loads were carted out and burned in the clearings. Nearly forty thousand trees were trimmed and the dead trees were removed. Much of the land also required grading and drainage.<sup>25</sup>

On June 1, 1870, prior to the first organized camp meeting, which was held from July 26 to August 5, the first lots were sold at auction. The highest price paid was seventy-five dollars. By 1885 lots that had been bought along the ocean front sold as high as \$1,500. The lots were not sold outright, but leased by the Association, to prevent "anyone offensive next to your cottage."<sup>26</sup> The problem of taxes arose within a few years when Ocean Township endeavored to collect them from the leaseholders who had erected cottages on the property. It was claimed by the Association, however, that taxes could not be collected from religious assemblies. The matter was sent to the Legislature and was considered by a committee but not reported on. A few years later the Association proposed to offer financial assistance to the township and this was accepted.<sup>27</sup>

By 1871 three hundred and seventy-three building lots had been sold and sixty cottages erected. The majority of visitors lived in tents. Tents with a floor and a small kitchen in the rear could be rented from the Association for two and a half dollars a week, for not less than two weeks. The rental had to be paid in advance. By 1871 two hundred tents on permanent floors were in use, and by 1879 this had increased to seven hundred. The Grove was referred to as a "little canvass village" at that time.<sup>28</sup>

By 1874 over two hundred Methodist ministers were present during the meeting and many of them participated in the services.<sup>29</sup>

In 1870 Ocean Grove was six miles from the nearest railroad station, that at Long Branch, which was reached by stage. Much interest was shown in direct railroad connections and in 1872 the Association subscribed \$10,000 to help finance one, but it was not until 1875 that the first train arrived at the Asbury Park-Ocean Grove station from New York. Two more trains came in the same afternoon. Shortly after, the track was completed to Manasquan where connections were made to Philadelphia. In 1873 it was estimated that 25,000 people had come to Ocean Grove either by way of Long Branch or Manasquan. The new rail facilities brought a further increase of summer visitors.

In 1870 five hundred acres north of Wesley Lake, on the other side of which lay Ocean Grove, came upon the market. The members of the Ocean Grove Camp-Meeting Association feared that the tract might fall into the hands of people who would not be in sympathy with the mode of living in the Grove. The land was bought in the fall of that year by Mr. James Bradley, who liked to tell of the background of its purchase. In May, 1870, when walking down Broadway in New York City, he ran across a friend who was then Treasurer of the Ocean Grove Association, who persuaded him to buy two lots there. A few days later Bradley started with a group for Ocean Grove, taking the boat to Port Monmouth and the railroad to Eatontown. After dining there the group went on to Ocean Grove in carriages. From Great Pond to Ocean Grove, said Bradley, was one of the worst roads that could be imagined, despite the fact that the turnpike company had just commenced operations. A few days later Bradley went to Ocean Grove again, with his colored servant, John Baker. They camped on Bradley's lots, arriving there with two horses, carriage and tent. They

spent the night in the small tent, resting their heads on the carriage cushions and covering themselves with carriage blankets. The horses had been left in a nearby barn. "And so we spent our first night in Ocean Grove," said Mr. Bradley, "and I began an entire change in my mode of life."<sup>30</sup>

In August of that year Bradley walked over the land on the other side of Wesley Lake. He learned that the owner would not sell the area in parcels. The tract consisted of five hundred acres of wilderness and barren sand-waste, without a house or an inhabitant and not a foot of cultivated soil in the whole area. A group of people, mainly adherents of Ocean Grove, combined to secure the land, but when the cool nights of autumn came along their enthusiasm was chilled. "Their example," added Bradley, "had its chilling effect on me." A short time later, however, when he heard the Bishop of the Methodist Church urge the Ocean Grove Association to purchase the land to prevent its falling into the hands of someone not in sympathy with the Ocean Grove enterprise, Bradley determined to buy it himself. He paid \$90,000 for it, and named it after Bishop Asbury of the Methodist Church.

Bradley then expended several thousands of dollars clearing the land and laying it out in lots, with suitable park locations. Streets running at right angles to the sea, and from one hundred to two hundred feet wide, were laid out, "an advantage," claimed the *Asbury Park Journal* in 1880, "possessed by no other seaside resort on the New Jersey coast."<sup>31</sup>

Bradley's father had been a heavy drinker, and Bradley determined to try to avoid the use of liquor on his new property. When any land was sold saloons and dram-shops were excluded by the insertion of a prohibitory clause in the deed.<sup>32</sup> The state, moreover, had forbidden the sale of any intoxicating liquor within a mile of any camp meeting. This prevented the establishment of any



licensed place in Asbury Park because of its proximity to Ocean Grove. Later several road houses were erected just beyond the prohibition mile. Still later, one of them on the shore of Shark River became a favorite resort for many Asbury Park residents who went there by trolley. According to the local newspaper, Asbury Park policemen used to "line up every Saturday night during the summer as a reception committee for the drunks tossed off the last trolley."<sup>33</sup>

In the nineties, when Bradley became commissioner of police, the plea was made to local authorities that hotel owners depended upon their patrons being allowed to have liquor if they wanted it, and gradually its sale was winked at by municipal authorities. Its sale was supposedly confined to hotel guests, but that limitation was never completely followed. The restrictions set up in Bradley's deeds could not be changed. When in the present century some New York investors were considering the possibility of building several hotels there, they lost interest when they found the reversion clauses in the original deeds. One of them told the reporter for a local paper in 1934 that if they could not legally sell liquor they could not compete with Atlantic City, while another added "There has always been a suspicion in my mind that the Methodists had the aid of Atlantic City in the passage of their mile-limit law."<sup>34</sup>

When the townsite was platted in 1870 the nearest railroad station was Long Branch. From that terminus the line carried passengers up to Sandy Hook for the steamer to New York. Travel by stage south of Long Branch was so light, however, that daily trips could not be maintained, and to keep up daily service a horse and carriage known as a "rockaway" was donated by Bradley.<sup>35</sup> The extension of the railroad from Long Branch to the Asbury Park-Ocean Grove station in 1875 was a great boon.

Cottages were built so rapidly that in 1872 the first

school was opened by a niece of the proprietor. It was located in a room provided by him in Park Hall. Five years later a separate school, costing \$10,000, was constructed. The first church society was organized in 1872, and by its efforts the Trinity Episcopal Church was constructed in 1880. The first Presbyterian Church was also dedicated in the latter year. The Methodists had access to the nearby Ocean Grove accommodations, but in 1883 built their first church at the Park. The postoffice was established in 1874, with Bradley as the first postmaster. In 1876 the first newspaper was established by him, principally for advertising the advantages of the village. In 1877 the proprietor purchased the large Educational Hall, then standing on the Centennial Exposition Grounds in Philadelphia, and had it erected on Grand Avenue. In 1881 he began the creation of the first system of sewerage as a private enterprise, and in 1884 he aided in setting up a system of water and gas works. By 1880 the assessed valuation of the property in the city, according to the local paper, amounted to \$1,500,000, a great increase in ten years.<sup>36</sup>

The traffic through the Asbury Park-Ocean Grove railroad station was very heavy. For the season of 1883, for instance, the number of passengers arriving and departing during June, July, August, and September was approximately 600,000. The highest in one day was 2,500 and the highest number of excursionists in one day was 5,500. The largest number of trains in one day was one hundred and three, and 71,000 pieces of baggage were handled during the season, including express baggage.<sup>37</sup>

According to a guidebook published in 1889, the Park had a permanent population of more than three thousand, and over 30,000 visitors in the summer. There were nearly two hundred hotels and boarding houses and about eight hundred private residences. The assessed valuation of the area, which had been \$16,000 in 1870, was almost two million dollars in 1889.<sup>38</sup>



(Courtesy Asbury Park Press)

*Shark River and the Avon shoreline about 1890*



(Courtesy Asbury Park Press)

*Silver Lake and the Eighth Street Bridge, Belmar, about 1895*



**UNITED STATES MAIL**  
**FOR**  
**SQUAN VILLAGE.**  
**VIA**  
**EATON TOWN, SHARK RIVER, AND NEW BEDFORD.**



Passengers for this Line will take the new and splendid Steamer OCEAN WAVE, from the foot of Jay Street, North River, EVERY DAY. For time of departure see Bills. Extra Stages will be in readiness to convey passengers to Point Pleasant Boarding Houses, and elsewhere.

**FARE.**

**From New-York to Squan Village, 87½c.**

**TICKETS TO BE HAD ON BOARD THE BOAT.**

**E. R. HAIGHT, Proprietor.**

**ALL BAGGAGE AT THE RISK OF THE OWNERS.**

*June 30th, 1855,*

*Desautel & Co., Printers, New York.*

*New Yorkers Contact with Monmouth County shore, 1865*

Bradley Beach, south of Ocean Grove, was established by James Bradley in 1897. The following year it separated from Neptune Township and became a borough. Avon-by-the-Sea, about a mile south of Ocean Grove, was originally known as Key East. It was started in the early 1890's. In 1900 it separated from Neptune City and be-

came a borough. South of Shark River Inlet, Belmar was established and set apart from Wall Township as a borough in 1897. Still further south, beyond the small resort of Como, lay Spring Lake. This tract was purchased by a Philadelphia promoting company in 1875. It was set apart from Wall Township and formed as a borough in 1892. By the 1900 Census it reported a permanent population of 526.<sup>39</sup> In that year it was referred to by the regional historian as "one of the most fashionable resorts on the coast."<sup>40</sup>

South of Wreck Pond, the mecca for many farm families during the Big Sea Day observance, described in a later chapter, was Sea Girt, also in Wall Township. Commodore Stockton bought the land in 1852, paying \$15,000 for it. This included a farm which kept thirty head of cattle and sixteen horses. The Commodore built Stockton Mansion, which later became a part of the Beach House.<sup>41</sup> In 1875 a railroad from Farmingdale and Freehold was extended to Sea Girt, but it was better served by the railroad that pushed south down the coast through Asbury Park in the same year, which gave it better connections with New York. In 1884 the State bought land in Sea Girt for a permanent National Guard camp, and the site was enlarged by further purchases in 1887. Rifle ranges were erected at the ocean extremity of the state grounds.<sup>42</sup>

The most southerly resort on the Monmouth County shore was established early in the century, but not as a resort. In 1825 a settlement was started at what was called Squan village, on the Manasquan River Inlet. By 1845 it had two stores and thirty dwellings. In this year twenty-seven boats were reported as having sailed out of Squan Inlet, mostly headed for New York, carrying wood and charcoal. A wheelwright shop was located there and some of the first heavy wagons used by the life saving stations were built there. "Manasquan is . . . more a farming town than a summer resort," noted the guidebook of 1889.<sup>43</sup>





(Courtesy Mrs. Wm. P. Divine, Spring Lake)

*Spring Lake in the 1890's*



Eventually summer cottages were erected on the beach and at the mouth of the Inlet. In 1887 Manasquan borough was set apart from Wall Township. It reported a population of 1,506 in 1890 and 1,500 in 1900.<sup>44</sup>



*Capt. S. Bartley Pearce, of Brielle, in the "Dixie," winning the British International Cup in England, 1907*

Southeast of Manasquan village, on the river, was Brielle, which later became a center for small craft. The Brielle Land Association, incorporated in 1881, purchased a tract of a hundred and fifty acres there, which was laid out and a hotel built in the latter 1880's. A number of cottages were constructed. The Association ran a free stage for the hotel guests and cottagers to the ocean beach at Manasquan.<sup>45</sup>

## 2. Ocean and Cape May Counties.

Some 18 or 20 years ago Point Pleasant was an unimproved, undeveloped tract . . . where formerly rabbits and reptiles were wont to burrow. At that time its population

did not exceed 12 families who had houses fit to live in, and ingress from or egress to either Philadelphia or New York implied forty miles by stage and the loss of a whole day for the single journey. . . . Now (1889), it . . . is reached from New York by the New Jersey Central Railroad and . . . from Philadelphia by the Philadelphia and Long Branch Railroad.

(Excerpt from County History, 1889.)<sup>46</sup>



(Courtesy Asbury Park Press)

*Union House, Brielle, Visited by Robert Louis Stevenson in  
1888*

In the last half of the 19th Century Ocean County experienced a growth of resorts similar to that in Monmouth County. Most of the locations already established by 1850 continued to develop, although Tuckers Beach declined.

At the northeastern end of the County, Point Pleasant was taken from Brick Township on the mainland and formed as a borough in 1866. The most important cause of its growth was the extension into the area of the two railroads mentioned in the quotation above. Point Pleasant had begun to take shape a little before 1870, and by



1899 was a flourishing summer town with trolleys, electric lights, a newspaper, five churches, four big hotels and another under construction.<sup>47</sup>

South of Point Pleasant, at the head of Barnegat Bay, was Bay Head, the terminus of the New York and Long Branch Railroad. It was incorporated as a borough in 1886 and reported a population of 247 in 1900. Projecting southward from Bay Head to Barnegat Inlet, a distance of twenty miles, is a sea island, or peninsula, called Island Beach, the southern and undeveloped portion of which was discussed in a subsequent chapter. From Seaside Park north, however, a series of resorts grew up between 1850 and 1900. In 1883 the Pennsylvania Railroad extended its Pemberton Branch through Whittings on to the south bank of Toms River and thence by trestle over the shallow portions of Barnegat Bay to Seaside Park on Island Beach. From there it turned north up the beach to reach the terminus of the New York and Long Branch Railroad at Point Pleasant.

Following this development a number of resorts sprang up on Island Beach, mostly in the Nineties and in the first two decades of the present century. Seaside Park, the southernmost resort on Island Beach, was taken from Berkeley Township and formed as a borough in 1898. It had a population of seventy-three in 1900. North of Seaside Park was Seaside Heights, which was not formed into a separate borough until 1920. A short distance further north was the resort of Lavallette, which separated from Dover Township in 1887 and had a population of twenty-one in 1900. Chadwicks, further north, Normandy Beach, and Montoloking, just south of Bay Head, were all developments of the 20th Century. Montoloking, for instance, was not made a separate borough until the second decade of this century, although a county historian wrote in 1889 that quite a number of cottages were already built there, and many more were contemplated. He added that considerable money had been ex-



pended in improvements on the tract, one of which was the complete laying over of the entire beach with heavy fertile inland soil.<sup>48</sup>

Long Beach, the resort "six miles at sea," was the second Ocean County sea island to expand as a summer vacation center in this period. The earlier development of Tuckers Beach has already been described in Chapter XV. The central and northern ends of the island grew in the last half of the century, especially after the railroad built across Manahawkin Bay about 1885 ended the need for a ferry trip. Beach Haven was separated from Eaglewood Township on the mainland and organized as a borough in 1890. By 1900 its population was two hundred thirty-nine permanent residents. Long Beach City was founded to the north of Beach Haven in 1873. The name was confused with that of the whole island, however, and soon it was changed to Surf City. It was built on the site of the Great Swamp. The Mansion of Health, which was erected in 1822 near what is now Surf City, burned in the early 1870's and in 1887 a new hotel, called the Mansion House, was constructed on the site. This was later moved nearer the ocean and renamed. In 1884 Surf City was separated from Stafford Township on the mainland and made into a borough. In 1900 it reported a permanent population of nine.<sup>49</sup>

During the last quarter of the century Long Beach Island expanded rapidly, particularly in the northern end of the island. In 1881 Barnegat City was founded at the northern tip on Barnegat Inlet. A number of cottages were built there. In 1904 it separated from Long Beach Township. It reported a population of seventy in 1910. In 1882 the Peahala Club was organized north of Beach Haven, and gave its name to a community there. There was only one house at what is now Ship Bottom in 1898, but in the present century the resort grew after the construction of the automobile bridge to the island. Ship Bottom was named after the hull of a ship which ran

aground there in 1817 and which came in bottom up.<sup>50</sup> Harvey Cedars, north of Ship Bottom and once the site of a whale fishery, separated in 1894 from the mainland township of Union, and in 1900 it reported a population of thirty-nine in the borough. This tendency to separate from the mainland townships has already been discussed in Chapter IX, in the section on mainland villages. As noted there, one of the chief reasons was to provide funds for the development of the seaside area itself, through local taxation.

In Cape May County, also, the sea islands were developed as summer resorts between 1850 and 1900. As late as 1844 one commentator wrote of the County, "Along the sea side, several beaches known as Two-Mile Beach, Five-Mile Beach, . . . Seven-Mile Beach, Ludlam's Beach and Peck's Beach unitedly extend the whole length of the County." They were covered with grass and afforded an excellent pasturage.<sup>51</sup> Here was centered the cattle-growing industry, discussed in Part II. In the last half of the 19th Century Peck's Beach became Ocean City; Ludlam's Beach, Strathmere and Sea Isle City; Five-Mile Beach, Anglesea and the Wildwoods; Seven-Mile Beach became Avalon and Stone Harbor; and, in the period following 1900, Two-Mile Beach, Cold Spring Harbor.

The first attempts to reach Peck's Beach were filled with difficulty. A stagecoach-line ran from Camden to Beesleys Point on Great Egg Harbor and from there a sailboat was used to convey boarders the two miles to the beach. When the railroad from Millville to Cape May reached South Seaville in the early 1860's a few more visitors came annually. They left the train at South Seaville and drove by stagecoach twelve miles over a sandy road.<sup>52</sup> By 1866 plans were afoot for the establishment of what is now Ocean City. One local newspaper with a poor sense of direction announced that year that "a new watering place to be called Ocean City is being started on the

beach some four miles north (*sic*) of Atlantic City."<sup>53</sup>

Ocean City came into existence as a Methodist temperance summer resort. In 1879 the Ocean City Association secured title to the land under the leadership of three brothers named Lake, all ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church. They sought to set up a seaside retreat where Sabbath observance should be maintained and the sale of intoxicating liquors prohibited. Lots were sold to the value of \$85,000. The deeds provided for the forfeiture of title in the event of liquors being sold upon the premises.<sup>54</sup> Operations were begun in the spring of 1880 at the east end of Peck's Beach, which was then a dense wilderness of brush and briar. At that time there was only one residence on the island.<sup>55</sup> It was felt that area offered special attractions. One newspaper claimed in 1884 that the beach there was unequalled by any elsewhere on the Jersey coast and that mosquitoes were hardly mentioned there "as yet." Moreover, it added, "Ocean City is some 20 inches higher . . . than Atlantic City and some two feet above . . . Sea Isle City, which is considered an object of value."<sup>56</sup> Management of the Association was vested in a board of nine members. The by-laws specified that three of them were to be ministers of the Methodist Church, and three laymen or ministers. The remaining three were not required to be Methodists. This continued until Ocean City was incorporated as a city in 1897.<sup>57</sup>

In 1880 a steamer, "The Mizpah," made regular ferry trips across the bar from Somers Point to a newly constructed wharf at the foot of Fourth Street. In 1883 the island was connected to the mainland by the construction of a turnpike nearly two-miles across the salt meadows to the center section of the beach. It cost \$5,000, and the bridge over the Thoroughfare, \$2,795. By February of the same year the resort could be reached by travelling on the Pennsylvania Railroad to Somers Point and thence by steamboat.<sup>58</sup> In August of 1884 the first railroad was



built onto the island when the Pennsylvania, which had already reached Sea Isle City, crossed Corson's Inlet and ran north to the head of the beach. In 1897, as traffic increased, the Reading Railroad built a spur into Ocean City from Tuckahoe.<sup>59</sup> By the turn of the century steamboat connections by ferry to Atlantic City via Longport were available every twenty minutes during the day, and the West Jersey Railroad ran a motor line of open cars to Sea Isle City, Avalon and Stone Harbor, which was said to give "a magnificent marine view much admired by visitors."<sup>60</sup>

Ocean City grew rapidly. In 1881 a large auditorium was built to accommodate the people attending camp meetings. By 1882 over a hundred houses had been built and a schoolhouse constructed. In 1883 the salt meadow on the Thoroughfare was banked from Fourth to Twelfth Street.<sup>61</sup> In 1897, three years after it became a borough, it was incorporated by the Legislature as a city. Its resident population nearly tripled in the 1890's, mounting from 452 in 1890 to 1,307 in 1900.<sup>62</sup>

The island to the south of Ocean City, across Corson's Inlet, was known as Ludlam's Beach. It had a six and a half mile frontage on the Atlantic. At mid-century the island had no permanent residents. Its isolation is illustrated in the story of a shipwreck in the winter of 1846. It took the crew two days to reach the beach under a sail that they had rescued, and when they got there they found there were no inhabitants on the island.<sup>63</sup> The area was purchased in 1880 by Charles K. Landis, who had already established Vineland, and Sea Isle City was built on it. Following the advent of railroad connections in 1884, when the West Jersey, controlled by the Pennsylvania Railroad, built a spur line from Seaville on its main Cape May line, across the salt meadows to Sea Isle on a causeway, the resort grew considerably. Further facilities were provided in 1893 when the Reading Railroad, then building a line from Winslow to Cape May, finished a

spur from its branch line between Tuckahoe and Ocean City. The area was separated from Dennis Township and organized as a borough in 1890. In 1900 it was reported to have thirty hotels and three hundred cottages and a permanent population of three hundred and forty.

South of Sea Isle City, across Townsends Inlet, was Seven Mile Beach, formerly called Tatham's Beach. A contemporary at the beginning of the fourth quarter of the 19th Century remembered it as a stretch of sand dune, red cedars and bayberry bushes, a barren waste with a life saving station located at what is now Stone Harbor. Henry Tatham of Philadelphia owned the beach and his "farm-house" was the only habitation in the area. Hundreds of wild cattle, sheep, and hogs roamed about, picking up a living as best they could. Each year Tatham marketed the calves and lambs. The animals were actually wild and sometimes attacking the patrolmen from the life saving station as the latter walked up and down the beach in four hour relays each night. When Tatham sold the beach, it was necessary to get rid of the cattle and gunmen were hired to shoot them.<sup>64</sup>

Avalon was founded in 1887 on the north end of the beach by a group of Philadelphia promoters. It was separated from Middle Township on the mainland in 1897, and reported a population of ninety-three in 1900.<sup>65</sup> Stone Harbor on the south end of the beach was not made into a borough until after 1910. It reported a population of a hundred and fifty-nine in 1920. Access by wagon road was available from Swainton for Avalon and from Cape May Court House for Stone Harbor.<sup>66</sup>

South of Seven Mile Beach, across Hereford Inlet, was Five Mile Beach, the site of present-day Wildwood and North Wildwood, called Anglesea at first. Both were developed in this period. Anglesea, on the northern end of Five Mile Beach, was known as a fishing resort. In the early 1880's local promoters sought railroad connections, and in 1883 it was announced in a Camden newspaper

that the new road to Anglesea, which connected with the West Jersey Railroad tracks about two miles below Cape May Court House, would be in operation in a week or ten days and would afford direct communication with that seaside resort.<sup>67</sup> Two years later Anglesea was made a borough. Its 1890 population of 161 increased to 247 by 1900. In 1906 it became North Wildwood and four years later reported 833 residents.

In 1880 a realty company purchased land adjacent to Anglesea and started a resort which they named Holly Beach. In 1884 a wagon road and bridge were built across the salt meadows to Five Mile Island from Rio Grande, which was then experiencing a boom in sugar production. In 1885 Holly Beach was made a borough. In that year Professor George Cook of Rutgers visited the section and noted in his Journal on July 22nd that the settlement then had a hundred and fifty houses and four hundred and sixty permanent residents. "Streets are laid out and grading is going on, though they are not yet able to get any gravelly loam by cars (train) to put on their streets. The principal street is Rio Grande, which crosses the beach from the turnpike to the seaside. . . . Their water is from rain and cisterns, although they talk of artesian wells."<sup>68</sup> Later a railroad spur was built down the beach from Anglesea. Holly Beach had a population of 217 in 1890; 569 in 1900 and 1,901 in 1910.

Wildwood was founded adjacent to Holly Beach by Philip Baker of Vineland in 1890. It originally comprised a tract of land of about a hundred acres, with about fifty acres in woods, in which were some trees almost a hundred feet tall.<sup>69</sup> Wildwood was separated from Middle Township and was made a borough in 1897, and by 1900 had a population of 340, according to a local count,<sup>70</sup> although the census of that year reported only 150. This mounted to 898 in 1910. In 1912 Holly Beach was joined to Wildwood.

The story of the growth of Cape May in the first half



of the 19th Century has already been told. By 1848 it was large enough to demand separation from Lower Township. Two railroads were built to serve it during this period. The first was a line extended to Cape May from Millville in 1863. The second, called the Philadelphia and Seashore Railroad, was constructed in 1894.<sup>70</sup> In 1875 a community two miles east of Cape May was established on the extreme southern land end of the Jersey shore. Surrounded on all sides except the northeast by water, it was originally called "Sea Grove" by its Philadelphia promoters, but its name was changed to Cape May Point in 1878. It was separated from Lower Township and made a borough in 1891, and reported a population of 153 in 1900. In 1896 it was restored to Lower Township. It was here that John Wanamaker of Philadelphia had his summer home, and President Benjamin Harrison was given a summer cottage. West Cape May was separated from Lower Township and was established as a borough in 1897. It reported a population of 695 in 1900. It was not directly on the shore, but lay north and west of Cape May.<sup>71</sup>

### 3. *Atlantic City and other Atlantic County resorts.*

The visitor needs but a glance to convince him that he has reached a prosperous . . . community. . . . Horse cars, street lamps, and uniformed police, all help to assure him by their presence that Atlantic City is a city indeed.

(Excerpt from advertising pamphlet, 1873.)<sup>72</sup>

Absecon Island, the northern end of which is the site of the present Atlantic City, remained undeveloped until the advent of the railroad. It was owned by the Leeds family for many decades. Jeremiah Leeds made his first purchase there in 1804. Subsequently he and other members of his family added to the original holding. The diary of Samuel Mickle of Woodbury noted in 1810, "Wrote deed from cousin Sarah Hopkins and self to J. Leeds

conveying 1,000 acres on Absecon Beach for \$250.00.”<sup>73</sup> In 1816 Jeremiah Leeds leased to John Bryant a tract of land on the north side of the island, “with the privilege of erecting a dwelling house and salt works and of pasturing two cows and a team for the works.”<sup>74</sup> Leeds died in 1830 and the heirs kept title to the land until early in the 1850’s, when the Camden and Atlantic Railroad Company bought its first holding on the island, purchasing 200 acres for seventeen dollars an acre and a right of way a hundred feet wide, which is now Atlantic Avenue.<sup>75</sup>

With the construction of the railroad a rosy view was taken of the future of the resort, even though at that time Atlantic City comprised only six shanties. As early as May 10, 1854, just before the first train was run from Camden to the Thoroughfare that separated Absecon Island from the mainland, one South Jersey paper declared “Passengers will soon have the opportunity of running down in *an hour and a half* to one of the most agreeable bathing places on the Atlantic Coast. Absecom (*sic*) thus promises to become a formidable rival to Cape Island (Cape May) . . . . The shortness of the trip will induce thousands to give it the preference.”<sup>76</sup> By 1859 the resort had 130 buildings, including boarding houses, three churches, a schoolhouse, a market and a lighthouse<sup>77</sup> and a decade later developments had increased tenfold. At this time the resort boasted four hotels and 5,000 patrons yearly.

By the latter 1860’s some of Atlantic City’s present streets had taken form. The first hotels were built some distance from the ocean. In 1868 a traveller described Atlantic Avenue as the principal street of the city, upon either side of which were the principal hotels, boarding houses, private cottages, stores, churches and market houses. The passenger cars of the railway passed slowly up this broad avenue and stopped opposite each hotel a sufficient time to allow passengers to alight.<sup>78</sup>

The hotels were located away from the ocean for two

reasons. The railroad, which provided direct access to them, had to be built on land which would be safe from high tides. Moreover, the shore line then was closer to Atlantic Avenue than at present.<sup>79</sup> The beach itself was lined during the season with temporary bathing structures, but according to one observer in 1868, the force and inland reach of the tide swell during the winter was so great that it was necessary to remove them beyond high water mark. So severe was the winter of 1866-1867, for instance, that the swell-tide extended nearly to Atlantic Avenue, four hundred yards from the beach.

The decade of the highest percentage of growth occurred in the 1870's, when the permanent population of Atlantic City more than quadrupled, with a rise of from 1,043 in 1870 to 5,477 in 1880. This was aided by the advent of cheaper transportation rates to the resort following the building of the "Narrow Gauge" in 1877.<sup>80</sup> The residents of Philadelphia, moreover, were bombarded with brochures on the advantages of coming to Atlantic City. In 1873, when the Camden and Atlantic Railroad still had the monopoly of traffic there, it published a pamphlet entitled "To the Sea-Shore," in which it was emphasized that in Philadelphia in the summer, "housetops and pavements reflect back the heat, . . . nature is parched and lifeless and from down the street comes the cloud of dust. . . . Man, woman, and beast are all in sweltering discomfort. The invalid, pale and wan, seeks some shady nook and fans away the weary day, dreaming the while of some sequestered spot down by the sea. . . . So step, in a moment, from the suffocation of bricks and mortar to the stimulating breath of old ocean. There are 6 trains daily with 2 extras on Sunday."<sup>81</sup>

By 1879 so much building was taking place that an Atlantic City correspondent to a Camden paper observed on May 8th that the sound of the carpenter's hammer and the bricklayer's trowel greeted one at every turn.<sup>82</sup> The effect was noticeable in the increased real estate apprais-



als. By 1885 the assessed property value had risen to \$2,602,312.<sup>83</sup>

As the permanent population increased and the summer crowds grew larger, health problems began to appear. Conditions became very bad in the 1870's. In the early



(From Woolman & Rose Atlas of the N. J. Coast)

*Germantown Cottage, Atlantic City, 1879*

Eighties improvements were finally inaugurated. A more binding contract was made for the removal of garbage at least once a day in closely-covered wagons and its transportation by rail back into the country where it was used for fertilizing purposes. All privy wells were required to be cleaned at stated intervals and the contents removed in odorless excavators. In 1883 it was admitted that the wells for drinking water were not safe, so the hotels, boarding houses and cottages were supplied with cemented cisterns or wooden tanks for collecting rain water. Either the latter or melted ice were said to be always obtainable.<sup>84</sup> During dry seasons, however, water supplies

were frequently exhausted and the Camden and Atlantic Railroad began to bring pure spring water in tanks from the mainland to sell. Soon other vendors did the same. A comparatively short time after this the first spring water was piped in from the mainland by the Atlantic City Water Company. More supplies and larger reservoirs were later added to this source.<sup>85</sup>

The growth in the population of the city was impressive. With 1,043 reported in 1870 and 5,477 in 1880, the following decade saw the number of inhabitants nearly tripled, with a rise to 13,055 in 1890. The next ten years, the population more than doubled, rising to 27,838 in 1900.<sup>86</sup>

Although most of the Atlantic County shore resorts did not develop until the 20th Century, three of them trace their beginnings to the last decade of the 19th. To the north of Atlantic City, across the inlet, is Brigantine Beach, by Brigantine Shoals where many a vessel struck bottom. In 1857 a hotel was built on the beach. The hemlock lumber used in its construction was brought from Camden to Absecon by railroad, hauled to Leeds Point by horse and wagon, and ferried across the bay to Brigantine Island. While digging the foundations for the hotel, the workers unearthed an Indian skeleton and a good-sized area of burned shells. The hotel rates were six dollars a week and the table was supplied to a large extent from the owner's farm at Smithville, on the mainland.

In 1892 a land development company sold many lots on the island and helped sponsor the construction, in 1897, of a railroad that branched off the main line of the Reading at Brigantine Junction, near Cologne, a few miles south of Egg Harbor City. The railroad passed through Oceanville and Port Republic Station, and crossed the salt meadows and the bay on a trestle.<sup>87</sup>

That same year Brigantine separated from the mainland township of Galloway and in 1900 it reported a permanent population of ninety-nine.<sup>88</sup> According to a re-

gional history published in 1900, Brigantine boasted three hotels and about twenty cottages and "several miles of graded streets." A trolley line had been built along the beach making connections with a steamboat ferry that carried passengers across the inlet to Atlantic City. The local historian at that time claimed that all these developments during the past few years had converted "bleak and lonely sandhills into a very promising young sister of the Queen of ocean resorts, Atlantic City."<sup>89</sup> Brigantine's development, however, was affected adversely by the destruction in a severe September storm in 1903 of the railroad trestle. The railroad company was financially unable to rebuild the connection and it was not until 1924 that a bridge was constructed connecting the island to Atlantic City, following which Brigantine experienced again a brief land boom.<sup>90</sup>

To the south of Atlantic City was what was first called South Atlantic City, which later became known as Margate. This was formed as a city in 1897 from land taken originally from Egg Harbor Township. It reported a population of sixty-nine in 1900. Between it and Atlantic City was Ventnor, which was organized as a city in 1903, also from Egg Harbor Township. By 1905 Ventnor's permanent population was 116. One reason why Atlantic City's bounds did not extend southerly along Absecon Island was the existence in the earlier years of the so-called "Dry Inlet," described in Chapter I.

On the southerly end of Absecon Island was Longport. The land on which it was built was purchased in 1882 by M. S. McCullough, who built up the community. He bought the entire area from James Long of Philadelphia, after whom he named the resort. Building lots were offered for sale and a special excursion train was run from Philadelphia in 1883 to South Atlantic City (Margate), from which passengers went on to Longport by carriage. The first buildings were constructed the same year. In the following year the railroad line was extended



south along Absecon Beach to Longport, and the first train entered the resort on August 31, 1884. Travel increased until motor trains were succeeded by the trolley service, with steamboat connections across Great Egg Harbor Bay to Ocean City and Somers Point.<sup>91</sup> Longport was taken from Egg Harbor Township and organized as a borough in 1898. It reported a population in 1900 of eight people<sup>92</sup> and contained two large hotels and twenty or more cottages, a large club house, a steamboat landing and a trolley terminus.<sup>93</sup>

By 1900 most of the seashore resorts had been established and had grown into sizable summer communities. Their "growing pains" warrant special scrutiny, and will be examined in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER XIX

### LIFE AT THE SHORE RESORTS

A broad-brimmed hat for the ladies is indispensable. . . . An opera or spy glass will be found useful and interesting by bringing distant objects into view. Such objects are vessels, fish, bathers, etc. The use of one is not injurious to the eye. . . . Simple medicines should also be taken to the seashore, especially for diarrhoea and constipation. . . . Cotton to place in the ears while bathing may be desirable. . . . When people are going to stay in an elevated story of a hotel, a half inch rope as a fire escape may be a prudent provision . . . and it might not be amiss to carry a small cord to be borne when bathing and thrown out for relief in peril.

(Advice given in pamphlet entitled "Life at the Sea-Shore," written in 1880.)<sup>1</sup>

As in the preceding period, the principal type of recreation in the latter half of the 19th Century was "sea-bathing," enlightening advice on which was often given, with special attention on what to wear. During these years other forms of recreation came into vogue, including such diversions as perambulating along the Boardwalk, taking drives behind spirited horses, going to camp meetings, or trying out the new Ferris Wheels. Life at Cape May and Long Branch glittered with fashionable and worldly amusements, while in some resorts, such as Ocean City and particularly Ocean Grove, rigorous restrictions reflected the influence of the church denomination that sponsored them.

#### 1. "*Sea-bathing,*" *bath-houses and life-guards.*

The joy of the ocean bath is great. . . . The long rolling surf waves gently shock the frame and stir the sluggish blood into fresher motion. . . . The torpid liver finds itself compelled to join the general activity . . . , the nerves respond and scatter tingling sensations of pleasure over

the frame. The rapid action of all the parts clears the throat from its huskiness and the voice peals out in laughter. . . . The surf lubricates the joints like oil; grave men fling out their limbs like colts in pastures; dignified women . . . sport like girls at recess. . . . Young men and maidens forget how far society keeps them apart and together dash in, in entire forgetfulness of all society may think.

(Comment written at Ocean Grove in 1874.)<sup>2</sup>

Sea-bathing was the outstanding attraction at the shore. All kinds of suggestions were offered concerning every phase of it. The most explicit directions for vacationers appeared in 1885 in a pamphlet called *Summer Days in New Jersey*. A special section, devoted to "Rules for Bathing," gave these six clear admonitions, mostly for "females."

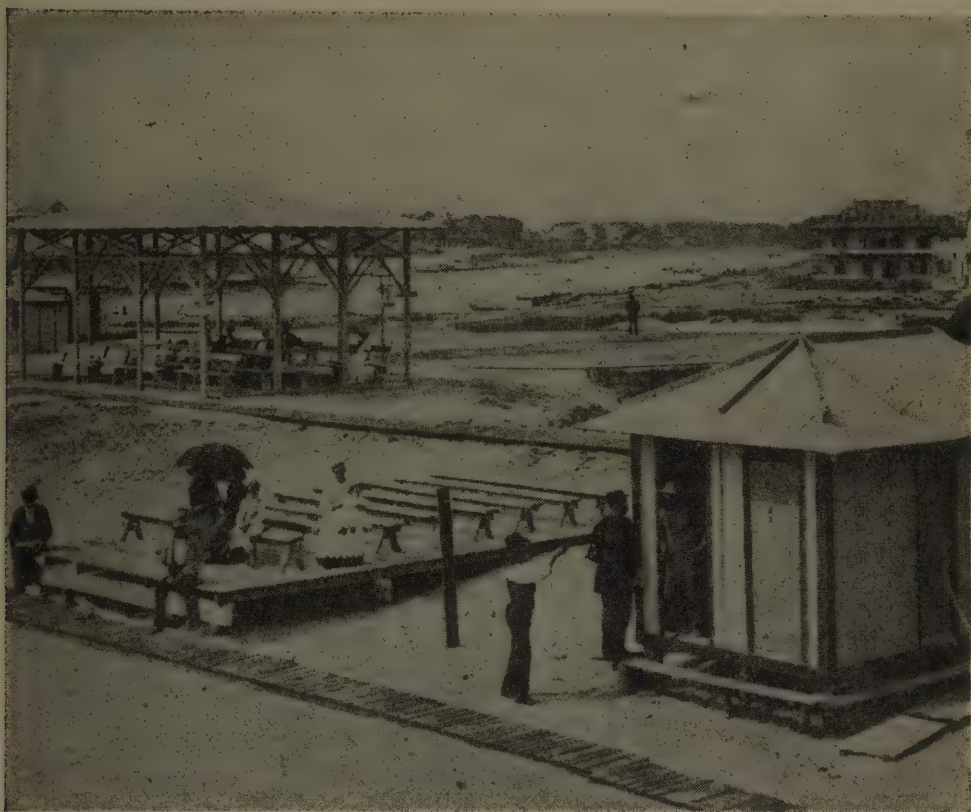
1. Before bathing in the surf, run briskly up and down the beach for 10 minutes. If you wear any lacing around the chest, throw it off and let your lungs have a hearty chance for all the air they can take. If any cheerful and muscular fellow is willing to race with you, have a foot-race right on the sand.
2. Now bounce through the surf with a hop, skip, and jump; hold your fingers to your ears and your thumbs to your nostrils, and put your head under the water. Now dance, leap, tumble, swim, kick, float, or make any other motions that seem good to you.
3. Don't use soap in salt water! It will make you dismally sticky.
4. If your teeth are of the kind which did not grow in your mouth, beware lest a wave knock them out.
5. Don't bathe immediately after a full meal. . . . If you are taking an early morning bath, put a few crackers into your inner man, just as you leave the house to come down to the surf.
6. On coming out, run up and down the beach as briskly as before bathing.<sup>3</sup>

Of these half-dozen "Rules," it is evident that the one most difficult to follow was No. 2. Today's reader should ponder whether he could hold his fingers to his ears and his thumbs to his nostrils and put his head under the water. In such a stance, how could one "dance, leap,



tumble, swim, kick, float, or make any other motions that seem good"? In such an awkward position, what "other motion" *would* seem good?

Many testimonials were offered concerning the value of the "daily dip." One account declared "the tonic salt



(Courtesy Robt. C. Coffin, Montclair)

*Boardwalk laid directly on the sand and made in sections for ready removal in time of storm and in winter. Asbury Park, 1875-1880*

water, the stimulus of breasting the big waves, or the delicious relaxation of floating, face up, on the buoyant, upbearing element, furnishes the chief refreshment of a seashore holiday." Even for those vacationers who never donned a bathing-suit, there were "thrills and tingles" only less than those which the bathers themselves enjoyed. Among these thrills and tingles were listed "the ever-changing groups of stalwart forms and graceful figures

in natty suits and caps, the appearance of an occasional oddity in person or in costume, . . . the sight of frequent fine swimming or diving feats, . . . (and) the laughing play of little children.”<sup>4</sup>

Since in the earlier years boarding-houses and hotels were constructed at some distance from the shore, it was necessary to line the beach-front with temporary accommodations for the guests. At Atlantic City in the 1860's most guests walked to the beach from the hotels and boarding houses on Atlantic Avenue, although two hotels provided horse-car transportation to the bath-houses on the beach. These buildings were rough, unsightly structures of a size that would admit their being put on a wagon every autumn and hauled to a point of safety in the city. Long rows of bath-houses dumped along Pacific and other avenues were a common winter scene. Not a building was left on the beach after the close of the season. A few weeks before the summer season opened, the beach presented an animated scene of busy laborers engaged in moving bath-houses beachward and removing accumulated sand drifts and debris of wrecks that had come ashore during the winter. By the 1880's permanent and fairly substantial bath-houses had been built. These were provided with bulwarks and the foundations were sunk deep into the sand,<sup>5</sup> as shown in the accompanying photograph.

Bath-houses at Cape May were described as places of “much confusion.” In 1854, a young lady correspondent to a Washington, D. C. paper wrote her impressions of her first visit to “Cape Island.” She gave a vivid and critical description of the women's bath-house which belonged to a well-known hotel. A bit overwhelmed by conditions, she wrote, “Beside a large tub of water in the centre of the floor knelt or sat several ladies just from the surf in all the various stages of disrobing, each intent upon her own arrangement and utterly regardless of what was passing around her. Others were preparing for

the bath, laying aside their dresses . . . while the latest comers were removing their shawls and bonnets and exchanging greetings with acquaintances. For the first few moments we were deafened and bewildered. The sight of some dozen females only partially dressed and in garments perfectly saturated with sea water . . . and parties of romping children apparently quite indifferent to the dense atmosphere . . . made us struggle for breath. . . . Following the example of others, we changed our double wrapper for a woolen bathing suit, covering our hair and . . . on crossing the threshold were met by our male escort, equipped for the sea." The young lady, with her "male escort," then went down to the beach and noted "1,000 persons in various costumes, the shrill laughing cries of the bathers heard above the roar of the surf, parties of children in the arms of nurses struggling for breath, the ladies, many in bright plaid dresses with fanciful trimmed straw hats on their heads, and, to end all, the appearance of the bathers as they came out looking like a congregation of resuscitated corpses, fevered into life."<sup>6</sup>

The first arrangements for sea bathing were primitive. At Ocean Grove in Monmouth County, the men went off to a distance and disrobed, taking their dip in the "garb of nature." The women found secluded places where they enjoyed the water in garments whose days of usefulness were passed. It was not long, however, before private bath-houses were erected along the shore, and as the number increased, more care was taken in what was worn in the ocean. Bathing suits were introduced and a "bathing master" was employed, in whose care the bath-houses were left in the absence of the proprietors. Still later bath-houses and dresses could be rented.

By 1874 visitors could have hot salt water baths. Heated salt water was considered a specific for rheumatic complaints. It was brought from the ocean bed through



pipes into tanks where it was heated and distributed into receptacles for bathing, in which the customer could lie in repose and enjoy a siesta. The vigorous could complete their bath by a quick douse of cold sea water from another pipe close at hand. Soon improvements were



(From Woolman & Rose Atlas of the N. J. Coast)

*Ross Bathing Houses, Ocean Grove, 1879*

made: porcelain took the place of wooden tubs, luxurious towels and fine soaps were available, and there were soft couches for rest afterwards in pleasant sun parlors, which were furnished with tables laden with current literature.<sup>7</sup>

One factor which kept people from really swimming and influenced them to stay in comparatively shallow water was the fear of drowning. One Cape May visitor in 1845 tells of a "rescue rope" which she saw hanging on a bath-house. This she considered inadequate. She noted two Newfoundland dogs among the bathers, which she thought might be trained to rescue human beings from

drowning. She felt that what was most needed was the invention of some kind of "Life Preserver" that could be used in a moment of danger, and suggested that a liberal premium should be offered for that purpose.<sup>8</sup>

Volunteer life-guards proved of some service, but the problem of recompense was a thorny one. The disadvantage of relying on the generosity of those who had been saved is shown in the story of one volunteer about whom an item from Cape May appeared in a Salem newspaper in 1869. "Mr. Boynton, who has saved so many lives this season . . . was offered 50¢ by one gentleman after he had been safely dragged ashore. Mr. Boynton handed him back 49¢ in change remarking that he did not usually accept more than a life was worth."<sup>9</sup>

Thirteen people were drowned at Atlantic City in 1865. In 1868 a few of the hotel proprietors and bath-house keepers put out fixed safety-lines fastened to stakes so that the more timid might have something to which to cling as they enjoyed the surf, but venturesome people went beyond them and drownings continued to occur. It was not until 1872 that paid life-guards were first hired. They were financed mainly by funds provided by the Camden and Atlantic Railroad Company, to which were added voluntary subscriptions given by visitors. Many were rescued that season and more guards were hired subsequent summers. The provision of guards became firmly established in the early-1880's when the City Council assumed responsibility for paying them. By the 1884 season, twenty-five were being hired.<sup>10</sup>

## 2. *Beach wear.*

When persons go to the shore with only their families or intimate friends . . . they may use their own everyday clothes with which to go into the water. If practicable as to weather and those present, they may go in naked. This latter may be the better way. But where there is a mixed company, or strangers, a suit is necessary. It may be hired or purchased. The costume should consist of twilled flan-

nel, strong, and colored brown, blue, or gray. The garment should be in one piece, . . . and for women, consist of pantaloons and coat over them. It should fit loose, be buttoned and not tied. . . . Some add rubbers or sandals . . . and some a broad-brimmed hat . . . but as it is desirable to plunge the head under water . . . this incumbrance is unnecessary.

(Advice on shore etiquette, written in 1880.)<sup>11</sup>

The question of what to wear when sea-bathing was frequently asked. In the earlier years clothing for bathing was restricted to such bits of cast-off family wardrobe as would most modestly meet the puritanical social requirements of the day. Later the women wore dark blue flannel suits fastened up to their necks. The tape-trimmed ruffles almost covered their hands. Long full pantalettes clung closely around the ankles. A wide coarse straw hat tied under the chin in the shape of a poke completed the costume, for in those days sun burn was a disgrace. The men wore loose, flapping, one-piece garments similar to those of the women, only, of course, without skirts. Whether the head was bald or well-thatched, it was covered with a small skull cap or straw hat held in place by a string of turkey-red.<sup>12</sup>

A Camden paper noted in 1879 that there was little variety in the bathing-dress up and down the New Jersey coast. Suits were uniformly made of blue flannel, usually trimmed with white tape. Those who were brave enough to adopt any other color ran the risk of being called "loud." Those who failed to conform were reprimanded. "It must be admitted that some of the suits worn by the ladies grew very short as this season advanced," deplored the article.<sup>13</sup>

Another writer warned two years later, "The propriety of bathing attire is one that requires constant oversight. It is astonishing that persons who are high-toned in their sensibilities at home so often lose all sense of shame abroad and improperly expose their persons without a blush."<sup>14</sup> During that season, at one location on



the shore it was found necessary to speak to over two hundred persons about their improper bathing suits. However, it was reported that with few exceptions all cheerfully complied with the officers' requests either to change their apparel or retire.<sup>15</sup>



(Courtesy Free Public Library, Trenton)

*Atlantic City Bathing Costumes about 1875*

It was admitted by a few enlightened commentators that the type of bathing-suit worn was not practicable. "What a comical looking set of folks we are . . . attired

in our bathing robes," exclaimed one contemporary in 1874. "And when the multitude come out of the water! The apparel does not cling to the form in exactly the shapes which outline the gracefulness of beauty."<sup>16</sup> Little improvement had been made ten years later. A pamphlet published in 1885 entitled "Summer Days in New Jersey" lamented, "Alas for the toggerly called bathing garments. Cannot ingenuity provide something more convenient, more lovely, more elegant?"<sup>17</sup>

The whole matter of bathing customs on the Jersey shore affected foreign visitors adversely. One Englishwoman maintained in 1876 that the situation was not on a par with similar conditions abroad. "Bathing customs . . . could hardly be worse," she complained in describing Long Branch. The rows of huts or shanties on the shore in front of each hotel are unpainted and often even unplanned, nailed together, sides and roof of the same material, as incapable of keeping out wind and rain as so many paper boxes." She also spoke scornfully of the larger shanties, which "contained piles of faded woolen garments which they facetiously denominate 'bathing dresses' and which they let to ladies and gentlemen at the rate of one-half dollar for each bath. For the gentlemen transients, the suits consist of a damp woolen shirt and trousers tied with a string. Those men who lived there steadily had their own. The rented suits were damp and clammy. . . . That so many Americans are to be found who are willing to put the suits on and walk unflinchingly across the stretch of sand between the disrobing hut and the surf under the fire of hundreds of glances . . . is proof that the bravery of the nation should not be lightly impugned," she concluded tartly.

This visitor declared that American bathing dress was ugly. French ladies were said to select their bathing outfits with great care. Sometimes they were "a delicate rose flannel, with pleatings of silk, with hat trimmed in accordance." With this the bather would wear pink hose

and straw shoes. Another suit might be of navy blue serge with stripes of yellow or some other tasteful combination. In New Jersey, the women's bathing dresses were almost always of a coarse, dark flannel, much too large, and crowned with a rough straw hat more fit for a gutter than a lady's wear. "And as for the gentlemen!" she shuddered. "What scarecrows they are. Description could do them no justice."

The walk across the sand from the dressing huts to the water bothered foreigners who were accustomed to bathing houses which could be rolled right to the edge of the beach. They found it hard to understand how American women could undergo this ordeal. The Americans did not seem to mind. It was all a matter of custom. Ladies who would not show their boot-top in a ballroom walked on the sands in a bloomer costume with knee-reaching Turkish trousers and propriety was not offended.<sup>18</sup>

While it was considered perfectly proper for women dressed in bathing costumes to walk from the bath-houses at the top of the beach to the water, people in the Victorian Nineties were shocked by the bathers who dressed in their cottages and walked along the streets to get to the beach. The *Ocean City Daily Reporter* stated on August 5, 1897, that the custom of bathers walking about the streets in their bathing dress was causing considerable agitation among the citizens. A visitor from nearby Weymouth Township on the mainland, who had just seen a melodrama in Philadelphia called "Life in Gay New York," and was scandalized by the dress of the women in the play, was even more scandalized by the way the women bathers in Ocean City were garbed. "Why, if some of these women were to come over to Weymouth Township and walk 'round the way they do here, there would be war," he sputtered.<sup>19</sup> The matter, however, was left to the discretion of the women, for the city council did not attempt to regulate bathing dress in those years.



### 3. *The Boardwalk.*

It is an endless dress parade . . . in which everybody is one of the reviewers as well as one of the reviewed. The animation, the overflowing good nature, the laughter and contagious hilarity of the restless throng is irresistible. . . . Nowhere in the world is there such a kaleidoscope of beauty!

(Description of Atlantic City Boardwalk, written in 1904.)<sup>20</sup>

One of the indispensable facilities for recreation at the larger shore resorts was the Boardwalk. The name was adopted only after much discussion. The first one at Atlantic City was no more than a plank walk, a foot-path along the beach, erected to keep people's feet out of the sand, and was referred to simply as the "board walk." More elaborate walks were built later, but the name continued the same. In 1896, when a new and expensive promenade was dedicated there, people sought a more elegant title. Some suggested the use of the Italian "Rialto"; others, under English and French influence, urged that it be called the "Esplanade," but the original American appellation won when on August 17, 1896, the City Council passed a resolution that the name "Boardwalk" be continued.<sup>21</sup>

Authorities disagree when and where the first Boardwalk was built. Probably the early boardwalks were so simple, that people did not think them worth commenting on. Cape May adherents believe that the first one was erected in that resort. One authority on Cape May notes that a boardwalk already constructed there was extended in 1868, when it became long enough to be dubbed "flirtation walk." The first walk at Ocean Grove consisted of a path two planks wide, laid lengthwise along stringers. This was widened in 1877 to a walk six feet wide, lighted by twenty-one lamps. It followed the beach from Wesley Lake to Fletcher Lake. In 1880 it was widened to sixteen feet. Subsequent storms played havoc with it but wash-

outs were filled in and by the end of the century jetties and protective bulkheads had been constructed.<sup>22</sup>

The first boardwalk of any great length was built at Atlantic City. In 1870, when the beach was described as a "wild public common with a scattering of bathhouses and areas of mosquito marsh and soft sand,"<sup>23</sup> a plan for a boardwalk was presented to the City Council. Considerable opposition developed because, it was argued, such a walk would draw business from the avenues, as it later did. Nevertheless the proposal was finally accepted although the city, having no funds for building, found it necessary to issue script payable the following season. This script was accepted by the owner of the United States Hotel and by interested Philadelphia lumber merchants. A short time later, \$5,000 of city bonds were sold at a discount of ten per cent and with this money, which cared for the script, the first boardwalk was built.<sup>24</sup> The walk, finished June 28, 1870, was only eight feet wide. Most of it lay flat on the sand but some was set on piling three feet above the beach. It extended from the lighthouse near the Inlet to Missouri Avenue. During the winter season, when storm tides might wreck it, the walk was piled up in sections and secured against the tide.<sup>25</sup> It was raised at street ends and under the elevation "saddle horses, work-horses, waggon, and other vehicles passed conveniently to the strand."<sup>26</sup>

Gradually the walk was extended and enlarged. In 1879, following loss by storm tides, a new one sixteen feet wide was constructed. Damaged by the severe storms during the winter of 1883-1884, it was rebuilt in the spring of 1884 in a more substantial manner. In 1890, after another storm had made an almost complete wreck of it, the walk was rebuilt on wooden piling higher, wider, and stronger. Its completion was celebrated with a grand torchlight procession.<sup>27</sup> This walk was the first to have railings. The first walks needed none, as they were only eighteen inches from the sand, but the one built in

1884 was five feet high and only twenty feet wide. Many strollers fell off, some of whom suffered broken bones. A contemporary newspaper commented on this group by saying, "Most of them were flirting. . . . They fell off when they turned around to get another smile or wink." The wooden railings on the latest walk were not complete safeguards. One day twenty-five visitors fell into the sand while leaning over the railing to watch beer garden waitresses and female performers bathe."<sup>28</sup>

In 1891, at the expenditure of \$55,000, the walk was widened to twenty-four feet and extended from the Inlet to the Chelsea Hotel, still on wooden piling. Five years later the city fathers decided the walk needed a steel understructure, supported on wooden piling and special framework. All previous walks had been built entirely of wood. This time, the piling was sunk ten feet in the sand. The walk was widened to forty feet in its main section and extended a length of four miles. At its dedication in 1896 the wife of the mayor, Mrs. Franklin P. Stoy, drove a gold-plated nail in the last bit of construction. Despite the fact that a metal cap was driven down on this "gold-nail," it was soon stolen.<sup>29</sup> Nevertheless the walk attracted much favorable comment and at the turn of the century supporters of Atlantic City felt that the four miles of elevated boardwalk for pedestrians only was the main feature of the city. They boasted that no other promenade in the country was so enjoyable.<sup>30</sup>

Further extensions were made in 1902 and a few years later the walk was joined to that of Ventnor, which with that of Margate provided a wooden walk eight miles along the ocean front of Absecon Island.<sup>31</sup> Concrete was applied to the steel frame to prevent rust and corrosion and finally, following the devastating hurricane of 1944, all the old wooden framework was replaced by steel and concrete.<sup>32</sup>

The first amusement device along the boardwalk was a thriller later known as a Ferris Wheel. The first



one of this type, contrived by Isaac N. Forrester, was erected near the walk in 1871-72. Called the "Epicycloidal Wheel," it consisted of four huge wheels set at right angles to each other. Each wheel revolved in a grove track, and each carried eight gondolas or cars holding two people.<sup>33</sup> The modern type of Ferris Wheel, used today, was designed and patented in 1891 by William Somers of Atlantic City.<sup>34</sup>

Piers constructed out into the ocean offered further spots for relaxation. Their number was limited by restrictions made at the time the Atlantic City Council gained control over the beach. The Beach Park Act, passed by the Legislature in 1894, authorized the city to gain authority over the entire beach, and in 1896 easement deeds gave the city virtual ownership of most of the beach. These deeds allowed any property owner fronting on the Boardwalk to erect a pier out into the ocean. It was specified, however, that any such pier should be at least a thousand feet in length, a restriction which immediately limited the number. Only four piers were built, not only because of the cost but because of the probable lack of profit if too many were constructed.<sup>35</sup> The threat of destruction by storm was another deterrent.

The earlier piers were constructed before the thousand foot qualification was put into effect. The first, built at the foot of Kentucky Avenue, was erected in 1881 and destroyed by a storm tide in September, 1882. Rebuilt to a length of 865 feet, it was again wrecked in 1894. In 1883 the forerunner of what became Young's Ocean Pier was erected at the end of Tennessee Avenue, with a length of 850 feet. Wrecked in 1884, it was rebuilt and extended in 1898 by John Young. It reached 3,000 feet out into the ocean, and was called "a delightful breathing place on a warm day."<sup>36</sup> It was advertised as "Young's Million Dollar Pier," and was so widely publicized that in 1906 a popular song, entitled "Roller Skating, Young's

New Million Dollar Pier Song," was written about it. Part of the lyrics went:

There, take my Kate,  
For a roller skate  
On Young's Million Dollar Pier.<sup>37</sup>

A third pier was built in 1887 at the foot of Massachusetts Avenue and was called the "Iron Pier." It was later sold to Heinz and Company of Pittsburgh for advertising purposes. In 1898 the famous Steel Pier Company built its first pier at the foot of Virginia Avenue, extending it 1,650 feet out into the ocean.<sup>38</sup>

#### 4. *Other opportunities for diversion.*

How many claims has Absecon Beach . . . upon the people of Philadelphia! There beneath the exhilarating influence of the saline air and surging surf, we take our summer's salty solace and shuffle off the accumulation under which a winter's weary work has made us suffer. . . . There, too, the student and the clerk, rejoicing in the leisure of summer holidays, delight to kill the heavily hanging time as they bask in the sunbeams of the school girl's eyes and ardently wish that summer was eternal.

(Paean of praise written in 1868.)<sup>39</sup>

As the number of shore visitors increased annually, more varied and unusual opportunities for amusement and recreation became available. One means of spending leisure time was in beer drinking. One old-time resident of Atlantic City liked to recall the days of the 1860's when he used to go to Schaufler's Hotel, which was a great resort for beer lovers. When a fresh keg was tapped there, which was "pretty often," a bell was rung. Then the cottagers and guests from other hotels would flock to quench their thirst. Various games were played to determine who should foot the bill. Guests often sat on the porch of the hotel for hours playing cards and other games. One game was played by putting a piece of cut sugar in front of each of the people sitting at a table, who

kept as quiet as possible. Whenever a fly alighted on a piece, the person to whom it belonged had to buy the beer for the rest. It was in front of Shaufler's Hotel that the first sparrows, brought by the City Treasurer of Philadelphia, were loosed on the city. Sparrows were then a novelty and the Philadelphian liberated a cageful of them. He thought they would kill the caterpillars that infected the willow trees, but the sparrows proved to have no taste for caterpillars.<sup>40</sup>

In the latter 19th Century the introduction of "salt water taffy," which was not made of salt water, brought a new product which became a specialty of the shore and offered opportunities to send a characteristic sweet to friends back home. According to one version, "salt water taffy" was first made in 1883 by David Bradley, whose small candy stand was on the sea-side of the old Boardwalk just two steps above sand level. There he specialized in taffy. One night, the local legend goes, a generous full-moon tide brought a lively surf which dampened his stock. The next morning, after he had wiped off his sweets, a little girl customer stopped by and asked for some taffy. Mr. Bradley queried "You mean 'salt water taffy,' don't you?" The small customer seemed to like the candy, and Bradley's sister and mother, who had overheard the remark later declared that to be a good name on which to capitalize. Bradley suggested making the taffy with ocean water, but his mother advocated changing only the name. The taffy was to be made by the regular recipe. When the season of 1884 opened, Bradley ordered muslin signs made which he had lettered "Salt Water Taffy." Soon the business began to boom and by the end of this period, other concerns were making a similarly named product.<sup>41</sup> This gave rise to a local industry that shipped out over three million pounds of the taffy in one season in the 1940's.<sup>42</sup>

Still another source of interest in the Absecon Island section was the construction in 1882 of the famed "Ele-



phant House.” This was the first building in what became Margate and was originally intended for real estate promotion. The inventor, James V. Lafferty, held patents for the erection of buildings in the shapes of animals. Three “elephants” were built; one in Margate, one in Cape May, which was washed away in 1886, and one at Coney Island, which was burned in 1883. In 1903 it was found necessary to move the one at Margate back several hundred feet because of the encroachments of the ocean. Over a million pieces of timber were used in the construction of the elephant, which stands in a feeding position. The body is thirty-eight feet high and eighty feet in circumference. Access to the interior was gained by spiral stairways in the hind legs. The entrance led to a reception room, and there were dining rooms, kitchen, and four bedrooms inside. There were twenty-two windows. The figure is sixty-five feet high and from the top there is a good view of the sea and Absecon Island. The pachyderm was privately owned and was opened for a nominal fee as an exhibit in connection with a lunch room operated during the summer months. In 1952 its chief attraction was a hot-dog stand. The novelty had worn off. By then, remarked one former Margate resident, “the ‘gray elephant’ had become a ‘white elephant’ ”<sup>43</sup>

Other forms of recreation more closely identified with the sea were available. In addition to fishing from the piers and over the bridges across the inlets, crabbing was a favorite pastime. In a flowery explanation written in 1878, crabbing in the Thoroughfare between Atlantic City and the mainland was called “a less venturesome sport, affording great delight to the ladies in particular. . . . While indulging in harmless sport, they are insensibly sipping the elixir of health from nature’s laboratory.”<sup>44</sup>

The pioneer vacationers at many a resort had some exciting moments. A good many of the new resorts were disturbed by the remnants of the wild life that had populated many of the sea islands in the previous period. After

Peck's Beach became Ocean City, one resident, Captain Lew Risley, who opened the resort's first barber shop and cigar store at 700 Central Avenue, recalled that in the first years of the resort the island was covered with trees, brush, and other vegetation, and there were many muskrats. The Lake brothers, who developed the area, erected an embankment along the bay front for drainage purposes, but the muskrats persisted in undermining it with tunnels. After a bounty of twenty-five cents for each muskrat was offered by the Lakes, the muskrats began to decline in numbers. More excitement arose from the wild bull which troubled the newcomers for weeks when the island was first developed. This bull was the leader of a herd of wild cattle still on the beach. The Captain recalled that it chased one man into the ocean one day and sent people scurrying for safety every day. Finally the owner of the herd offered the bull and the cows for sale at thirty dollars a head, provided the buyer assumed the responsibility for capturing the animals. The only way to catch the bull was to shoot him, and one day Ocean City seemed like a scene out of the Wild West. From seven in the morning to four in the afternoon, old-timers shouldered their "shootin' irons" and stalked the bull. Captain Risley had to climb a tree to escape being charged and two other men were trampled. Toward the end of the day the "monarch" was finally shot through the heart. It weighed nine hundred pounds.<sup>45</sup>

One widespread nuisance to the summer visitor who had rented a cottage was the assiduous importunings of the resident tradespeople, who often caused the incoming visitors some very annoying experiences in getting settled. The newcomer was besieged by tradespeople. One Ocean City newspaper remarked caustically on July 3, 1896, that since the season was so short, the business people fell upon summer guests like vultures. They, or one of their employees, met all incoming trains, and when a cottager arrived for the summer, he was pounced upon.

The case of one cottager was described in detail. When he arrived on the morning train there were a dozen merchants, gathered at different points along the depot platform, waiting for him and his family. One wanted to supply him with groceries, another with meats, a third with milk, another with bread, and even the ice man was there. The family hurriedly boarded a horse-drawn bus, which turned down Asbury Avenue "at a rapid speed," but the tradesmen followed in their wagons. In the parade was a grocer, a butcher, a baker, a milkman, and three farmers who had driven in from Tuckahoe and Petersburg on the mainland with fresh country vegetables. When the parade finally arrived at the front door of the newcomer's rented place on 7th Street, business cards were thrust into their hands. The family escaped by entering the cottage and fastening the doors. Just then another wagon drove up with their trunks and heavy boxes and when the doors were opened for the reception of the baggage another onslaught was made. This time the forces of the tradesmen were increased by the appearance of the laundryman. The combined pleadings finally had the desired effect and the new cottager succumbed by giving orders for the necessities.<sup>46</sup>

#### 4. *Life at the fashionable resorts.*

If our subscribers want a fast place, let them go to Saratoga. . . . People who are content to dwell in decencies should go to Cape May, while those who like a spice of everything should patronize Long Branch.

(Advice to vacationers appearing in the New York "Herald" in the 1850's.)<sup>47</sup>

At different times during the last half of the 19th Century both Cape May and Long Branch held the title of the most fashionable resort on the Jersey shore. Cape May was famous by 1850. A local South Jersey newspaper estimated in that year that a total of 17,000 visitors had been entertained in the resort that season.<sup>48</sup> It reached



its height as a fashionable resort in the decade prior to the Civil War. This was the period when the wealthy flocked there. To its hotels and cottages came rich Philadelphians and New Yorkers and Baltimoreans and guests from many other southern cities.

This was the era of the big hotels. In 1853 a typical one, the Mount Vernon Hotel, then called by local authorities the largest in the world, was opened and its publicity helped popularize Cape May. The front section was three hundred feet long and four stories high and a wing was five hundred feet long and three stories high. It contained 482 rooms, with a bath in each room, an unusual feature for that period. A guest in 1855 said that 750 patrons were served in the dining room at one time and that it took 250 steps to cross the floor.<sup>49</sup>

Social life at the resort centered around these large hostelries. The bigger houses vied with each other to afford the most attractions. Dancing was a main feature and famous bands were brought to the Cape by enterprising hosts. The events of the season were the grand balls. These were held mostly in the large dining hall of the hotel, although some of the most fashionable establishments possessed separate ball rooms. "Think of a hall," exclaimed one contemporary commentator describing Congress Hall in the 1850's, "two hundred feet long, forty-five feet wide and sixteen feet to the ceiling, without a pillar or post outside of its walls for support! . . . At night, when this hall is cleared of its tables and chairs, and hundreds of gas jets are brilliantly burning and flickering, and the gay and elite are flushed with a giddy dance, then you behold a ball . . . beautiful and fair."<sup>50</sup>

The fame of Cape May was capitalized upon by the writers of popular songs. As early as 1855 one music company published the "Cape May Polka." In 1868 appeared "On the Beach at Cape May, a Schottische," and the following year brought "The Stockton House Quadrille." The most sentimental song was written that same

year, and was entitled "In the Moonlight at Cape May." The chorus ended with these words:

We spoke about the sweet moonlight  
While the moments passed away.  
We walked on, I was so happy  
In the moonlight at Cape May.<sup>51</sup>

The wide hotel porches afforded opportunities for social gatherings both day and night. They were provided with comfortable rockers and chairs and tables for cards and drinks. The bigger hotels boasted that their pianos were special kinds of instruments, "most of which came from Vienna and had that peculiar tone which they caught from the damp sea-air which rusted the wire and softened the dampers and made the music sound like the blowing of the northeast wind through a girl's wet hair."<sup>52</sup>

The gowns of the ladies were of the most extreme mode. When hoop-skirts were being worn, they were the largest possible. One young matron found her costume a source of some embarrassment. While she was attending a church service, her hoop skirt became hopelessly entangled in the pew. The sexton and two gentlemen struggled in vain to extricate her; finally the former said, "Cant (tip) her, gentlemen, cant her." This was done with success despite the protests of the lady and much to her consternation. The hoop-skirts gave rise to the term "teetering," which was applied to the seesawing goose gait adopted by fashionable young ladies at Cape May.<sup>53</sup>

In addition to the "sea-bathing," already discussed, popular forms of recreation at Cape May included gambling, drives in beautiful appointed carriages and last, but by no means least, chances to gaze at and to talk about famous visitors. Each of these deserve some attention.

In 1840 there were already gambling clubs at the resort. The wealthy southern planters and nationally prominent visitors were devotees of the games of chance.

The most popular club was the "Blue Pig," situated on Perry Street and Beach Avenue at the ocean end of Congress Hall's six acre lawn. Here one dashing New York widow was said to have won around \$50,000 one evening. The house, a two-story building of the cottage type, was later moved and became a private dwelling. There were at least two other well-patronized gambling clubs, one of which had a room without windows or a visible door. The noted Tennessee gambler, Pettibone, spent several summer seasons at the Cape. His marital affairs created considerable interest. Married three times, Pettibone caused some raising of eyebrows when he remarried his first wife.<sup>54</sup>

Wealthy Southerners and rich Northerners alike were connoisseurs of horseflesh, and driving behind beautiful teams of blooded horses was a daily amusement. Every hotel provided stables for patrons who brought their own horses and carriages with them. The favorite drive was along the wide beach. Polished brass, glittering silver or gold mounted harness made the equipages striking in appearance. Summer residents who owned private mansions also imported costly carriages and famous teams and coachmen. Among the teams were thoroughbreds from Kentucky, Arabia, Virginia, Canada, and Russia. The popular vehicles of the day included the landau, phaeton, buggy, cabriolet, victoria, dog-cart, "T" cart, and barouche. As the roads around the resort and into the countryside were gradually improved, there was even more incentive for importing horses and carriages for the summer season.<sup>55</sup>

The luxurious carriages were well suited for the ladies' wide skirts.<sup>56</sup> On the drives the ladies protected the pallor of their complexions with small parasols, creations of silk and lace with handles adjustable to any angle. Sun tan and freckles were looked at with horror in those days. The drives involved many courtly bows and hat tipplings as the vehicles passed one another.<sup>57</sup>



In 1855 the arrival of Franklin Pierce, the first President to visit the resort, created a great deal of interest. Visitors came from far and wide to get their first glimpse of a president of the United States. Every vehicle that could be pressed into service was used to bring the country people to attend the public reception.<sup>58</sup>

President Grant made short sojourns to Cape May during four different seasons. His visits aroused intense excitement. At the time of his first visit in 1869 many people regarded him as the greatest man living, and unusual preparations were made to receive him. The Town Council of nine members was to meet him at the station, deliver an address of welcome and extend to him the freedom of the city, but when they lined up to perform this function they were such an insignificant-looking and ill-dressed lot that one of the hotel proprietors, who was master of ceremonies, sent them home and substituted the nine best-looking guests in his house. One of them, acting the part of the mayor, delivered the address with great éclat and presided at the banquet that evening. The genuine city fathers complained bitterly, but General Grant never knew the difference and the master of ceremonies had sufficient influence to keep the incident out of the papers.<sup>59</sup> When Grant came again, in 1873, he and Mrs. Grant created a style at the resort when they ordered two bathing costumes of original design from Captain Ivey, then proprietor of one of the leading bath houses. One, it was recorded, was of "red flannel trimmed with blue" and the other, "blue flannel trimmed with red."<sup>60</sup>

In the summer of 1883 President Chester A. Arthur visited the Cape, arriving on the government steamer, "Dispatch." He was honored by a banquet and a ball. He departed at the dramatic hour of midnight, when amid a great display of fireworks he was rowed to the "Dispatch" in a surfboat by the crew of the life saving station.<sup>61</sup>

Another presidential visitor was Benjamin Harrison, who arrived in 1889 to visit his Postmaster General, John Wanamaker of Philadelphia, at his cottage at Cape May Point. With President Harrison came Secretary of State Blaine and General William Sherman. In 1890 Wanamaker and other friends gave Mrs. Harrison a summer cottage there and the Harrison family occupied it the seasons of 1890 and 1891. An executive office was established at the Congress Hall Hotel.<sup>62</sup> An item appearing in the *New York Herald*, July 12, indicated the interest taken in every aspect of the President's life when it recorded, "It is in his bathing suit, bare-legged, armed and headed, that Mr. Harrison shows his improvements in physique to the best advantage."<sup>63</sup>

Cape May felt the effects of the Civil War sharply and never regained its eminence as a resort of fashion. The Southern planters and their families could no longer afford the extravagant living of pre-war days, even had they wanted to go North for a vacation. The ravages of fire were a further cause of decline, as the gay life of many a hotel was ended when it was destroyed by flames. On September 5, 1855, the Mt. Vernon Hotel burned with a loss of six lives. The following year the Mansion House, built in 1832, was razed by fire. In 1869 a large portion of the village was consumed, including the United States Hotel, the American House, and the Atlantic House. That same year the Stockton Hotel was built by the Pennsylvania Railroad at a cost of \$600,000. This was burned in the most disastrous fire of Cape May's history when, on November 9th, 1878, thirty acres of ground were swept in a conflagration that destroyed more than half a million dollars worth of property, including Congress Hall, the Columbia, seven other hotels, and about thirty private cottages.<sup>64</sup> Congress Hall and the Columbia were rebuilt of brick. The latter burned down once more in 1889.<sup>65</sup>

In the years following the War, Long Branch gradu-

ally assumed the title of most fashionable resort, and by 1900 Atlantic City was a dangerous rival in attracting visitors. In the latter 1860's, Cape May was still described as "the watering place of the season," but in 1900 it was observed that it had lost its prestige and its posi-



(From Woolman & Rose Atlas of the N. J. Coast)

*Chalfonte House, Cape May City, 1879*

tion at the head of seashore resorts. A traveller from Chicago in that year ascribed this to the fact that its resident inhabitants offered no inducements to newcomers. He compared this unfavorably with the situation at Atlantic City, where an association of hotel-keepers and property owners had been formed to advertise the resort and bring in new people.<sup>66</sup>

After 1900 Cape May was known as a family resort. During the half century her permanent population had increased fourfold, from 597 in 1855 to 2,257 in 1900.<sup>67</sup>

Long Branch reached its height as a fashionable resort after Cape May had begun to decline. By 1860,



when Paris dress designers arrived at the resort to copy fashions acceptable to American society, it had definitely arrived. The advent of the Civil War upset the resort, but it revived when Mrs. Abraham Lincoln arrived for a visit. Her stay there almost coincided with



(Courtesy Asbury Park Press)

*Steamer "Plymouth Rock" at the New Pier, Long Branch,  
About 1879*

the first Battle of Bull Run, and her visit proved of greater interest than the progress of the war. All along the beach, from every hotel and in every dooryard the American flag floated in the breeze. A number of little girls, dressed in white, lined the path from her railroad car to the carriage, and an immense procession of people followed her from the depot to the hotel, despite her expressed desire for quiet. In addition to a round of social pleasures, the resort showed Mrs. Lincoln its latest technique in rescue work. All the countryside came to see the President's wife watch Newell's latest apparatus for a breeches buoy. Mrs. Lincoln stayed ten days.

By the middle 1860's Long Branch had acquired a reputation as a favorite resort for people of prominence and of the theatrical world. General Winfield Scott, hero of the Mexican War, summered regularly there for almost twenty years. A number of great stage players,



(Courtesy Asbury Park Press)

*General U. S. Grant Cottage, Elberon*

including Edwin Forrest and Edwin Booth, went there regularly for many seasons. By the Seventies, friends of the resort claimed it to be more popular than its competitors, Cape May, Saratoga, or Newport.

The presence of President Grant was a great attraction. George W. Childs, the wealthy publisher of the Philadelphia *Public Ledger* and owner of property at the shore, induced the President to come to Long Branch in 1869. Grant was attracted by the place's reputation for gaming and gaiety, and the opportunities it offered for vigorous riding and driving. He soon expressed a liking

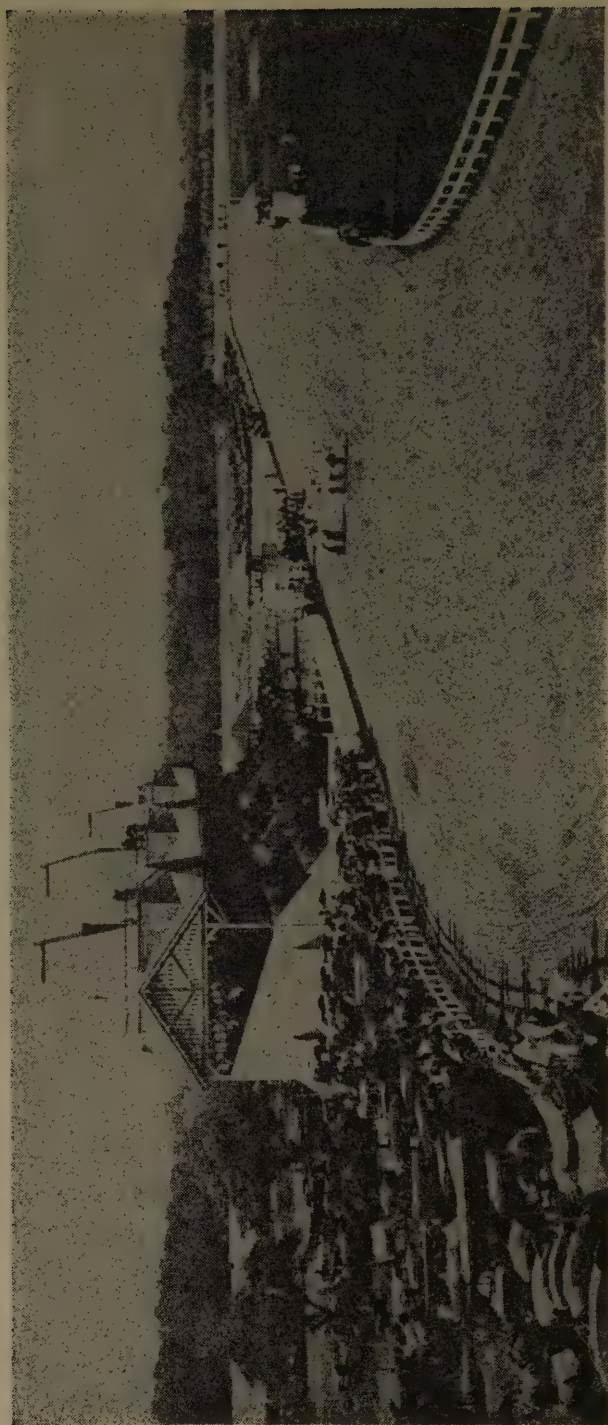


for the resort, and a group of nearby Elberon residents, including George W. Childs and George Pullman and Moses Taylor, the New York financier, purchased a cottage and presented it to him. For a number of years the house was inaccurately referred to as the "summer Capitol."

Grant found some aspects of the social life a bit trying and, according to Claude Bowers in *The Tragic Era*, when "dashing Phil Sheridan," the famous general, was there "cutting quite a figure with his dancing," Grant himself "cut a sorry figure." It was at such an event that Grant was quoted as saying, "Madam, I had rather storm a fort than attempt another dance."

Among the greatest drawing-cards of Long Beach<sup>BRANCH</sup> were the nearby race track and the gambling houses. Monmouth Park, about three miles from the resort between Oceanport and Eatontown, was begun in 1869 when two partners purchased a hundred and twenty-eight acre tract and laid out a half-mile trotting track. In 1870 they sold the property to the Long Branch and Seashore Improvement Company, which held the first race on July 4, 1870. The grandstand was described in the magazine, *Turf, Field, and Farm*, on July 1, 1870, as one of the most magnificent of its kind in the country, which could seat several thousand people. On the opening day purses and stakes were \$31,000, an unusually large sum for those times. The mutuel pools had been imported from France, and these ran the odds up and greatly increased the number of betters. The gambling that accompanied the races at Monmouth Park drew the sporting crowd to Long Branch. Hotels realized the value of the race track and contributed purses and stakes. The new clientele now began to demand the finest accommodations and several new hotels were built. At the best hotels rates averaged four dollars a day, American plan. This included a room and four meals, with breakfast at eight, dinner at two, tea at six, and supper at nine.





(Courtesy Chas. F. Sexton, Long Branch)

*Original Grandstand and Track, Monmouth Park, about 1874*

Every big hotel maintained a brass band which also gave concerts on the lawn at train time and in the evening played for the "hops" and balls. The "hops" were relatively informal affairs and the balls elaborately planned events. Saturday was the day the large crowds arrived and that night was the chief dance evening. On other nights dances stopped at 10:30, but on Saturday they would often last until midnight. For those who did not dance there were always card-games and concerts.

The main social artery of the resort was Ocean Avenue, despite the fact it was little more than a dirt road with gravel sidewalks. Afternoons at four victorias and landaus rolled along the street, the occupants chattering bits of gossip and taking careful note of each other's dress and appointments. More people strolled along the sidewalk. The avenue took on the aspect of a race track at train time in the late morning, and at dinner time in the evening. Fine horses pranced along carrying passengers. The livery of the drivers often equalled that of the horses in gaudiness. If the guests did not care to join the afternoon promenade, they could drive to nearby Pleasure Bay for a clambake or occasionally a regatta. Pleasure Bay was located on the Shrewsbury River, and the wealthy kept their yachts there.

Long Branch had its piers as well as Atlantic City, but on the whole they were not as successful there. The small Bath House Pier, built in 1828, and used for landing vessels from New York in calm weather, was later demolished by a storm. No new pier of any size was built until 1878, when one was constructed opposite the Ocean Hotel. It was six hundred feet long and made of tubular iron, and was lined with benches and refreshment booths. Excursion boats from New York used it until it was washed away in a storm in 1881.

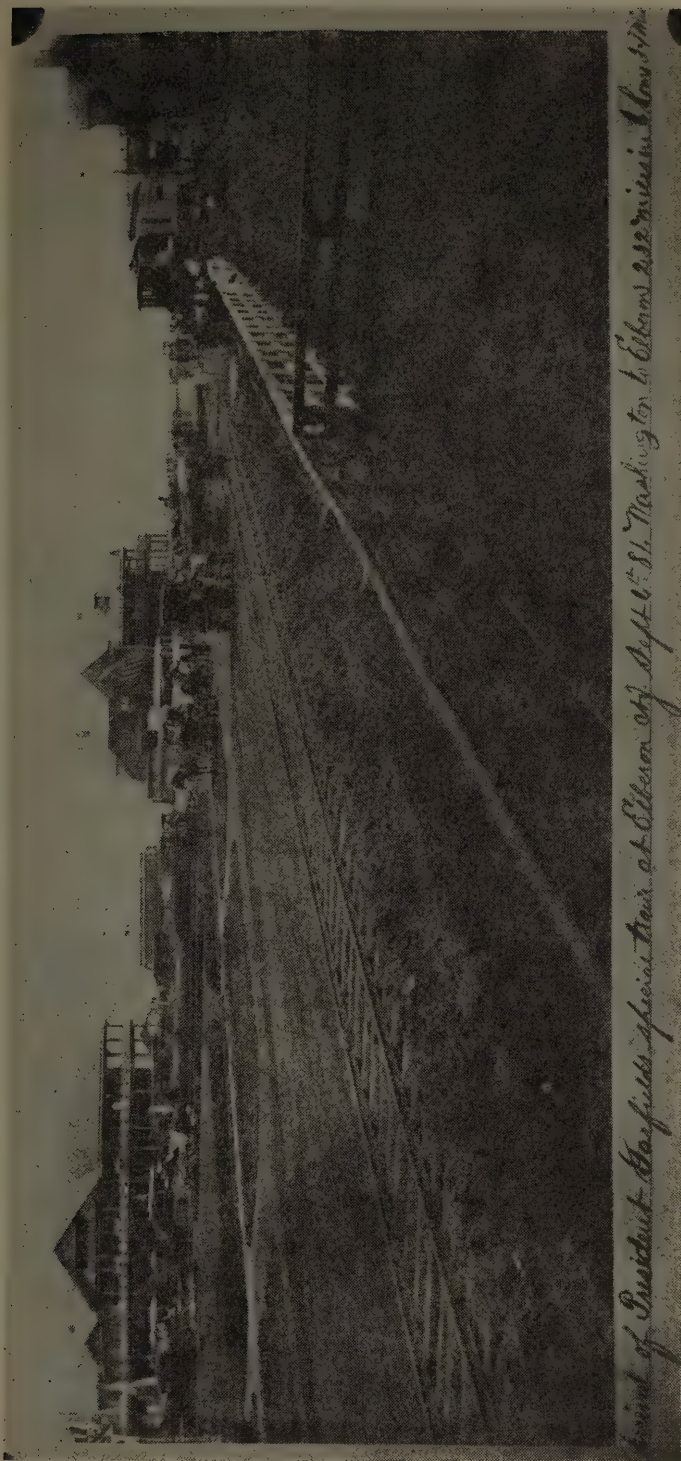
Gambling was legal, and a certain percentage was reserved for the public treasury. Various clubs were started when out-of-town gamblers began to invade the resort

in the late 1860's. The most elaborate was the Pennsylvania Club, over whose gaming room were two large domes, topped by gold weathervanes, characteristic features of many gambling places then. The interior was done in the sumptuous style of the mid-Victorians with large paintings, mantles crowded with vases, massive horsehair furniture, thick carpets, and marble-topped tables. Grant was a frequent visitor to this club, and later, President Chester A. Arthur, an indication of the tolerant view that the public took of gambling. It was estimated that during an average season between five and ten million dollars were wagered there, either at roulette and faro, or cards and dice. There were other popular gambling places, among them the New York Club and an establishment on the second floor of the Mansion House.

Grant's successor, Rutherford B. Hayes, who became President in 1876, also liked Long Branch, and came often enough to the resort to preserve its reputation as the summer capital. Hayes never acquired his own summer residence, but stayed at the smart Elberon Hotel. Considerably less dazzling than Grant, the sole contribution of President and Mrs. Hayes was their presence. Hayes' successor, James A. Garfield, was more socially inclined, but Grant never welcomed him. Despite the two-term tradition Grant had ardently sought the nomination in 1880, but Garfield had won. When the two men finally met, Grant was cool and aloof and they exchanged only a few words.

The death of Garfield at the resort brought it into the national limelight. Garfield was shot at the station in Washington on July 2, 1881 by a half-crazed disappointed office seeker. He was taken to the White House and two operations were performed on August 2nd to remove the two bullets. The weather was intensely hot and the doctors suggested Garfield be taken to Long Branch, where he arrived September 6th. His presence





Arrival of President Garfield's special train at Elberon Sept 16<sup>th</sup> St. Washington to Elberon 2:22 minutes slow time

(Courtesy Asbury Park Press)

Elberon, September 6, 1881. Arrival of President Garfield's Special Train

focussed the eyes of the country on the resort and more than a hundred newspaper men arrived to cover the story. On September 11th there were indications that blood poison had infected the right lung. On the 18th the President suffered a relapse and died about ten o'clock that evening. The body lay in state and long lines filed past the body, which was then brought to Washington, and later to its final resting place in Ohio.

Although Vice-President Chester A. Arthur had a summer home that season at Long Branch, he was in New York City at the time of Garfield's death. After taking the oath of office as President in his New York home, he left for Long Branch. Arthur continued to visit Long Branch, but the fashionable people who had been coming there gradually began seeking other resorts as they sensed from the track and the casinos the presence of an increasing number of professional gamblers, sharpers, and even confidence men. Grant remained a summer visitor until 1884 when the brokerage firm of which he was a partner failed. Gradually more business men and theatrical people came to the resort, among them Lily Langtry, the famous Jersey Lily.

The Monmouth race track attracted more and more patrons. In 1888 the races reached a peak of 170 in twenty-five racing days, and the track property was expanded to 640 acres, three times the size of the old park. A new track and a new steel grandstand were built. One figure dominated the track in these days, "Diamond Jim" Brady, who always appeared with the glamorous Lillian Russell on his arm.

The success of the Monmouth track inspired competition and in the late 1880's tracks were established at Guttenberg, opposite New York, and at Gloucester City opposite Philadelphia. Public indignation over the dishonesty of the operators of some of the tracks led to agitation for the end of racing. The first blow was struck when a statute that had been on the books since

1877 was invoked and the Park was closed under the authority of a law that classed betting booths with disorderly houses. In the summer of 1891 the Monmouth Racing Association moved its races to Jerome Park in New York. At Gloucester, however, a friendly magistrate repeatedly dismissed the operators with a small fine, while at Guttenberg a grand jury consistently failed to find evidence enough to indict.

In 1892 the Monmouth operators introduced a bill that would have removed the betting booths from the category of disorderly houses. This passed both houses and went to Governor Leon Abbett after the legislative session had closed, but the Governor was induced to veto the bill. Nevertheless the Monmouth track opened late in July, 1892, and by using the evasions successful at Gloucester and Guttenberg it was able to continue. By 1893 the racing interests of the state dominated the legislature. This so-called "Jockey Legislature" passed three bills favorable to betting. One allowed counties to license a race track, or even towns, if the track were within their boundaries; another provided that the booths where bets were laid were not to be classified as disorderly houses; and the third imposed trifling fines on violators of the anti-gambling laws already in effect. Governor Werts, listening to the appeals of the Anti-Race Track League, vetoed the legislation, but the Legislature soon over-rode the veto by the simple majority which the Constitution then allowed. The Anti-Race Track League and other citizens, now thoroughly aroused, stirred up the electorate and that fall an anti-gambling legislature went to Trenton and repealed the acts passed the previous session. Monmouth Park did not re-open for the season of 1894. In 1897 the last hope for the resumption of racing was blasted when a constitutional amendment was adopted forbidding gambling or bookmaking. Horse-racing as such was not outlawed, but the prohibition of gambling brought about the same result.



The passing of Monmouth Park in the 1890's marked the beginning of the end of an era for Long Branch. Saratoga started to reclaim the followers of the turf just as New England had earlier won back the ultra-fashionable people who had found Long Branch too flashy for their tastes. As the new century opened, Long Branch realized its future as a resort depended upon developing new attractions less liable to elimination by public disapproval.<sup>68</sup> Despite the fluctuation in its popularity, however, the resort's permanent population maintained a trend of steady increase in this period, with reports of 3,883 in 1880; 7,231 in 1890; and 8,872 in 1900.<sup>69</sup>

#### 6. *Camp-meeting life.*

All respectable people, for the sake of example, are requested to discountenance the practice of the sexes in assuming attitudes on the sand that would be immoral at their city homes or elsewhere. If this rule is not observed, it becomes the duty of the police to serve a small card on the offending person, and if the thing is repeated, the offender must be ordered from the beach.

(Excerpt from ordinance passed in Ocean Grove in the 1880's.)<sup>70</sup>

At the resorts which developed under the auspices of denominational influences activities were limited by a series of restrictions which seem today to be unreasonable. This was true of the beginning of Ocean City and even more of Ocean Grove, where the regulations were continued into the 20th Century.

At Ocean City in Cape May County the three Methodist founders of the resort set up many limitations through the Association established by them. They were especially desirous to maintain the holiness of the Sabbath and to prevent any desecration of that day. On Sundays, in the earlier years of the resort, it was not allowed to launch a boat to reach the mainland, to drive a horse

and buggy, or even to go in bathing. Within a few years, however, these restrictions were modified and they have gradually been discontinued.<sup>71</sup>

At Ocean Grove life was even more circumscribed. The matter of Sunday bathing was one of the first to



(From Woolman & Rose Atlas of the N. J. Coast)

*Boardwalk and Beach, Ocean Grove, 1879*

receive serious consideration by its Camp-Meeting Association, "lest," in the words of a critical contemporary account, "the lessons of purity imparted at the camp-meetings be forgotten under the influence of Neptune, whose bad reputation in mythology the Association was familiar with."

It was chiefly in the regulations by which it protected the ends for which it was founded that Ocean Grove became most distinguished from the other resorts. In order to maintain control over the character of the population, no lot was sold outright. Lots were leased for ninety-nine years with the privilege of renewal. The

lease carried with it the burdens of ownership in the way of taxation, and the privileges of ownership, including the sale of the lease during satisfactory tenancy under the conditions that no liquor be sold or any nuisances created on the premises. No theatrical or other like entertainment was allowed, nor any organ-grinder, pack peddler, scissors-grinder, or person selling anything in a push-cart. The sale of tobacco was strictly prohibited and smoking was not permitted in the neighborhood of the camp meeting grounds. Alcoholic liquors were forbidden, under severe penalty and by special act of legislature, and this prohibition extended for a statute mile from the limits of Ocean Grove, which affected Asbury Park. No carriages were permitted on the beach and no velocipedes or bicycles on the plank-walk. No swearing was allowed in the boats on Wesley Lake, though there were no suggestions as to just how this could be enforced. No papers could be sold on Sunday, nor, by agreement with the authorities of Asbury Park, within one block of the Asbury end of the bridges. No milk was distributed that day and even physicians, though summoned on an emergency, must go in on foot.

The gates of the resort were closed at ten P. M. daily and all day on Sunday, when no one could enter except by the bridges over Wesley Lake. These were foot bridges, and thus no vehicle could enter the resort on Sundays. They were carefully watched and only those desiring to attend services were allowed to cross. Persons were liable to a fine of ten dollars if they crossed for any other purposes. "Far-fetched as the comparison may seem," wrote a contemporary, "I cannot think of the lake and bridges by which one enters this resort otherwise than of the moat and drawbridges of some medieval fortified town governed by an autocrat."<sup>72</sup>

Dancing and card playing were frowned upon. The attitude of the members of the Association is illustrated in the following anecdote. When near the turn of the



century a policeman was requiring a couple of young men to desist from a game of cards, he was angrily told by them that the Association leaders were "the most bigoted set of men we ever heard of." To this the officer retorted, "The Association leaders pass no law requiring you to come and after you have come, if you do not like it, there is nothing to compel you to stay."<sup>73</sup>

The sanctity of the Sabbath was one of the fundamental principles upon which the resort was founded and in keeping with this idea it was felt that trains should not be allowed to stop on Sundays at the station, which was used jointly with Asbury Park. The matter was discussed with railroad officials in 1879 and when the first passenger trains on Sunday were run south from Long Branch in 1881 no stop was made at the Asbury Park-Ocean Grove station. Quite naturally the citizens of Asbury Park, whose ideas on the sanctity of the Sabbath were less strict, protested, and recurring demands were made by them in the Nineties and in the first decade of the 20th Century that trains be allowed to stop at the Asbury Park-Ocean Grove station. In 1910 a petition was sent from the Asbury Park Council to the State Public Utilities Commission which had just been created by the State Legislature. The Commission, after a series of hearings, decided that public interest demanded that trains stop there on Sunday, and the railroad was ordered to begin such service on November 1, 1911. An appeal was taken by the Ocean Grove Association to the courts, but the Commission's decision was upheld.<sup>74</sup>

In spite of the restrictive regulations, life at Ocean Grove was marked by a variety of diversions. In the early days the most popular recreation during the evening was boating on Wesley Lake. From seven to nine o'clock the little body of water was literally alive with boats of all sizes, from the tiniest shell to the 16-foot row-boat. The ten boats on the lake in 1871 had increased to 530 by 1878. By 1880 there were 547 on Wesley Lake and 112 on

Fletcher Lake. They were loaded to capacity with men, women and children. There was a great deal of singing, or, according to a local account, "harmonizing sweetly with the departing sunset and advancing evening." Boats were frequently used to transport excursionists from the



(From Woolman & Rose Atlas of the N. J. Coast)

*Arlington House Interior, Ocean Grove, 1879*

head of Wesley Lake, near the railroad depot, to Ocean Grove. There were no trolleys then, and many people preferred to use the boats rather than the stages.<sup>75</sup>

The resort encountered a great deal of difficulty in finding pure drinking water. Water was first pumped from shallow ground wells, but these were not considered safe and in the early 1880's efforts were made to dig an artesian well. The Association consulted the State Geologist, Professor George Cook, who assured them they would strike water at about two hundred fifty feet, after the well had been pushed through a bed of blue clay. On June 16, 1883, surrounded by a large group of spectators, the drillers reached 273 feet and were still in the clay. At 285 feet, however, they found a slight flow of water.



An eye-witness exclaimed "It was like an oasis in the desert. . . . All hearts were jubilant." The flow of water was not sufficient, however, and the drillers had to push through marl beds and red sand beds before they finally reached laminated sands at four hundred feet. This was at six P. M. on August 10th. The news spread with great rapidity, and the next morning crowds gathered to see the well. Great numbers of people flocked to the scene all through the day and everyone was very much excited and thankful.<sup>76</sup>

During one season President Grant's mother and sister occupied a cottage near Wesley Lake and Grant made frequent trips by carriage from Long Branch. Grant loved good horses, and Main Avenue, wide and straight, offered him an almost irresistible temptation to drive his fine team at full speed. The chief of police had to warn him against driving too fast more than once, but testified proudly that the President always complied instantly, reining in his spirited bays to a decorous trot.

Once Grant announced that he was coming to an evening meeting on Sunday to hear his pastor from Washington. The Association authorities were in a quandary. Since Grant would drive down from Long Branch, should he be required to get out of his carriage and walk into the Grove like any common man? Finally the Secretary of the Association wrote to the President directly, stating the case, and Grant rose to the occasion. "Enforce your rules," he replied. "When I come to Ocean Grove on Sunday, I will walk in like any other law-abiding citizen." And this he did.<sup>77</sup>

Much of the activity of Ocean Grove centered around the huge auditorium. By 1870 its site had been selected and a covered platform erected. Pine planks were used for seats. In 1874 a substantial frame building was raised, and in 1880 this was enlarged to cover nearly a half acre of ground.<sup>78</sup> Over \$80,000 was subscribed for the building by those attending the camp meetings and it was claimed



that ten thousand people could worship there. Seats for a choir of five hundred were in full view of the congregation, whose own seats were on a gentle incline so that each person could have a full view of the speaker.<sup>79</sup>

During camp meeting religious services were held almost continuously all day. A consecration meeting at quarter of six in the morning began the day. This was usually in charge of an officer of the Association and consisted of religious songs, testimonials of experience, prayer and altar service. At seven o'clock there were family prayers for those who were transients and who could not meet in the usual family service. This was held in the Auditorium and lasted fifteen minutes. Every morning at nine o'clock the holiness meeting was held in the Tabernacle, with the reading of scripture, short expositions, spiritual songs and religious testimony and prayer. This lasted an hour. A Young People's Meeting was held at the same time in the Young People's Temple.

At ten-thirty in the morning everyone gathered in the great Auditorium to listen to the sermon of the day. In the afternoon there was a service of prayer and song. A children's meeting was held in the Temple from three-thirty to four-thirty. This "aimed to impress the minds of children with the beauty of a religious life compared with one of worldliness and sin." A Twilight Service with special references to unconverted people was held either in the Tabernacle or Temple.<sup>80</sup>

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## FOOTNOTES

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## FOOTNOTES TO PROLOGUE

- 1 Walt Whitman letter in *Camden Daily Post*, January 30, 1879.
- 2 Cornelius Weygandt, *Down Jersey* (New York, 1940), p. 2.
- 3 Louis Sapperstein, "History by Localities" *New Jersey Educational Review*, April, 1943, p. 186. The author at that time lived in Paterson.
- 4 William Penn quoted in *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society*, Volume I (1845-1846), p. 20.
- 5 Isaac Mickle, *Reminiscences of Old Gloucester* (Philadelphia, 1845), p. 1. Quotation from preface, dated Camden, December, 1844.
- 6 Alfred M. Heston, *Jersey Waggon Jaunts* (Camden, 1926), Vol. II, p. 295. Mr. Heston was author of *Absegami Annals* dealing considerably with Atlantic City's founding and development.
- 7 Frank Stewart, *Sharptown, Salem County, New Jersey* (Salem, 1932), p. 7. Pamphlet in Stewart Collection at Glassboro State Teachers College.
- 8 Robert Thompson, "The Local Historian and New Jersey History," *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society*, Volume 56 (April, 1938), pp. 134-138.
- 9 *Ibid.*
- 10 Leah Blackman, *History of Little Egg Harbor Township, Burlington County, New Jersey* (Camden, 1880), p. 197. The book was written in Tuckerton in 1879. Little Egg Harbor Township was transferred from Burlington to Ocean County in 1890.
- 11 Morris S. Daniels, *The Story of Ocean Grove* (New York, 1919), p. 149.
- 12 Poem quoted in William Fischer, *Biographical Cyclopaedia of Ocean County, New Jersey* (Philadelphia, 1899), pp. 88-90.
- 13 Poem by Theophilus T. Price, M.D., quoted in Louis Stevens, *History of Cape May County* (Cape May, 1897), pp. 4-5.
- 14 William Nelson, *The New Jersey Coast in Three Centuries* (Lewis Historical Publishing Company, New York, 1902), Vol. I, p. 4.
- 15 Letter from Newark, Delaware, June 19, 1854, published in the *National Standard and Salem County Advertiser*, June 28, 1854, p. 2.
- 16 John Darby, *Brushland* (Philadelphia, 1882), p. 65.
- 17 *National Standard and Salem County Advertiser*, Salem, September 2, 1868.
- 18 Weygandt, *op. cit.*, p. 15.
- 19 *Evening Bulletin*, Philadelphia, July 17, 1948, p. B 5, interview with Mr. Joseph Wood of Harvey Cedars, Long Beach Island.
- 20 *Woodbury Constitution*, August 5, 1874.

- 21 Horace Greeley, quoted in the *New York Times*, Sunday Magazine Section, February 6, 1949, p. 20.
- 22 Charles Nash, *The Lure of Long Beach* (Long Beach, 1936), p. 75.
- 23 Alfred Heston, *South Jersey* (New York, 1930), Vol. I, p. 208, section on Ocean County written by William Fischer.
- 24 Benjamin F. Carter, *Woodbury and Vicinity* (Woodbury, 1873), p. 45.
- 25 Lewis Morris comment, quoted in the *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society*, 1849-1850, Vol. IV (first Series), p. 119. This Lewis Morris was uncle of the Lewis Morris who became Royal Governor of New Jersey in 1738.
- 26 Carter, *op. cit.*, p. 45.
- 27 Poem quoted in Alice Roosevelt Longworth and Theodore Roosevelt, *Desk Drawer Anthology*. Poem contributed to writer by courtesy of Miss Deborah Galbraith, Public Library, Bethlehem, Penna.

#### CHAPTER I—FOOTNOTES

- 1 Thomas F. Gordon, *A Gazetteer of the State of New Jersey* (Trenton, 1834), p. 2.
- 2 Cornelius Weygandt, *Down Jersey* (New York, 1940), p. 25.
- 3 Capt. Lawrence Furlong, *American Coast Pilot* (Newburyport, Mass., 1804, 1st edition, 1796), p. 180. Book in possession of Mr. L. Benjamin Newcomb, Glen Lake Ave., Pitman, N. J.
- 4 *Ibid.*, p. 179.
- 5 *Ibid.*, pp. 180-181. On p. 182 is an interesting map of Cape May and the Jersey side of the Delaware, up to Philadelphia.
- 6 *Ibid.*, p. 180.
- 7 Henry Kummel, *The Geology of New Jersey* (Trenton, 1940), p. 172.
- 8 Vernor C. Finch and Glenn T. Trewartha, *Elements of Geography* (New York, 1942), p. 393; A. K. Lobeck, *Geomorphology* (New York, 1939), p. 343.
- 9 Kummel, *op. cit.*, p. 172.
- 10 See map in Lobeck, *op. cit.*, p. 352.
- 11 Lobeck, *op. cit.*, p. 353; Finch and Trewartha, *op. cit.*, p. 393. Cape Cod's recurving hook is another example of this same tendency, noticeable at Provincetown.
- 12 During the Sangamon interglacial period, sea level was about 25 feet higher than at present due to the increased water poured into the sea from the melted glaciers. This stage was followed by a period of low sea level when the water was locked up in the form of land ice. Sea level dropped some 300 feet with the result that in this region the shore line was about 90 miles farther east than at present. In other words, Atlantic City was some 90 miles inland. See Horace G. Richards' article in Dorothy

Cross, *The Archeology of New Jersey* (Trenton, 1941), pp. 14-15.

13 Weygandt, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

14 *Ibid.*, p. 25.

15 Lobeck, *op. cit.*, p. 349.

16 Cornelius May coined the names of Great and Little Egg Harbor. In the southerly harbor, large sea birds seemed at that time to predominate; in the northerly location, were smaller birds with little eggs. He called the whole region "Eyren Haven" or "Harbor of Eggs" and later the English changed this to Egg Harbor. Mays Landing was named after George May who established a shop there, and not after Cornelius May.

17 Interview, Jan. 15, 1951, with Mr. John Gourley, of Wildwood Crest.

18 Gustav Kobbé, *The Jersey Coast and Pines* (Short Hills, N. J., 1889), p. 2 and p. 18. See also, Thomas H. Leonard, *From Indian Trail to Electric Rail* (Atlantic Highlands, 1923), p. 78.

19 *New York Times*, Nov. 27, 1950.

20 Kobbé, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

21 Hudson's log, Sept. 2, 1609, quoted in Kobbé, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-62.

22 Charles Nash, *The Lure of Long Beach* (Long Beach, 1936), pp. 19-20.

23 Kummel, *op. cit.*, p. 172. See also Weygandt, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

24 Finch and Trewartha, *op. cit.*, p. 393.

25 Kobbé, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

26 William H. Fischer, *Biographical Cyclopaedia of Ocean County* (Philadelphia, 1899), p. 218.

27 Kobbé, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

28 Alfred Heston, *South Jersey* (New York, 1924), Vol. I, p. 198.

29 E. M. Woodward and John F. Hageman, *History of Burlington and Mercer Counties* (Philadelphia, 1883), p. 343.

30 Edwin Salter, *History of Monmouth and Ocean Counties* (Bayonne, 1890), p. 418.

31 *Ibid.*, p. 418. The map cited was the one made by Lewis Evans.

32 Edwin Salter and George Beekman, *Old Times in Old Monmouth* (Freehold, 1887), p. 144; Fischer, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

33 Alfred Heston, *Absegami Annals* (Camden, 1904), Vol. I, pp. 251-252.

34 Kobbé, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

35 Finch and Trewartha, *op. cit.*, p. 393.

36 *Ibid.*, p. 393.

37 Kobbé, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

38 William Nelson, *The New Jersey Coast in Three Centuries* (New York, 1902), Vol. I, p. 25.

39 Dorothy Cross, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-10.

40 *Ibid.*, p. 16.

41 At many points along the coast, peat beds were formed, composed



- in part of non-marine water plants. These are now below sea level, an apparent indication that the upward growth of the peat beds has not kept pace with the rising sea level. Kummel, *op. cit.*, p. 129; p. 170.
- 42 Quotation from Bennett, "The Geology of the Southern New Jersey Lagoon" (1935), in Dorothy Cross, *op. cit.*, p. 16.
  - 43 Horace G. Richards, in Cross, *op. cit.*, p. 17. "Fossil" cedar stumps have been mined from the Great Cedar Swamp in Cape May County for use as shingles. This cedar is known to date back at least 1,000 years and probably much longer so there is no evidence of climatic or vegetation change in this region over at least this period of time. *Ibid.*
  - 44 Kummel, *op. cit.*, p. 20.
  - 45 Cross, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-10.
  - 46 Lobeck, *op. cit.*, p. 447.
  - 47 Kummel, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-21.
  - 48 Cross, *op. cit.*, p. 11.
  - 49 *Ibid.*, p. 11.
  - 50 Kummel, *op. cit.*, p. 190. In the pits, remains of crocodiles, turtles, and sharks of large size have been found. See p. 129.
  - 51 *Ibid.*, p. 183.
  - 52 Nelson, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 237-240.
  - 53 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 242.

## CHAPTER II—FOOTNOTES

- 1 Beauchamp Plantagenet (pseudonym), "A Description of the Province of New Albion," published 1648, quoted in Samuel Smith, *History of the Colony of Nova Caesarea or New Jersey* (Burlington, 1765, reprinted 1890), p. 31. Authorities state that much of the material in the Plantagenet pamphlet is erroneous, based on hearsay evidence. Beauchamp Plantagenet was the pseudonym for Sir Edward Plowden. See Irving Kull, *New Jersey, a History* (New York, 1930), Vol. 1, pp. 86-87.
- 2 William Fischer, *Biographical Cyclopaedia of Ocean County* (Philadelphia, 1899), p. 21.
- 3 Robert Evelyn letter in Beauchamp Plantagenet pamphlet, 1648, quoted in William Ellis, *History of Monmouth County* (Freehold, 1885), p. 48.
- 4 Frank Stewart, *Indians of Southern New Jersey* (Pamphlet, Woodbury, 1932), p. 8.
- 5 Alfred Heston, *South Jersey* (New York, 1924), Volume I, p. 7.
- 6 See insert map in Dorothy Cross, *Archaeology of New Jersey* (Trenton, 1941). The map was drawn by K. Phillips in 1938.
- 7 *Matawan Journal*, September 10, 1936.
- 8 Charles Nash, *The Lure of Long Beach* (Long Beach, 1936), p. 10.
- 9 Ellis, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

- 10 Indian relics were found there in 1928, on the property of the Swimming River Country Club. *Asbury Park Press*, July 29, 1928.
- 11 Ellis, *op. cit.*, p. 47.
- 12 Heston, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 6.
- 13 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 5.
- 14 Charles A. Philhower Chapter in Kull, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 26-27.
- 15 Heston, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 4.
- 16 They procured a boat on lower New York Bay to take them to Long Island. Extracts from the journals of John Burnyeate and George Fox, quoted in Edwin Salter and George Beekman, *Old Times in Old Monmouth* (Freehold, 1887), pp. 11-12.
- 17 Ellis, *op. cit.*, p. 49.
- 18 Cornelius Weygandt, *Down Jersey* (New York, 1940), p. 329.
- 19 Alfred Heston, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 5-6.
- 20 Charles A. Philhower Chapter in Kull, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 50.
- 21 See map in Charles A. Philhower, *Indian Lore of New Jersey* (New Jersey Council, Trenton, N. J., no date), p. 7.
- 22 Philhower, *Indian Lore*, p. 7.
- 23 Kull, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 52.
- 24 *Asbury Park Press*, July 29, 1928.
- 25 Bessie B. Warwick article on "Indian Trails" in Frank Stewart, *Indians of Southern New Jersey* (Woodbury, 1932), pp. 90-91.
- 26 Kull, *op. cit.* Vol. I, p. 52.
- 27 Philhower, *Indian Lore*, p. 7.
- 28 Kull, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 52.
- 29 Bessie Warwick, in Stewart, *op. cit.*, p. 90.
- 30 *Ibid.*, p. 90.
- 31 Philhower, *Indian Lore*, p. 7. This dugout is now in the New Jersey State Historical Society Museum, in Newark. See also, Stewart, *op. cit.*, p. 34.
- 32 *Asbury Park Press*, July 29, 1928.
- 33 Stewart, *op. cit.*, p. 34.
- 34 *I. e.*, the clam.
- 35 William Wood, "New England's Prospect," published in London, 1639, describing Indian seashore life in New England, but applicable to areas on the shore south of that territory; quoted in Heston, *South Jersey*, Vol. I, p. 10.
- 36 Philhower, *Indian Lore*, p. 7.
- 37 Philhower Chapter in Kull, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 41-42.
- 38 Kull, Vol. I, p. 50.
- 39 Charles Nash, *op. cit.*, p. 10.
- 40 William Nelson, *The Jersey Coast in Three Centuries*, (New York, 1902), Vol. I, pp. 12-13.
- 41 Philhower Chapter in Kull, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 41-42.
- 42 Charles Nash, *op. cit.*, p. 10.
- 43 *Ibid.*, quoting Montanus, 1671.

- 44 Samuel Lockwood of Freehold, Monmouth County, quoted in Franklin Ellis, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-8.
- 45 *Ibid.*, p. 9.
- 46 *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10.
- 47 *Ibid.*, p. 12.
- 48 See Dorothy Cross, *op. cit.*, p. 229.
- 49 Heston, *South Jersey*, Vol. I, p. 5.
- 50 *Ibid.*, p. 5.
- 51 Dorothy Cross, *op. cit.*, pp. 228-229.
- 52 Plate 5 in Dorothy Cross, *op. cit.*, shows a picture of the bowl.
- 53 Cross, *op. cit.*, p. 34.
- 54 *Ibid.*, p. 35.
- 55 *Ibid.*, p. 37.
- 56 No significance can be attached the present data until a more extended examination of this and other shell mounds can be made. *Ibid.*, p. 39. Plate 6 (a) and Plate 6 (b) show interesting pictures of the Tuckerton Shell Mound in the Cross volume.
- 57 Robert Juet Journal, quoted in Ellis, *op. cit.*, p. 45. "Sept. 7th; . . . they returned to the ship and brought one dead man with them, whom we carried on and buried and named the point after his name, Colman's Point." John Colman was the first white person buried on the Jersey shore. Opinions fail to concur with reference to the place of his burial. One authority believed Colman's Point was the same place as Point Comfort, in Raritan Township, Monmouth County east of Keyport, on Raritan Bay. Ellis, *op. cit.*, p. 45.
- 58 *Ibid.*, p. 42. These fish were the type of the sea-food that attracted the Indians to the shore. Indeed, the next day the same observer exclaimed caught "ten great mullets of a foot and a half long apiece and a ray as great as four man could haul into the ship." *Ibid.*
- 59 Verrazano, in all likelihood, did not land on the Jersey shore in the spring of 1524. Sailing under the auspices of the king of France, he coasted along the shore northwest from Carolina to Newfoundland. He wrote to the king on July 8th that he had found a "very pleasant situation among some steep hills, through which a large river, deep at its mouth, forces it way to the sea. From the sea to the estuary of the river any ship heavily laden might pass, with the help of the tide, which rises 8 feet." He also added that he found Indians, who were pleased to see him and that the "hills show many indications of minerals." Several authors have argued that Verrazano was referring to the mouth of the Hudson, but there is little to sustain that supposition. No vessel ever built at that day, or for at least two centuries afterward, would have any difficulty in entering New York Bay without waiting for "the help of the tide." Moreover, the other particulars noticed by Verrazano do not correspond with those



of the mouth of the Hudson. They do, however, fit the situation at the mouth of the Penobscot, with the rugged hills of Camden and Rockland, and of Monhegan Island, opposite the mouth. On that island, moreover, an attempt was later made to plant a French colony, resulting, perhaps, from Verrazano's account. See Franklin Ellis, *History of Monmouth County*. (Freehold, 1885), pp. 41-42.

60 *Ibid.*

61 Nelson, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 6.

62 Stewart, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

63 Lewis Stevens, *History of Cape May County* (Cape May, 1897), pp. 10-11, quoting from Dr. Maurice Beesley. "Sketch of Early History of Cape May," 1857. See also Stewart, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

64. Salter and Beekman, *op. cit.*, pp. 250-251.

65 *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.

66 Samuel Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 442-445.

67 Nelson, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 17.

68 Samuel Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 483.

69 Salter and Beekman, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

70 Stewart, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

71 Salter and Beekman, *op. cit.*, p. 23, This tradition, said the authors, was substantially correct. They derived it from Charles Parker, father of Governor Parker, who some sixty years before, in 1827, met with some of the disgusted purchasers of Indian Peter's eels.

72 Edwin Salter, *History of Monmouth and Ocean Counties* (Bayonne, 1890), p. 67. Much of the substance of these stories appeared in Barber and Howe, *Historical Collections of New Jersey* (1842 edition).

73 The uncle of the Lewis Morris who was later Governor of New Jersey, 1738; this uncle gave the name to Monmouth County after the county where he was born.

74 The discovery in Manahawkin Bay in 1951 of a bronze plate bearing the legible inscription "William Kidd" renewed interest in the possibility of buried treasure on the Jersey Shore. (See story in *Philadelphia Bulletin*, March 21, 1951, p. 1 & 3). Later, however, the plate was found to have been "planted" there.

75 Salter, *op. cit.*, p. 68. They had told Tilton other stories about the Indian. One was the story of his being charged with having killed his wife. The latter's brother, named Jacob, sought revenge. Finding Will unarmed, Jacob started to march him off as captive; suddenly Will saw a pine knot on the ground, managed to pick it up and with it, dealt Jacob a fatal blow. He was supposed to have told Jacob as he hit the man: "Jacob, look up at the sun, you will never see it again."

76 *Ibid.*, p. 70.

77 Account of Benjamin Pearce, 1880's, in Salter, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

78 Account of Thomas Cook of Point Pleasant related in Salter, *op.*

*cit.*, p. 71. A sequel story to the drowning was recounted. The two brothers of the wife eventually heard it and came to Will's cabin to avenge her. When they reached the cabin, Will was eating clam soup. He sensed their errand and invited them in to dinner, saying he would fight it out with them after the meal. They sat down to eat, but before they finished, Will pretended he heard someone coming and hurried out to greet them; but at the door he picked up one of the guns the visitors had brought and killed both.

*Ibid.*, p. 71.

79 *Ibid.*, p. 71.

80 Nash, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

81 *Ibid.*, p. 21. Statement of Samuel Southard.

82 Copy of letter in Nash, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

### CHAPTER THREE—FOOTNOTES

- 1 Samuel Smith, *History of the Colony of Nova Caesarea or New Jersey* (Burlington, 1765, reprinted 1890), pp. 487-488.
- 2 William Fischer, *Biographical Cyclopaedia of Ocean County* (Philadelphia, 1899), p. 25.
- 3 Alfred Heston, *Absegami Annals* (Camden, 1904), Vol. I, p. 195.
- 4 *Entertaining a Nation, the Career of Long Branch* (Bayonne, 1940), p. 11 and p. 28.
- 5 Leah Blackman, *History of Egg Harbor* as quoted in Fischer, *op. cit.*, pp. 226-227.
- 6 Fischer, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-26.
- 7 Alfred Heston, *South Jersey* (New York, 1924), Vol. I, p. 258.
- 8 Fischer, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-28.
- 9 This description was written for the East Jersey proprietors, in 1684, and quoted in Samuel Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 187.
- 10 Franklin Ellis, *History of Monmouth County* (Philadelphia, 1885), p. 60.
- 11 William Nelson, *The New Jersey Coast in Three Centuries* (New York, 1902), Vol. I, p. 60.
- 12 Ellis, *op. cit.*, p. 63.
- 13 Irving Kull, ed., *New Jersey* (New York, 1930), Vol. I, p. 97.
- 14 Ellis, *op. cit.*, p. 63.
- 15 Carteret had been a friend to Charles I, who made him joint-governor of his native Jersey in 1626 at the age of twenty-seven; in 1640 he had been made treasurer of the navy; when civil war broke out, he defended the island of Jersey for a number of years. When Charles I was executed in 1649, his son, later Charles II, found refuge on the island for a number of months before fleeing to France. Carteret did not surrender Jersey to the Parliamentary navy until 1651. Both Berkeley, a loyal courtier,

and Carteret shared Charles II's exile in France. For these and other reasons, Charles and James (Duke of York) were under obligation to the two men.

- 16 Kull, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 100-101.
- 17 *Ibid.*, p. 101.
- 18 Ellis, *op. cit.*, p. 71.
- 19 Kull, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 108.
- 20 *Ibid.*, p. 78.
- 21 *Ibid.*, p. 80.
- 22 *Ibid.*, p. 81: Letter by Col. Robert Quarry to the Lords of Trade in England, dated June 16, 1703.
- 23 From such a stock have descended people in Monmouth County who bear such names as Stryker, Lefferts, Hyer, Quackenbush, Polhemus, Conover, Barkalow, Wykoff, Hoff and Hoffman, Beekman, Hendricks and Hendrickson, Probasco, Terhune, Cortelyou, Gulick, DuBois, Denise, Bergen, Voorhees, Vredenburg, Truax, Schuyler, Hageman, Luyster, Van Kirk, Van Sickelin, Van Dyke, Van Dorn, Van Mater, Van Deventer, Van Cleaf, Van Hise, and others of the "Van" prefix. *Ibid.*, p. 83.
- 24 *Ibid.*, p. 102.
- 25 *Ibid.*, p. 103.
- 26 *Ibid.*, p. 103.
- 27 Fischer, *op. cit.*, p. 23.
- 28 Alfred Heston, ed., *South Jersey* (New York, 1924), Vol. I, p. 205. The section on Ocean County was written by William H. Fischer for the editor, Mr. Heston.
- 29 *Ibid.*, William Fischer's writing, p. 205.
- 30 *Ibid.*, p. 206.
- 31 *Ibid.*, p. 214 *et. seq.*
- 32 Edwin Salter, *History of Monmouth and Ocean County* (Baltimore, 1890), p. 75.
- 33 Heston, *South Jersey*, II, 671-672.
- 34 Quoted in Heston, *Absegami Annals*, I, 100.
- 35 *Ibid.*, p. 87.
- 36 *Ibid.*, p. 89. p. 183, p. 184.
- 37 Nelson, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 249.
- 38 Lewis Stevens, *History of Cape May County* (Cape May, 1897), p. 66, quoting from Oldmixon's account, written in 1708.
- 39 Heston, *Absegami Annals*, Vol. I, p. 252.
- 40 Act of 1710, quoted in Heston, *Absegami Annals*, Vol. I, p. 251.
- 41 *Ibid.*, p. 253.
- 42 *Ibid.*, p. 253.
- 43 Lewis Stevens, *op. cit.*, p. 59.
- 44 *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16.
- 45 *Ibid.*, pp. 20-21.
- 46 *Ibid.*, p. 22.
- 47 *Ibid.*, p. 28, quoting Beesley.



- 48 *Ibid.*, p. 30.
- 49 Heston, *South Jersey*, II, p. 540.
- 50 John Barber and Henry Howe, *Historical Collection of the State of New Jersey* (New Haven, Conn., 1814), p. 138.
- 51 Stevens, *op. cit.*, p. 50.
- 52 *Ibid.*, p. 50.
- 53 *Ibid.*, p. 66.
- 54 *Ibid.*, p. 55.
- 55 *Ibid.*, pp. 96-97, quoting the Journal of Thomas Chalkley.
- 56 Samuel Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 498.

#### CHAPTER IV—FOOTNOTES

- 1 Fithian Journal, quoted in Alfred Heston, *South Jersey* (New York, 1924), Vol. I, p. 145. Clark's Meeting House was a few miles west of Port Republic.
- 2 Letter from Lewis Morris, quoted in William Nelson, *The Jersey Coast in Three Centuries* (New York, 1902), Vol. I, p. 278.
- 3 Samuel Smith, *History of Nova Caesarea or New Jersey* (Burlington, 1765), p. 491.
- 4 Fithian Journal (1775), quoted in Heston, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 144. This Mrs. Clark was the wife of Elijah Clark of Clark's Landing.
- 5 Nelson, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 263.
- 6 Edwin Salter, *History of Monmouth and Ocean Counties* (Baltimore, 1890), p. 246.
- 7 Franklin Ellis, *History of Monmouth County* (Philadelphia, 1885), p. 532.
- 8 *Ibid.*, p. 627 *et seq.*
- 9 Report of Rev. Thomas Thompson, 1745, quoted in Salter, *op. cit.*, p. 246.
- 10 Nelson, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 266-267.
- 11 Description written by early 18th Century Presbyterian and quoted in Lewis Stevens, *History of Cape May County* (Cape May, 1897), pp. 74-76.
- 12 Heston, *South Jersey*, Vol. I, p. 144; Nelson, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 267-268.
- 13 Heston, *Absegami Annals* (Camden, 1904), Vol. I, p. 184.
- 14 *Ibid.*, pp. 183-184, citing Rev. Allen Brown, Presbyterian minister and author. Elijah was the son of Thomas Clark who had settled Clark's Landing. Thomas Clark died there in 1743. The first church built there was Presbyterian.
- 15 Fithian Journal, quoted in Heston, *South Jersey*, Vol. I, pp. 144-145.
- 16 Thompson Journal, quoted in William Fischer, *Biographical Cyclopaedia of Ocean County* (Philadelphia, 1899), p. 35.

- 17 Keith Journal, Sun., Oct. 17, 1702, quoted in Ellis, *op. cit.*, p. 579.
- 18 *Ibid.*, p. 579.
- 19 Nelson, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 280.
- 20 Thompson Journal, quoted in Fischer, *op. cit.*, p. 35; see also Nelson, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 280.
- 21 Ellis, *op. cit.*, p. 623.
- 22 *Ibid.*, p. 582, from a history of the Shrewsbury Church.
- 23 Nelson, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 280-281.
- 24 Thomas Chalkley Journal, 1726, quoted in Stevens, *op. cit.*, p. 96.
- 25 Nelson, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 273.
- 26 George Fox Journal, quoted in Ellis, *op. cit.*, pp. 576-577.
- 27 Heston, *South Jersey*, Vol. I, p. 143.
- 28 Stevens, *op. cit.*, p. 76.
- 29 Leah Blackman, *History of Little Egg Harbor*, quoted in Fischer, *op. cit.*, pp. 227-228.
- 30 John Hunt Diary, New Jersey Historical Society *Proceedings*, Vol. 53 (1935), pp. 117-118; 201-202.
- 31 Nelson, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 271.
- 32 *Ibid.*, pp. 271-272.
- 33 Thompson Journal, quoted in Fischer, *op. cit.*, p. 35; see also Salter, *op. cit.*, pp. 245-247.
- 34 Smith, *op. cit.*, as quoted in Heston, *South Jersey*, Vol. I, pp. 582-583.
- 35 Morgan Edwards, *Baptists of New Jersey* (1792), quoted in Stevens, *op. cit.*, p. 71. Jenkins was born in Wales in 1678, arrived in America in 1710, and settled at the Cape in 1712. He served in the Assembly from 1723 to 1733. His wife, Esther Jones, bore him nine children, the oldest of which, Rev. Nathaniel Jenkins, 2nd, became his successor.
- 36 T. S. Griffiths, *History of the Baptists*, quoted in Nelson, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 277.
- 37 Ellis, *op. cit.*, p. 635.
- 38 Charles Nash, *The Lure of Long Beach* (Long Beach, 1936), p. 77.
- 39 Edwards, *op. cit.* (1792), quoted in Ellis, *op. cit.*, p. 528.
- 40 Nelson, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 275.
- 41 Rev. Abel Morgan Journal quoted in Ellis, *op. cit.*, pp. 529-530.
- 42 Nelson, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 275.
- 43 Edwards, *op. cit.* (1792), quoted in Stevens, *op. cit.*, p. 71.
- 44 Stevens, *op. cit.*, p. 74.
- 45 Edwards, *op. cit.* (1792), quoted in Ellis, *op. cit.*, p. 528.
- 46 Heston, *South Jersey*, Vol. II, pp. 584-585.
- 47 Edwards, *op. cit.* (1792), quoted in Stevens, *op. cit.*, p. 109.
- 48 Fischer, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-32; Heston, *South Jersey*, Vol. I, p. 210.
- 49 Fischer, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-32.
- 50 Heston, *South Jersey*, Vol. I, p. 210.

- 51 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 209-210.
- 52 Job Throckmorton's account in John Atkins, *Memorials of Methodism*, quoted in Edwin Salter and George Beekman, *Old Times in Old Monmouth* (Freehold, 1887), pp. 100-101.
- 53 Benjamin Abbott Journal, 1777, quoted in Salter and Beekman, *op. cit.*, p. 70.
- 54 *Ibid.*, p. 70.
- 55 Bishop Francis Asbury Journal, quoted in Salter and Beekman, *op. cit.*, pp. 101-102.
- 56 Nelson, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 281.
- 57 Heston, *Absegami Annals*, Vol. I, p. 186.
- 58 Stevens, *op. cit.*, p. 255.
- 59 John Griffith Journal, 1766, quoted in Heston, *South Jersey*, Vol. I, p. 213.
- 60 *Dictionary of American Biography*, Vol. XIII, p. 361.
- 61 Fischer, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-38.
- 62 See discussion of Universalism in *Encyclopedia Britannica* (1941 edition), Vol. XXVII, p. 569.
- 63 Salter, *op. cit.*, p. 296; pp. 384-388; Fischer, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-38, gives another version of Murray's transfer to the smaller boat. See also, Salter and Beekman, *op. cit.*, pp. 128-134.
- 64 Salter, *op. cit.*, p. 296 *et seq.*
- 65 *Dictionary of American Biography*, Vol. XIII, p. 362.
- 66 Salter and Beekman, *op. cit.*, p. 134.
- 67 Fischer, *op. cit.*, p. 39.
- 68 Letter to writer from Mr. Frank Sutton, Jr., of Toms River, dated June 28, 1951; see also Heston, *South Jersey*, Vol. I, pp. 213-214.

#### CHAPTER V—FOOTNOTES

- 1 Lewis Stevens, *History of Cape May County* (Cape May, 1897), p. 58.
- 2 William Fischer, *Biographical Cyclopaedia of Ocean County* (Philadelphia, 1899), p. 35.
- 3 Road Commissioners' record quoted in Franklin Ellis, *History of Monmouth County* (Philadelphia, 1885), p. 375.
- 4 *Ibid.*, p. 370.
- 5 William Edmundson Journal, 1677, quoted in Ellis, *op. cit.*, p. 370.
- 6 Ellis, *op. cit.*, pp. 376-377.
- 7 *Ibid.*, p. 377.
- 8 Alfred Heston, *Absegami Annals* (Camden, 1904), Vol. I, p. 171. Taverns at Blue Anchor and at Silver Boy, near Elwood, in Atlantic County, were used as overnight stopovers. (p. 171.)
- 9 John F. Hall, *History of Atlantic City and County* (Atlantic City, 1900), p. 339.



- 10 Wheaton Lane, *From Indian Trail to Iron Horse* (Princeton, 1940), p. 37.
- 11 Stevens, *op. cit.*, p. 220, quoted Legislative Act of Nov. 11, 1789.
- 12 Alfred Heston, *South Jersey*, Vol. II, pp. 557-558.
- 13 *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 557-558. The first turnpike in Cape May was not built until 1858 when an improved road was finished from Cape Island north to Cape May Courthouse. Tolls were charged, and a nearby public road, paralleling the pike for a considerable portion of the distance, became very popular. It was called, with meaning, the "Shun Pike." (*Ibid.*)
- 14 Stevens, *op. cit.*, pp. 101-102.
- 15 John Barber and Henry Howe, *Historical Collections of the State of New Jersey* (New Haven, Conn., 1844), p. 132.
- 16 Quoted in Stevens, *op. cit.*, pp. 134-135.
- 17 *Ibid.*, p. 224.
- 18 Spicer Journal quoted in Stevens, *op. cit.*, p. 119. Although Spicer was a Cape May merchant, he had a farm for his family of twelve, and corn was one of the commodities he exported.
- 19 Alfred Heston, *South Jersey* (New York, 1930) Vol. I, pp. 208-209, section written by William Fischer; see also Stevens, *op. cit.*, pp. 173-174.
- 20 Stevens, *op. cit.*, p. 173.
- 21 Quoted in Stevens, *op. cit.*, p. 125.
- 22 Gustav Kobbé, *The New Jersey Coast and Pines* (Short Hills, 1889), p. 94.
- 23 Fischer, *op. cit.*, p. 34.
- 24 Heston, *Absegami Annals*, Vol. I, p. 232.
- 25 Heston, *South Jersey*, Vol. I, p. 208, section written by William Fischer.
- 26 See Leaming Journal extract in John Barber and Henry Howe, *op. cit.*, p. 126. Leaming was born in 1715 and died in 1780.
- 27 Benjamin Franklin letter to Benjamin Vaughan, July 26, 1748, quoted in Stevens, *op. cit.*, p. 120. Franklin wrote the letter in Passy, France.
- 28 Material from Beesley's *Geology of the County of Cape May* (1857) and quoted in Cornelius Weygandt, *Down Jersey* (New York, 1940), p. 302. Seven Mile Beach later became Avalon and Stone Harbor; Five Mile, Anglesea and Wildwood.
- 29 Gabriel Thomas, *History of West Jersey* (1698), quoted in Stevens, *op. cit.*, p. 57.
- 30 Weygandt, *op. cit.*, p. 302.
- 31 Leaming Journal, Nov. 6, 1761, quoted in Stevens, *op. cit.*, p. 134.
- 32 Spicer Journal, June 4, 1757, quoted in Stevens, *op. cit.*, p. 130.
- 33 Stevens, *op. cit.*, p. 220.
- 34 Spicer Journal, quoted in Stevens, *op. cit.*, p. 123.
- 35 Heston, *Absegami Annals*, Vol. I, p. 226.

- 36 Heston, *South Jersey*, Vol. II, p. 578.
- 37 *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 784.
- 38 Ellis, *op. cit.*, p. 595.
- 39 *Ibid.*, pp. 437, 549.
- 40 *Ibid.*, p. 438.
- 41 Spicer Journal, 1757, quoted in Stevens, *op. cit.*, p. 121. Both Spicer and Aaron Leaming were Cape May County representatives to the Provincial Assembly.
- 42 Spicer Journal, 1758, quoted in Stevens, *op. cit.*, pp. 121-122.
- 43 *Ibid.*, p. 123.
- 44 Lane, *op. cit.*, p. 37.
- 45 Spicer Journal, 1758, quoted in Stevens, *op. cit.*, p. 123.
- 46 Spicer Journal, 1757, quoted in Heston, *South Jersey*, Vol. II, p. 543.
- 47 Spicer Journal, 1758, quoted in Stevens, *op. cit.*, p. 123.
- 48 Spicer Journal, June 14, 1758, quoted in Stevens, *op. cit.*, p. 125.  
There were few whole shells left by the Indians in their extensive shell banks. Most had been already broken in the process of making wampum. Dr. Beesley commented in 1857 that there were large deposits of shells in Cape May, but one rarely saw a piece larger than a shilling, and these were mostly the white part of the shell, the black having already been selected for wampum. (*Ibid.*, p. 125.)
- 49 Samuel Smith, *History of Nova Caesarea or New-Jersey* (Burlington, 1765), p. 54.
- 50 Heston, *South Jersey*, Vol. I, p. 208.
- 51 Edwin Salter, *History of Monmouth and Ocean Counties* (Baltimore, 1889), p. 100.
- 52 Heston, *South Jersey*, Vol. I, p. 208; Salter, *op. cit.*, p. 102.
- 53 Fischer, *op. cit.*, p. 67.
- 54 Heston, *South Jersey*, Vol. I, p. 207.
- 55 Fischer, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-68.
- 56 Spicer Journal, Mar. 1, 1760, quoted in Stevens, *op. cit.*, pp. 127-128.
- 57 Heston, *South Jersey*, Vol. II, p. 764. In 1776, two of the Chestnut Neck citizens obtained a charter from authorities to build a mill dam across Nacote Creek and erect a mill for sawing lumber and grinding corn. This was the beginning of Port Republic. This village, incidentally, in its earlier days was known locally as "Wrangleboro," a name, it was claimed that suggested the habits of some of its residents who were frequent visitors at the six public houses in the neighborhood at that time. (*Ibid.*)
- 58 Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 95.
- 59 Heston, *South Jersey*, Vol. I, p. 208.
- 60 Charles Nash, *The Lure of Long Beach* (Long Beach, 1936), p. 76.
- 61 Philadelphia item appearing in the *New England Courant*, Boston;

- quoted in Stevens, *op. cit.*, pp. 186-187.
- 62 New York item, August 4, 1740, in *Evening Post*, Boston; quoted in Stevens, *op. cit.*, p. 87.
- 63 *Evening Post*, New York, July 20, 1747, quoted in Stevens, *op. cit.*, p. 88.
- 64 Stevens, *op. cit.*, p. 88, quoting from a Boston newspaper, issue of July 21, 1747; Stevens, *op. cit.*, quoting from New York *Evening Post*, issue of August 10, 1747.
- 65 *New Jersey Archives*, Vol. X, p. 296, quoted in Lane, *op. cit.*, p. 38.
- 66 *Ibid.*, quoted in Lane, p. 39.
- 67 *Ibid.*
- 68 *New Jersey Archives*, Vol. X, pp. 282, 289, quoted in Lane, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-40.
- 69 Thomas Jones, *History of New York during the Revoutionary War* (New York, 1879), pp. 92-93, cited in Lane, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

## CHAPTER VI—FOOTNOTES

- 1 Gabriel Thomas, *History of West Jersey* (1698), quoted in Lewis Stevens, *History of Cape May County* (Cape May, 1887), p. 57.
- 2 Law of 1719, quoted in Stevens, *op. cit.*, p. 80.
- 3 William Nelson, *The New Jersey Coast in Three Centuries* (New York, 1902), Vol. I, p. 430.
- 4 Stevens, *op. cit.*, p. 80.
- 5 William Fischer, *Biographical Cyclopaedia of Ocean County* (Philadelphia, 1899), p. 31.
- 6 Stevens, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-81; Nelson, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 430.
- 7 Alfred Heston, *South Jersey*, Vol. I, p. 208.
- 8 Spicer Journal, 1758, quoted in Stevens, *op. cit.*, p. 123.
- 9 Edwin Salter, *History of Monmouth and Ocean Counties* (Baltimore, 1890), p. 104, quoting DeVries Journal. Scott's comment, 1685, quoted in *ibid.*, p. 105.
- 10 Court decision, 1808, quoted in Edwin Salter and George Beekman, *Old Times in Old Monmouth* (Freehold, 1887), p. 156.
- 11 *Ibid.*, p. 157. For discussion of situation in 1874, see *ibid.*, p. 157.
- 12 Salter, *op. cit.*, p. 105, describing conditions in the Barnegat Bay and Little Egg Harbor vicinities.
- 13 Directions given Jeremiah Basse, agent for West Jersey proprietors, 1692, quoted in Alfred Heston, *Absegami Annals* (Camden, 1904), Vol. I, p. 103.
- 14 Fischer, *op. cit.*, p. 23.
- 15 Heston, *Absegami Annals*, Vol. I, p. 96.
- 16 Charles Nash, *The Lure of Long Beach* (Long Beach, 1936), p. 14.
- 17 Heston, *South Jersey*, Vol. II, pp. 782-783; p. 785.



- 18 Journal of a trip to "Manahocking," July 1833, (from J. F. Watson's *Annals*), quoted in John Barber and Henry Howe, *Historical Collections of the State of New Jersey* (New Haven, Conn., 1844), p. 364. (Stephen Inman was 75 years old by 1833. See Nash, *op. cit.*, p. 47.)
- 19 *New York Gazette*, Jan. 21, 1754, in *New Jersey Archives*, Vol. XIX, p. 332.
- 20 *Ibid.*, Feb. 4, 1754, in *New Jersey Archives*, Vol. XIX, pp. 335-336.
- 21 *Pennsylvania Journal*, Feb. 12, 1754, item dateline New York, Feb. 12, 1754, in *New Jersey Archives*, Vol. XIX, p. 337.
- 22 Nash, *op. cit.*, p. 42.
- 23 *Ibid.*, p. 46. For illustration of "whale-watch," see *ibid.*, p. 46.
- 24 *Ibid.*, p. 44.
- 25 *Ibid.*, p. 45.
- 26 *Ibid.*, pp. 46-47. The author of the book related that in the summer of 1927 he found a whale spear, a whale-cutting spade, and a hand-carved bone needle for mending nets near the old lighthouse on what used to be called Tuckers Beach, south of Long Beach Island. They were later put on exhibition in the museum at Beach Haven Library. See *ibid.*, p. 48.
- 27 *Boston News Letter*, March 17, 1718, quoted in *New Jersey Archives*, Vol. XI, p. 46.
- 28 *Ibid.*, May 6, 1742, item dateline Philadelphia, April 29, 1742, quoted in *New Jersey Archives*, Vol. XII, p. 125. Another paper noted the same whale, about the middle of April, which "came ashore on Absecum Beach about 40 miles to the Eastward of Cape-May, she had about 7 Foot-Bone, and had in her 2 or 3 irons." Quotation from the *American Weekly Mercury*, April 22, 1742, in *New Jersey Archives*, Vol. XII, p. 125.
- 29 Heston, *Absegami Annals*, Vol. II, p. 97.
- 30 Thomas Leaming Journal, quoted in Barber and Howe, *op. cit.*, p. 124.
- 31 Stevens, *op. cit.*, p. 43.
- 32 Maurice Beesley, 1857, quoted in Heston, *South Jersey*, Vol. II, p. 562.
- 33 *Boston News Letter*, March 17-24, 1718, quoted in *New Jersey Archives*, Vol. XI, p. 46; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Philadelphia, March 11-18, 1735, quoted in *New Jersey Archives*, Vol. XI, p. 529.
- 34 Fischer, *op. cit.*, p. 23.
- 35 Act of 1693, quoted in Stevens, *op. cit.*, p. 50.
- 36 Commission from Governor Hamilton to George Taylor, 1696, quoted in Stevens, *op. cit.*, p. 51.
- 37 Court Records, Burlington Court, 1685, 1686, and 1688, quoted in Stevens, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-31.
- 38 *Pennsylvania Gazette*, March 13-19, 1729, in *New Jersey Ar-*

*chives*, Vol. XI, p. 203.

- 39 American Weekly Mercury, April 22-29, 1742, in *New Jersey Archives*, Vol. XII, p. 125; *Boston News Letter*, May 6-13, 1742, in *Archives*, Vol. XII, p. 129.
- 40 Stevens, *op. cit.*, p. 30.
- 41 *Ibid.*, p. 175.
- 42 Nelson, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 428.
- 43 Journal of Thomas Hopkins of Friendship Salt Company, Great Egg Harbor, printed in *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. XLII (1918), p. 46.
- 44 Salter, *op. cit.*, p. 274.
- 45 Nelson, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 414.
- 46 K. Braddock-Rogers, "Saltworks of New Jersey during the American Revolution," *Journal of Chemical Education*, Vol. XV (December, 1938), p. 582.
- 47 Nelson, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 415.
- 48 Letters of Van Emburgh to Neilson, May 5 and May 20, 1770, in James Neilson Papers, quoted in Leonard Lundin, *Cockpit of the Revolution* (Princeton, 1940), p. 407.
- 49 Quotation from contemporary newspaper, in K. Braddock-Rogers, *loc. cit.*, p. 591.
- 50 Fischer, *op. cit.*, p. 44.
- 51 K. Braddock-Rogers, *loc. cit.*, p. 583.
- 52 Nelson, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 415.
- 53 K. Braddock-Rogers, *loc. cit.*, p. 592.
- 54 *New Jersey Gazette*, Trenton, April 1, 1778, quoted in Fischer, *op. cit.*, p. 45.
- 55 Resolution, Pennsylvania Council of Safety, Nov. 2, 1776, quoted in Fischer, *op. cit.*, p. 44.
- 56 *Ibid.*, p. 44.
- 57 *Ibid.*, p. 45.
- 58 *New Jersey Gazette*, Trenton, April, 1778, quoted in Fischer, *op. cit.*, p. 45. The Pennsylvania works at Toms River were rebuilt by Thomas Savadge for himself. Savadge died in October, 1779, and the establishment was purchased by John Thompson of Burlington County for 15,000 pounds of depreciated Continental money (Fischer, *op. cit.*, p. 46.)
- 59 Nelson, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 416.
- 60 Lundin, *op. cit.*, pp. 289-290.
- 61 *Washington's Writings*, Vol. XI, pp. 148-149, quoted in Lundin, *op. cit.*, pp. 290-291.
- 62 *Ibid.*, p. 291.
- 63 Nelson, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 414.
- 64 *Ibid.*
- 65 John Clement, "Atlantic County, Then and Now," *Proceedings of the Surveyors' Association of West New Jersey* (Camden, 1880), pp. 404-405; K. Braddock-Rogers, *loc. cit.*, p. 592.

- 66 Clement, *loc. cit.*, p. 405.
- 67 K. Braddock-Rogers, *loc. cit.*, p. 592.
- 68 Clement, *loc. cit.*, p. 405.
- 69 Fischer, *op. cit.*, p. 44.
- 70 K. Braddock-Rogers, *loc. cit.*, p. 587.
- 71 Journal of Thomas Hopkins of the Friendship Salt Company, New Jersey, in *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. XLII (1918), pp. 46-61. The manuscript of the Journal is in the Pennsylvania Historical Society Library, Philadelphia.
- 72 *Ibid.* In those days there was little consistency in spelling. Mr. Hopkins first writes "Blue Anchor" and later "Blew Anchor."
- 73 Heston, *Absegami Annals*, Vol. I, p. 218.
- 74 K. Braddock-Rogers, *loc. cit.*, p. 595.
- 75 Nelson, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 416.
- 76 K. Braddock-Rogers, *loc. cit.*, p. 592.
- 77 Excerpts from John F. Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1857), Vol. II, p. 545, quoting from the manuscript journal describing journey from Philadelphia to Tuckerton, 1823.
- 78 Barber and Howe, *op. cit.*, p. 109.
- 79 K. Braddock-Rogers, *loc. cit.*, p. 592.

#### CHAPTER VII—FOOTNOTES

- 1 Mason Weems, *A History of the Life and Death, Virtues and Exploits of General George Washington*, first published in 1800, soon after the death of Washington, and running through probably seventy editions. This edition was printed in 1927, in New York, p. 167.
- 2 Leonard Lundin, *Cockpit of the Revolution* (Princeton, 1940), pp. 41-42.
- 3 Poem written by Thomas Dunn English in 1867, appearing in the *Monmouth Democrat* (Freehold), June 27, 1867. Mr. English was at the battle "where they told me I was bolder far than many a comrade older, though a stripling at that fight for the right."
- 4 Lundin, *op. cit.*, pp. 394-395; *New Jersey Guide* (New York, 1939), p. 566.
- 5 Lundin *op. cit.*, p. 395.
- 6 *Ibid.*, p. 396. Quotation from Clinton's "Orderly Book," in *Collections of the New York Historical Society*, 1883, p. 602.
- 7 *Ibid.*, p. 397, quoting minutes of Council of War, June 24, in *Washington Writings*, Vol. 78.
- 8 *Ibid.*, p. 398.
- 9 *Ibid.*, p. 398-399. Authorities disagree over the role of Charles Lee. For a widely accepted anti-Lee interpretation see Leonard Lundin, *op. cit.*; for a pro-Lee account see John Richard Alden,



- General Charles Lee* (Baton Rouge, Louisiana, 1951.)
- 10 Franklin Ellis, *History of Monmouth County* (Philadelphia, 1885), p. 168.
  - 11 See discussion in J. Alden, *op. cit.*
  - 12 Ellis, *op. cit.*, p. 169.
  - 13 Lundin, *op. cit.*, quoting from *Washington Writings*, Vol. 142.
  - 14 Lundin, *op. cit.*, p. 399.
  - 15 Ellis, *op. cit.*, p. 174.
  - 16 *New Jersey Guide*, p. 566.
  - 17 Ellis, *op. cit.*, p. 174; Lundin, *op. cit.*, p. 399.
  - 18 Ellis, *op. cit.*, p. 176, quoting from testimony taken at the court-martial.
  - 19 *New Jersey Guide*, p. 566.
  - 20 Ellis, *op. cit.*, p. 177.
  - 21 Lundin, *op. cit.*, p. 400; Ellis, *op. cit.*, pp. 179-180.
  - 22 *New Jersey Guide*, p. 568.
  - 23 Ellis, *op. cit.*, p. 181.
  - 24 *Ibid.*, p. 182.
  - 25 *Ibid.*
  - 26 *New Jersey Guide*, p. 568.
  - 27 Lundin, *op. cit.*, pp. 400-401.
  - 28 John W. Barber and Henry Howe, *Historical Collections of the State of New Jersey* (New Haven, Conn., 1857) p. 347. In the preface of this work, which is the second edition, the authors state that the volume was compiled in the spring of 1842. *Ibid.*, Preface, p. 4.
  - 29 *Ibid.*, p. 347.
  - 30 Ellis, *op. cit.*, p. 682.
  - 31 Barber and Howe, *op. cit.*, (1844), edition of 1857, p. 348, quoting from Elias Boudinot, *Life of William Tennent*, published about 1806. *Ibid.*, p. 349.
  - 32 Ellis, *op. cit.*, p. 682.
  - 33 *Ibid.*, p. 684.
  - 34 *Ibid.*, p. 684.
  - 35 *Ibid.*, p. 682.
  - 36 Portion of rhyming that appeared in *Monmouth Democrat* (Freehold) June 27, 1867, written by the same Thomas Dunn English who is quoted at the beginning of section 1 of this chapter.
  - 37 Barber and Howe, *op. cit.*, p. 342.
  - 38 *Dictionary of American Biography*, Vol. XI, pp. 574-575.
  - 39 *New Jersey Guide* (New York, 1939), p. 565.
  - 40 *Ibid.*, p. 565.
  - 41 Quotation from Dr. Waldo's Journal in William Stryker, *The Battle of Monmouth* (Princeton, 1927), p. 189.
  - 42 One authority quotes Lossing's *Field Book of the Revolution* and says she was made a sergeant. (See Edwin Salter and George Beekman, *Old Times in Monmouth County* (Freehold, 1887),

- p. 156), another, with perhaps less authority, says she was made a Lieutenant. See Barber and Howe, *op. cit.*, p. 342.
- 43 Lossing, *Field Book of the Revolution*, quoted in Salter and Beekman, *op. cit.*, p. 156.
- 44 *Ibid.* This same historian claimed that Molly had been at Fort Clinton with her husband when it was attacked in 1777. When the Americans retreated from the fort, as the enemy scaled the ramparts, Molly took the match and fired the last shot before leaving. Stryker, *op. cit.*, p. 190. One resident, a Mrs. Rose, was less laudatory in her recollection of Molly. She said she remembered her as "Dirty Kate" who lived "between Fort Montgomery and Buttermilk Falls at the close of the war. . . . She died a horrible death from a syphilitic disease." (Salter and Beekman, *op. cit.*, p. 156.) William Starr Myer of Princeton states that in response to a letter of inquiry to an aged resident of Carlisle, he received in 1926, a letter from one of her family saying "Molly was a rough, common woman who swore like a trooper. She smoked and chewed tobacco and had no education whatsoever." William Starr Myer's letter quoted in Stryker, *op. cit.*, p. 192.
- 45 *Dictionary of American Biography*, Vol. XI, pp. 574-575.
- 46 Stryker, *op. cit.*, p. 191.
- 47 J. A. Murray, *Contributions to the Local History of Carlisle, Pennsylvania*, 1902; see quotation from Carlisle story in Ellis, *op. cit.*, pp. 186-187.
- 48 Ellis, *op. cit.*, p. 490.
- 49 *Monmouth Democrat* (Freehold), July 4, 1878.
- 50 Ellis, *op. cit.*, p. 495.
- 51 George F. Fort, *Democrat*, was governor, 1851-1854.
- 52 *Trenton American*, issue following June 28, 1854, quoted in Ellis, *op. cit.*, pp. 495-498.
- 53 *Ibid.*, p. 497.
- 54 *Monmouth Democrat*, (Freehold) July 6, 1854.
- 55 *Ibid.*, issue for July 4, 1878.
- 56 *Ibid.*
- 57 *Ibid.*
- 58 *Ibid.*
- 59 *Ibid.*
- 60 Ellis, *op. cit.*, p. 491.
- 61 *Ibid.*, p. 495.
- 62 Lundin, *op. cit.*, pp. 401-402.

## CHAPTER VIII—FOOTNOTES

- 1 British account of expedition against Toms River, 1782, published in Rivington's *Royal Gazette* (1782) and quoted in John

- Barber and Henry Howe, *Historical Collections of the State of New Jersey* (New Haven, Conn., 1844, republished 1857), p. 329.
- 2 Leonard Lundin, *Cockpit of the Revolution* (Princeton, 1940), p. 404; Charles Nash, *Lure of Long Beach* (Long Beach, 1936), p. 69.
  - 3 Letter from John VamEmburch to his partner in privateering ventures, Col. John Neilson, May 20, 1779, in James Neilson papers, quoted in Leonard Lundin, *Cockpit of the Revolution* (Princeton, 1940), p. 404.
  - 4 *New Jersey Archives*, Vol. I, 486; II, 137, 189, as quoted in Lundin, *op. cit.*, p. 404.
  - 5 Alfred Heston, *Absegami Annals*, Vol. I, p. 142.
  - 6 Edwin Salter, *History of Monmouth and Ocean Counties* (Bayingonne, New Jersey, 1890), p. 193.
  - 7 Heston, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 138.
  - 8 *New Jersey Archives*, Vol. I, pp. 110-111, as quoted in Lundin, *op. cit.*, p. 113.
  - 9 Lewis Stevens, *History of Cape May County*, (Cape May, 1897), p. 210.
  - 10 See account in *Ibid.*, p. 210.
  - 11 *Ibid.*, p. 212.
  - 12 *Pennsylvania Packet*, March 11, 1777, quoted in Heston, *Absegami Annals*, Vol. I, pp. 138-139.
  - 13 *New Jersey Gazette*, quoted in William Fischer, *Cyclopaedia of Ocean County* (Philadelphia, 1899), p. 47.
  - 14 *New Jersey Gazette*, August 5, 1778, quoted in Fisher, *op. cit.*, p. 47.
  - 15 *Ibid.*, p. 51.
  - 16 *Ibid.*, p. 51.
  - 17 Fisher, *op. cit.*, p. 48.
  - 18 *Ibid.*, p. 52.
  - 19 Wm. Nelson, *The New Jersey Coast in Three Centuries* (New York, 1902), Vol. I, p. 437.
  - 20 *New Jersey Gazette* issue for August 12, 1778, quoted in Fischer, *op. cit.*, p. 47.
  - 21 Salter, *op. cit.*, pp. 194-195.
  - 22 Fischer, *op. cit.*, p. 50.
  - 23 Salter, *op. cit.*, p. 195, quoting from the *New Jersey Gazette*.
  - 24 Fischer, *op. cit.*, p. 52.
  - 25 Salter, *op. cit.*, p. 197.
  - 26 *Ibid.*, p. 198. Other locations in the counties received prizes. For example, in the latter part of 1780, two British vessels were captured in Raritan Bay near the south side of Staten Island and brought to Middletown Point in Monmouth County. Salter, *op. cit.*, p. 197.
  - 27 *Ibid.*, p. 200.



- 28 Letter published in *The Pennsylvania Packet* and quoted in Heston, *Absegami Annals* (Camden, 1904), Vol. I, p. 141.
- 29 Heston, *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 142.
- 30 Stevens, *op. cit.*, pp. 209-210.
- 31 Lundin, *op. cit.*, p. 405.
- 32 Heston, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 138.
- 33 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 138.
- 34 John F. Hall, *History of Atlantic City and County* (Atlantic City, 1900), p. 91.
- 35 Heston, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 143.
- 36 William Stryker, *The Affair at Egg Harbor* (Trenton, 1894), pp. 16-23.
- 37 Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 93.
- 38 Heston, *Absegami Annals*, Vol. I, p. 144.
- 39 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 144.
- 40 Fischer, *op. cit.*, p. 48.
- 41 Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 93.
- 42 Fischer, *op. cit.*, p. 49. Fischer, county historian, refers to the two leaders as Baron DeBose and Lt. de la Broderick. However, the authority on the affair, William Stryker, refers to them as Col. DeBosen and Lt. de la Borderie.
- 43 Stryker, *op. cit.*, p. 17.
- 44 *Ibid.*, p. 21.
- 45 *Ibid.*, p. 22.
- 46 *Ibid.*
- 47 *Ibid.*, p. 23.
- 48 *Ibid.*
- 49 Fischer, *op. cit.*, p. 50.
- 50 Lundin, *op. cit.*, p. 405.
- 51 Barber and Howe, *op. cit.*, p. 329.
- 52 Fischer, *op. cit.*, p. 55.
- 53 *Ibid.*, p. 55.
- 54 Barber and Howe, *op. cit.*, pp. 328-329.
- 55 Fischer, *op. cit.*, p. 55.
- 56 *Ibid.*, p. 56.
- 57 British Report taken from Rivington's *Royal Gazette* and quoted in Barber and Howe, *op. cit.*, p. 329.
- 58 *Ibid.*, p. 329.
- 59 Another house was also spared, that of Mrs. Sarah Studston, whose husband had been killed by Bacon at Cranberry Inlet, an episode discussed in the next section. Fischer, *op. cit.*, p. 56.
- 60 British report taken from Rivington's *Royal Gazette* and quoted in Barber and Howe, *op. cit.*, p. 329.
- 61 Fischer, *op. cit.*, p. 57.
- 62 Quotation in William Nelson, *The New Jersey Coast in Three Centuries* (New York, 1902), Vol. I, p. 184.
- 63 Salter and Beekman, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

- 64 The term "Refugee," however, was far cry from the type of refugee that came to New Jersey following World War II.
- 65 Heston, *South Jersey*, Vol. II, pp. 555-556.
- 66 Stevens, *op. cit.*, p. 218.
- 67 The word "picaroon" came from the Spanish word for "rogue" or "pirate."
- 68 Stevens, *op. cit.*, pp. 209 and 213.
- 69 *Pennsylvania Packet*, letter dated August 16, 1781; quoted in Heston, *South Jersey*, Vol. II, p. 771. Mulliner's body was delivered to his wife; it was taken to Pleasant Mills, then known as Sweetwater, and interred in a plot near what was later the paper mills; about 1860, his bones were exhumed by a party of intoxicated woods men and taken to Batsto, Burlington County, but by order of Jesse Richards, then owner of Batsto Iron Works, they were returned to their original resting place. *Ibid.*
- 70 Salter and Beekman, *op. cit.*, p. 70.
- 71 Lundin, *op. cit.*, pp. 115-116.
- 72 *Ibid.*, pp. 116-117.
- 73 Quoted from *American Archives*, Vol. I, in Lundin, *op. cit.*, p. 117.
- 74 *Ibid.*, quoted in Lundin, *op. cit.*, p. 117.
- 75 *Ibid.*, p. 117.
- 76 *Ibid.*, p. 334.
- 77 Washington Papers, Vol. 47, quoted in Lundin, *op. cit.*, p. 249.
- 78 Quotation from Washington Papers, Vol. 94, given in Lundin, *op. cit.*, p. 408.
- 79 *Ibid.*, quoted in Lundin, p. 408.
- 80 *New Jersey Archives*, Vol. II, pp. 170-181, quoted in Lundin, *op. cit.*, p. 377.
- 81 Salter and Beekman, *op. cit.*, p. 36.
- 82 Lundin, *op. cit.*, p. 414.
- 83 Salter, *op. cit.*, pp. 171-172.
- 84 *Ibid.*, p. 180.
- 85 *Ibid.*, p. 179.
- 86 *Ibid.*, p. 180-182.
- 87 Salter and Beekman, *op. cit.*, p. 39. A short distance in the hinterland of Toms River was a little stream once called Davenport's Branch, deriving its name from the fact that Davenport had places of concealment in the woods and swamps along its banks.
- 88 *Ibid.*, p. 43. The first was the James Moody involved in the April 26, 1779 raid on Tinton Falls mentioned in an earlier paragraph.
- 89 *Ibid.*, p. 44.
- 90 *Ibid.*, p. 46.
- 91 The body was brought to Jacobstown, Burlington County, for burial by Bacon's brother. See account of George Fort, fur-

- nished by the New York Historical Society, and quoted in Salter, *op. cit.*, pp. 210-211.
- 92 An engraving of the Captain Huddy "Mansion" at Colts Neck is given in Barber and Howe, *op. cit.*, p. 364. The house was then owned by Thomas G. Haight.
- 93 *Ibid.*, p. 364.
- 94 Salter, *op. cit.*, p. 186.
- 95 Arrangements were made on the day Huddy was executed to exchange the two other prisoners taken at Toms River, Randolph and Fleming, for two Refugees captured by the militia and held at Freehold, these two being Captain Tilton and Aaron White. Huddy, they later said at the investigation conducted by the British following the execution, was to be executed because Philip White had been killed. Salter and Beekman, *op. cit.*, p. 137.
- 96 The men on the Board of Directors hence were acquainted with the paper. Salter and Beekman, *op. cit.*, pp. 136-137.
- 97 *Ibid.*, p. 137.
- 98 The Will was found later in the 19th Century and deposited in the Library of the New Jersey Historical Society at Newark.
- 99 Salter, *op. cit.*, pp. 186-187.
- 100 *Ibid.*, p. 187.
- 101 *Ibid.*, p. 173.
- 102 Quotation from Rivington's *Royal Gazette*, April, 1782, in Salter and Beekman, *op. cit.*, p. 141.
- 103 Salter and Beekman, *op. cit.* p. 139.
- 104 *Ibid.*, p. 142. Huddy's execution was the object of an investigation by Congress in 1837. *Ibid.*, p. 142.
- 105 Salter, *op. cit.*, p. 188.
- 106 Fischer, *op. cit.*, p. 58.
- 107 Testimony at trial, quoted in Salter and Beekman, *op. cit.*, p. 50.
- 108 *Ibid.*
- 109 General Graham's account in Salter, *op. cit.*, p. 189.
- 110 Salter, *op. cit.*, p. 190. In the 1837 report to Congress of this matter, following an investigation at that time, it was stated "The decision of General Washington in this delicate matter, the deep interest felt by the American people for the youthful sufferer, the pathetic appeals of Lady Asgill to the Count de Vergennes in behalf of her son forms one of the most . . . instructive portions of revolutionary history." Quoted, 1837 report in Salter, *op. cit.*, p. 190.
- 111 Petition to New Jersey Legislature, April 10, 1787; quoted in Lundin, *op. cit.*, p. 451.

## CHAPTER IX—FOOTNOTES

- 1 Thomas Gordon, *Gazetteer of the State of New Jersey* (Trenton, 1834), p. 5.
- 2 *Ibid.*, p. 254.



- 3 *Entertaining a Nation, the Career of Long Branch* (Long Branch, 1940), p. 23.
- 4 *Ibid.*, p. 28, quoting Gordon's *Gazetteer*.
- 5 Recollections of Mrs. Elizabeth Price in Laura L. T. Willis, *Early History of Atlantic County* (Kutztown, Pa., 1915), p. 164.
- 6 *Entertaining a Nation*, p. 15.
- 7 Charles Boyer, "Stage Routes in West Jersey," Camden County Historical Society, *Camden History*, Vol. I, Pamphlet No. 10, (1935), p. 1.
- 8 James C. Purdy, *Moorestown, Old and New* (Moorestown, 1880), p. 62.
- 9 Alfred Heston, *South Jersey* (New York, 1924), Vol. I, p. 251.
- 10 Stage coach rates in 1852, quoted in *Freehold Transcript*. Feb. 9, 1940, in Monmouth County Historical Society Library.
- 11 Advertisement, *Daily Aurora*, Philadelphia, June 30, 1801, of Ellis Hughes, who owned "The Atlantic" boarding house at Cape May, quoted in Heston, *South Jersey*, Vol. II, p. 519.
- 12 Heston, *South Jersey*, Vol. II, p. 559.
- 13 Quotation from "The Wave," 1857, in Heston, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 523.
- 14 Advertisement in Paulson's *American Daily Advertiser*, July 12, 1823, quoted in Witmer Stone, *The Plants of Southern New Jersey*, Annual Report of the State Museum (Trenton, 1911), p. 65.
- 15 John F. Hall, *History of Atlantic City and County* (Atlantic City, 1900), p. 95.
- 16 Recollections of Mrs. Elizabeth Price in Willis, *op. cit.*, p. 164.
- 17 Reminiscences of Uriah Norcross, then 88 years old, in 1927, who lived at Stratford, Camden County. Published in *Atlantic City Evening Union*, August 2, 1927, in Heston Scrapbook in the Atlantic City Library.
- 18 William Fischer, *Biographical Cyclopaedia of Ocean County*, (Philadelphia, 1899), p. 72.
- 19 *Ibid.*, pp. 251-253.
- 20 All census figures taken from *Compendium of Censuses, 1726-1905* (Census Bureau, Department of State, Trenton, 1906).
- 21 *Ibid.*
- 22 Gordon, *op. cit.*, p. 117.
- 23 *Ibid.*, p. 254.
- 24 Census of 1840, quoted in Lewis Stevens, *History of Cape May County* (Cape May, 1897), p. 263.
- 25 Gordon, *op. cit.*, p. 255.
- 26 Census of 1840, quoted in Stevens, *op. cit.*, p. 263.
- 27 Gordon, *op. cit.*, p. 118.
- 28 Census of 1840, quoted in Stevens, *op. cit.*, p. 263.
- 29 John Barber and Henry Howe, *Historical Collections of the State of New Jersey* (New Haven, 1844), pp. 64, 107, 369.

- 30 Gustav Kobbé, *The Jersey Coast and Pines* (Short Hills, 1889), p. 84. "But Freehold is beginning to be rejuvenated," added the 1889 guidebook. "Not only is it the center of a rich agricultural district, but it is also beginning to make an impression as a manufacturing town. . . . There are now established at Freehold an iron foundry of wide reputation for its light ornamental work, a factory where rasps and files are made, and a shirt factory. The Institute for Boys, and the Young Ladies' Seminary. . . are schools of established reputation, and two National banks are among the town's institutions." (*Ibid.*)
- 31 Fischer, *op. cit.*, pp. 79, 218.
- 32 Letter from Nicholas Rape to Mrs. Rape in Mays Landing, letter dated Trenton, Jan. 30, 1815, and quoted in Frank Stewart, ed., *Notes on Old Gloucester County*, Vol. I.
- 33 Edwin Salter and George Beekman, *Old Times in Old Monmouth* (Freehold, 1887), p. 155.
- 34 From Dr. J. F. Leaming ms., "The Beach Party," 1835, published in *Cape May County Gazette*, Mar. 24, 1933.
- 35 Epitaph given in Charles Green (pamphlet), *Pleasant Mills* (no date), p. 16. This gravestone was in what became the Methodist burying ground at Pleasant Mills. The man who carved the stone, John Lynch, died Dec. 15, 1808, while working on the roof of the church there. He was 26 years old then.
- 36 Barber and Howe, *op. cit.*, p. 113. Epitaph on stone Rev. William Budd of Hanover Township Methodist Church, who died Sept. 28, 1809.
- 37 Epitaph copied by Professor George H. Cook of Rutgers, found in his manuscript journal for July 31-August 23, 1855, p. 67, in the Cook Papers at Rutgers University Library.
- 38 Albert C. Abbott, *Early History of Atlantic County* (no date, no pages), in files at Atlantic County Library in Mays Landing.
- 39 Charles Boyer, *Indian Trails and Early Paths*, Camden County Historical Society, *Camden History* Vol. II, 1938, p. 114.
- 40 Heston, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 150-151; Francis B. Lee, *New Jersey as a Colony and as a State* (New York, 1902), Vol. II, p. 453.
- 41 Woodbury (Gloucester County) *Constitution*, Jan. 11, 1871, p. 1.
- 42 Abbott, *op. cit.* (no pages).
- 43 D. Peterson advertisement in *National Standard and Salem County Advertiser* (Salem), July 21, 1846. Mr. Peterson adds at the end of the advertisement something else for sale: "Also a number of Patent Screw Bedsteads."
- 44 Abbott, *op. cit.* (no pages).
- 45 *National Standard and Salem County Advertiser*, June 5, 1850, p. 3.
- 46 Excerpt from Emma B. Aldrich ms. journal in Cape May County Historical Society Library, Cape May Court House.
- 47 *Entertaining a Nation*, p. 33.

- 48 William Nelson, *The New Jersey Coast in Three Centuries*, (New York, 1902), Vol. I, p. 448.
- 49 Dr. Maurice Beesley, quoted in Barber and Howe, *op. cit.*, p. 136.
- 50 Nelson, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 448; Charles Nash, *The Lure of Long Beach* (Long Beach, 1936), pp. 38-39.
- 51 Barber and Howe, *op. cit.*, p. 239.
- 52 Nelson, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 487-488; Allen Brown, *The Character and Employment of the Early Settlers on the Seacoast of New Jersey* (Newark, 1879), p. 21.
- 53 Charles Macauley, "Genesis of the United States Life-Saving Service," New Jersey Historical Society *Proceedings*, Vol. 55 (1937), p. 120 *et seq.*
- 54 Nelson, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 467.
- 55 Kobbé, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-14. Description taken from account of a onetime operator who recalled the semaphores in the 1830's.

## CHAPTER X—FOOTNOTES

- 1 Charles Boyer, "Jersey Justice in Olden Days," New Jersey Historical Society *Proceedings*, Vol. XVI (1931), p. 409.
- 2 R. H. Davis, *History of the Presbyterian Church, Deerfield* (Cumberland County), N. J., (Camden, 1872), p. 18.
- 3 Emma B. Aldrich, ms. journal, remembrances of the Baptist Church, South Seaville, in mid-century. Journal in the Cape May County Historical Society Library, Cape May Court House.
- 4 Thomas R. Brooks' letter to *Cape May County Gazette*, giving recollections of 1846-1847. Letter in the Emily Bennett file, Cape May County Historical Society Library.
- 5 Francis B. Lee, *New Jersey as a Colony and as a State* (New York, 1902), Vol. III, p. 316; p. 318.
- 6 Statement made to present writer by Mr. Willard Bozarth of Egg Harbor City, Atlantic County, summer of 1941. Mr. Bozarth said he remembered this exhortation being made at a camp meeting held at Lower Bank, on the Mullica River, Burlington County.
- 7 Lee, *op. cit.*, III, 316.
- 8 See contemporary mention of these two factors in *National Standard and Salem County Advertiser*, May 28, 1851.
- 9 G. A. Raybold, *Reminiscences of Methodism in West Jersey* (New York, 1849), p. 160.
- 10 Recollections of Rev. Jefferson Lewis, who was an itinerant on the Camden Circuit in the 1830's, published in the *Camden Daily Post*, March 11, 1880, p. 1.
- 11 John Clement, "Atlantic County, Then and Now," *Proceedings of the Surveyors Association of West New Jersey* (Camden, 1880), p. 314.
- 12 Laura L. T. Willis, *Early History of Atlantic County* (Kutztown, 1915), p. 15.
- 13 William Nelson, *The New Jersey Coast in Three Centuries* (New



- York, 1902), Vol. I, pp. 262-263.
- 14 David Daily, *Experiences and Ministerial Labor* (Philadelphia, 1848), pp. 156-157, quoting journal of an earlier itinerant.
  - 15 John Clement, *loc. cit.*, p. 413.
  - 16 W. G. Stewart, *Memoir of the Life and Labors of the Rev. Thomas G. Stewart* (Philadelphia, 1858), p. 215. The reference was to a meeting held in Paulsboro, Gloucester County, in 1844.
  - 17 Raybold, *op. cit.*, p. 57.
  - 18 Daily, *op. cit.*, p. 146, quoting itinerant's journal for 1806.
  - 19 Daniel Drayton, *Personal Memoir* (Boston, 1853), pp. 11-14. Drayton adds that in the midst of his exultation, who should come up but "my old master in the shoe-making trade. He had heard that I was on the camp-meeting ground in pursuit of religion and had come to find me out. 'Daniel,' he said, 'what are you doing here? Don't make a fool of yourself.' . . . I endeavored to prevail upon him to kneel down . . . , but he drew back and escaped from me, with promises to do better, which, however, he did not keep." (*Ibid.*)
  - 20 C. A. Malmsbury, *Life and Labors of Rev. Charles Pitman* (Philadelphia, 1887), p. 50.
  - 21 Quotation in Raybold, *op. cit.*, p. 27.
  - 22 Elijah Brooks, editor of the *Salem Messenger*, 1825, quoted in Joseph Sickler, *History of Salem County, New Jersey* (Salem, 1927), p. 208.
  - 23 Lewis T. Stevens, *History of Cape May County* (Cape May, 1897), p. 255.
  - 24 Thomas Gordon, *Gazetteer of the State of New Jersey* (Trenton, 1834), p. 80.
  - 25 Nelson, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 281.
  - 26 Edwin Salter, *History of Monmouth and Ocean Counties* (Bayonne, 1889), p. 410.
  - 27 John Hall, *History of Atlantic City and Atlantic County* (Atlantic City, 1900), p. 273; p. 287 *et seq.*; C. F. Green, *Nescoahague and Sweetwater* (pamphlet, Hammonton, no date), p. 13.
  - 28 Willis, *op. cit.*, p. 119, using notes taken by Charles Wray in his ms. on the History of Friendship Church.
  - 29 Blue Ball derived its name from the tavern there.
  - 30 Nelson, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 281.
  - 31 Franklin Ellis, *History of Monmouth County* (Philadelphia, 1885), p. 426.
  - 32 *Ibid.*, p. 650.
  - 33 *Ibid.*, p. 426.
  - 34 *Ibid.*, *passim*.
  - 35 Letter recalling 1849-1850, written by Emma B. Aldrich, published in *Cape May County Gazette*, June 3, 1912 (clipping in the Cape May County Historical Society Library.) The writer was

then 63 years old.

- 36 *New York Times*, June 30, 1947, giving an account of the reunion of the two branches of the Society of Friends in New York state that year. In New Jersey and in Pennsylvania the reunion had already been accomplished.
- 37 Harold F. Wilson *et al*, *Outline History of New Jersey* (New Brunswick, 1950), p. 109.
- 38 Ellis, *op. cit.*, p. 577.
- 39 *Salem Messenger*, May 7, 1828.
- 40 Alfred Heston, *South Jersey* (New York, 1924), Vol. II, pp. 956-957.
- 41 T. S. Griffith, *A History of Baptists in New Jersey* (Hightstown, 1904), *passim*.
- 42 The Goshen and the Dias Creek churches were established in 1891, the South Dennis in 1897. At Woodbine, where several non-Jewish families lived, a Baptist church was built in 1900 on ground offered by Dr. Sabsovich, the manager. In 1873, a church was built at Rio Grande; in 1892, meetings were first held in a hotel dining-room at Wildwood and in 1893, a church was constructed. The church established in 1751 at Tuckahoe, mentioned in Chapter IV, "died out," but in 1886 a new one was started, and later one at Corson's Inlet and one at Townsend's Inlet. In 1898, the Ocean City church was built. *Ibid.*, *passim*.
- 43 One at Somers Point was organized in 1862. In 1890, nineteen Baptists started a church in Atlantic City and in 1891, one was formed at Pleasantville. In 1893, a German Baptist Church was started in Egg Harbor City. The church historian noted in 1904 that this was a "thoroughly German town" and that "the church has had a hard struggle to become English speaking." (*Ibid.*, p. 473.)
- 44 One at Toms River in 1867; at West Creek in 1876; and at Tuckerton in 1891. *Ibid.*, *passim*.
- 45 Ellis, *op. cit.*, *passim*.
- 46 Emma B. Aldrich ms., dated May 17, 1901, in Cape May County Historical Society Library, Cape May Court House.
- 47 Elijah Brooks, in the *Salem Messenger*, quoted in Harry E. Wildes, *The Delaware* (New York, 1940), p. 277.
- 48 In 1857, one was founded at Leeds Point and another at Atlantic City; in 1859, one at Absecon; in 1861, at Hammonton; and in 1884, the German Presbyterian Church at Atlantic City; in 1886, one at Pleasantville; and in 1896, others were established at Ocean City and at Wildwood. Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 275; *Minutes of the 124th Annual Session of the Synod of New Jersey*, Atlantic City, Oct. 14-16, 1926, *passim*.
- 49 Ellis, *op. cit.*, *passim*. In Ocean County, the following period, a church was built at Toms River in 1858 and at Point Pleasant in 1882.

- 50 See New Jersey Historical Records Survey, Works Progress Administration, *Presbyterians, Inventory of Church Archives in New Jersey* (Newark, 1940), *passim*.
- 51 Gordon, *op. cit.*, p. 81.
- 52 John Barber and Henry Howe, *Historical Collections of the State of New Jersey* (New Haven, Conn., 1844), p. 350.
- 53 Nelson, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 282-283; Lee, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 321.
- 54 Ellis, *op. cit.*, p. 633.

## CHAPTER XI—FOOTNOTES

- 1 Quoted in George DeCou, *Historical Sketches of Mt. Holly and Vicinity*, No. 1 (Mt. Holly, 1936), p. 11.
- 2 Emma Aldrich ms., dated May 17, 1901, recalling mid-century. Ms. is in Cape May County Historical Society Library, Cape May Court House.
- 3 John Loudenslager (Harrisonville teacher) record book, excerpt in Anna Brown ms., *The History of Gloucester County* (Lewisburg, Pa., 1935). The ms. is in the Gloucester County Historical Society Library, Woodbury.
- 4 *Bridgeton Evening News*, March 2, 1935. The school was the Buttonwood School, Stow Creek Township.
- 5 Aldrich ms., *op. cit.*, dated May 17, 1901, and recalling mid-century school days.
- 6 Reuben Willets of Goshen, ms. Journal of 1852. Ms. now in Cape May County Historical Society Library.
- 7 Letter from Mrs. Hanna A. Higgins, Hutchinson, Minn., formerly of Alloway, Salem County, published in *Salem Standard and Jerseyman*, Oct. 26, 1933.
- 8 Reuben Willets ms. (1852), *op. cit.*, in Cape May County Historical Society Library.
- 9 William Nelson, *The New Jersey Coast in Three Centuries* (New York, 1902), Vol. I, pp. 294-295.
- 10 David Murray, *History of Education in New Jersey* (Washington, 1899), p. 157 *et seq.*; *Highlights*, (Works Progress Administration magazine), May, 1937, "Education in New Jersey," pp. 24-31.
- 11 Murray, *op. cit.*, p. 29 *et seq.*; J. A. Sypher, *History of New Jersey* (Philadelphia, 1870), p. 204 *et seq.*
- 12 Letter to present writer, dated July 23, 1951, from S. David Winans, Supervisor of Research, State Department of Education, Trenton.
- 13 Murray, *op. cit.*, p. 29 *et seq.*; Sypher, *op. cit.*, p. 204 *et seq.*
- 14 Nelson, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 303-304. At the end of the century, in 1900, the number of pupils had increased only to 2,981, while the number of teachers had mounted to "30 males and 43 females." *Ibid.*



- 15 Alfred Heston, *Absegami Annals* (Camden, 1904), Vol. I, p. 199.
- 16 G. W. Newell, report written from Atlantic County, Sept. 12, 1844, and published in Historical Records Survey, *Colporteur Records of the American Tract Society, 1846* (Newark, 1940), p. 78.
- 17 Nelson, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 299 *et seq.*
- 18 Franklin Ellis, *History of Monmouth County* (Philadelphia, 1885), pp. 548-550.
- 19 *Ibid.*, pp. 594-596.
- 20 *Ibid.*, pp. 630-631; pp. 638-639.
- 21 *Ibid.*, pp. 653-654; p. 811.
- 22 *Ibid.*, p. 846.
- 23 *Ibid.*
- 24 *Ibid.*, pp. 886-887.
- 25 E. S. Sharpe, "Local Usages of the Olden Times" paper read before the Salem County Historical Society, Sept. 3, 1889, p. 1.
- 26 Excerpt from 1786 Journal, in *History of the Laying of the Cornerstone of the Presbyterian Church* (Bridgeton, 1892), p. 14.
- 27 Francis B. Lee, *New Jersey as a Colony and as a State* (New York, 1902), Vol. III, p. 169. "Stages invariably started at unseemly hours, seldom later than sunrise." (*Ibid.*)
- 28 Charles Boyer, "Indian Trails and Early Paths" *Camden County History*, Vol. II (1938), p. 49; Heston, *Absegami Annals*, Vol. I, pp. 166-167.
- 29 Charles Boyer, "Jersey Justice in Olden Days," New Jersey Historical Society, *Proceedings*, Vol. XVI (1931), p. 409.
- 30 Alfred Heston, *Jersey Waggon Jaunts* (Camden, 1926), Vol. II, p. 102.
- 31 Heston, *Absegami Annals*, Vol. I, pp. 171-172.
- 32 John F. Bodine, *History of Squankum* (Williamstown), in *Proceedings of the Surveyors Association of West New Jersey* (Camden, 1880), p. 100.
- 33 Heston, *Jersey Waggon Jaunts*, Vol. I, p. 128.
- 34 Gov. Livingston statement to Legislature, 1786, quoted in Irving Kull, *New Jersey* (New York, 1924), Vol. II, p. 555.
- 35 County Court Records, quoted by Edward M. Post in *Cape May County Gazette*, June 6, 1933, p. 6. Clipping in the Cape May County Historical Society Library.
- 36 *Ibid.*, p. 3.
- 37 Boyer, "Jersey Justice," p. 409.
- 38 Historical Records Survey, *op. cit.* (*Colporteur Records, 1841-1846*), p. 53.
- 39 Martha Furnace Diary, 1808-1815, quoted in Charles Boyer, *Early Forges and Furnaces in New Jersey* (Philadelphia, 1931), p. 117. The other well-liked tavern for the Martha men was Bodine's Tavern on the easterly side of the Wading River, about two and a half miles from Martha Furnace, near where the old

road from Washington to Tuckerton crossed the Wading River. (*Ibid.*)

- 40 DeCou, *op. cit.*, p. 11.
- 41 Edward M. Post in *Cape May County Gazette*, June 6, 1933, p. 5. Clipping in Cape May County Historical Society Library. Mr. Post at that time was custodian of the museum at the Court House. By this same law of 1797, the tavern keeper was expected to keep two extra feather beds with good and sufficient bedclothes, furnish good wholesome diet, and extra provender and grain for four horses. Neglect of any of these duties subjected the innkeeper to a fine of \$3. If the keeper allowed "revelling and frolicking" at the inn, he could be punished by a fine of \$15. It was deemed an offense, but not always enforced, to allow cockfighting, playing with cards, or keeping a gaming table. Credit could be extended to township neighbors up to \$2, but beyond that, the debt was not collectible. (*Ibid.*)
- 42 *National Standard and Salem County Advertiser*, April 12, 1848.
- 43 Dr. Maurice Beesley, ms. letter, dated January 27, 1857, Dennisville, Cape May County, and addressed to Professor George H. Cook, of New Brunswick. Letter is in the Cook papers in the Rutgers University Library.
- 44 *West Jersey Gazette*, March 18, 1818. Mullica Hill is in Gloucester County.
- 45 Excerpt from letter signed by Thomas R. Brooks, published in the *Cape May County Gazette*, clipping, undated, in Francis B. Lee Scrapbook, in Cape May County Historical Society Library.
- 46 Reynell Coates, *Memoirs of Bowman Hendry*, M. D. (Philadelphia, 1848), pp. 39-61.
- 47 Excerpt from letter of Dr. John Torrey, 1818, quoted in Witmer Stone, *The Plants of Southern New Jersey*, *Report of the State Museum*, 1910, (Trenton, 1911), p. 64.
- 48 Coates, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-61.
- 49 George Prowell, *History of Camden County* (Philadelphia, 1886), p. 308.
- 50 Recollections of Mr. W. F. Stackhouse of Canton, recalling the 1850's and 1860's, published in *Salem Standard and Jerseyman*, August 29, 1931.
- 51 Excerpts from *Family Adviser*, quoted in Charles Tomlin, *Cape May Spray* (Philadelphia, 1913), pp. 62-64. Herb tea, called "yarb tea" was a favorite remedy for measles, whooping cough, and chickenpox.
- 52 Diary of Samuel Mickle, Quaker, of Woodbury, Old Gloucester County, entry for Oct. 17, 1822, printed in New Jersey Society of Pennsylvania, 1924 *Yearbook*, pp. 80-81.
- 53 *Ibid.*, entry for March 2, 1827, p. 91 of 1924 *Yearbook*.
- 54 Apprenticeship Records, Township Book of Great Egg Harbor, quoted in Frank Stewart, ed., *Notes on Old Gloucester County*,

Vol. I, p. 59.

- 55 Excerpt from reminiscences of one-time apprentice, early 19th Century, from William Adams ms. Journal, part of which was printed later in *Bridgeton Evening News*, May 18, 1935.
- 56 Portions of an agreement, Nov. 1, 1825, between John Wood of Ivy Manor, Bridgeton, and Jacob Butter, quoted in *Bridgeton Evening News*, Sept. 22, 1934.
- 57 Thomas Gordon, *Gazetteer of the State of New Jersey* (Trenton, 1834), *passim*.
- 58 George DeCou, *Historical Sketches of Rancocas and Vicinity* (Mt. Holly, 1937), p. 15; Maurice P. Sims, ms., recollections, written 1895, of boyhood days on Gravelly Run, Stow Creek, and printed in *Bridgeton Evening News*, Oct. 20, 1934.
- 59 Frank Butler, *History of Southern New Jersey* (pamphlet, *Atlantic City Press*, 1949, no. pp.)
- 60 *Camden Daily Post*, August 27, 1879.
- 61 Excerpts from Noah Flanagin ms., "Day Book, 1842-1854," Greenwich, Cumberland County. The ms. is in Rutgers University Library.
- 62 Thomas R. Brooks letter in *Cape May County Gazette*, clipping (no date) in Emily Bennett file in Cape May County Historical Society Library.
- 63 "Day Book" of Dennis Creek country store, 1815-1816, quoted in letter of Francis B. Lee to *Cape May County Gazette*, August 23, 1889.
- 64 Recollections of Mrs. Sarah Bruce of Rumson, quoted in *History of Rumson, 1665-1944* (Asbury Park, 1944), pp. 240-241.

## CHAPTER XII—FOOTNOTES

- 1 *United States Gazette*, Philadelphia, published early in 1812, from clipping in files of Gloucester County Historical Society Library, Woodbury. The announcement was addressed to the voters of Gloucester County. The Court House was at Woodbury.
- 2 Edwin Salter, *History of Monmouth and Ocean Counties* (Bayonne, 1889), p. 291.
- 3 William Nelson, *The New Jersey Coast in Three Centuries* (New York, 1902), Vol. I, pp. 191-192.
- 4 Laura L. T. Willis, *Early History of Atlantic County* (Kutztown, Pa., 1915), p. 78.
- 5 Lewis Stevens, "Cape May Soldiers in the War of 1812," *Cape May Magazine*, June, 1932, p. 179.
- 6 Charles F. Green, *Pleasant Mills, New Jersey* (pamphlet, no date), p. 18. See also Bertram Lippincott, *An Historical Sketch of Bats-to, New Jersey* (1933), p. 7.
- 7 Nelson, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 192; Henry Beck, *Forgotten Towns*



- of *South Jersey* (Philadelphia, 1936), p. 60.
- 8 Story told in *The Camden Post*, June 30, 1880, in clipping in the Cooper Scrapbook in the Camden County Historical Society Library, Camden. Van Sciver died August 29, 1880.
  - 9 Account in a contemporary New York newspaper, quoted in Edwin Salter and George Beekman, *Old Times in Old Monmouth* (Freehold, 1887), p. 149.
  - 10 Judge John S. Forman account, quoted in Salter, *op. cit.*, pp. 167-168.
  - 11 *Ibid.*
  - 12 Alfred Heston, *South Jersey* (New York, 1924), Vol. I, pp. 242-247.
  - 13 Salter, *op. cit.*, p. 293. This house was owned by Charles Parker, whose son, Joel Parker, later became Governor.
  - 14 Nelson, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 192.
  - 15 Stevens, *op. cit.*, p. 237.
  - 16 *Ibid.*, pp. 237-238.
  - 17 Charles Nash, *The Lure of Long Beach* (Long Beach, 1936), pp. 71-72.
  - 18 Stevens, *op. cit.*, p. 238.
  - 19 *Ibid.*, p. 239; Heston, *Absegami Annals* (Camden, 1904), Vol. I, pp. 259-260.
  - 20 Heston, *Absegami Annals*, Vol. I, p. 215.
  - 21 *Ibid.*, pp. 211-217. At the burning of that city, however, by the British in 1814, the monument was badly defaced. Subsequently it was transferred, in 1860, to the grounds of the Naval Academy at Annapolis. The Somers House, at Somers Point, in Atlantic County is now the home of the Atlantic County Historical Society.
  - 22 *Woodbury Constitution*, May 29, 1846, clipping in the Charles Boyer Scrapbook in the Camden County Historical Society Library, Camden.
  - 23 Franklin Ellis, *History of Monmouth County* (Philadelphia, 1885), pp. 241-242.
  - 24 *National Standard and Salem County Advertiser*, Nov. 10, 1847, item referring to the death of a Pilesgrove resident.
  - 25 *Ibid.*, issue for August 16, 1848. The war ended Feb. 2, 1848, and in the same August issue of the paper, there were listed the four victims from that County. One was shot at Monterrey; one at Conteras; one died on the Rio Grande; and the fourth, at Jalapa.
  - 26 Weymouth Furnace Book, June 3, 1818, quoted in Charles Boyer, *Early Forges and Furnaces in New Jersey* (Philadelphia, 1931), p. 116.
  - 27 Andrew Mellick, *Story of an Old Farm in New Jersey in the 18th Century* (Somerville, N. J., 1889), p. 578.
  - 28 Thomas Gordon, *Gazetteer of the State of New Jersey* (Trenton,

- 1834), pp. 62-67.
- 29 *Woodbury Constitution*, Nov. 4, 1874, letter signed "C. L. F.," written from Mantua, recalling training days in the first third of the 19th Century.
- 30 Comment of Daniel P. Smith, Freehold, in *Allentown Messenger*, August 10, 1939, clipping in Monmouth County Historical Society Library, Freehold. Daniel Smith's grandfather was the Asher Smith who bought the tavern in 1823 and who died in 1855. Joel Parker, Governor of New Jersey, 1863-1866, was born in this tavern in 1816, and Asher bought it from Parker's father. The tavern was on the road from Freehold to Mt. Holly, five miles southwest of Freehold. See story by Elias Longstreet, in *Asbury Park Press*, May 6, 1934.
- 31 Quoted in Boyer, *op. cit.*, p. 116.
- 32 Gordon, *op. cit.*, p. 66.
- 33 *Woodbury Constitution*, Nov. 4, 1878 (letter signed "C. L. F.")
- 34 *West Jersey Press*, Camden, July 25, 1877, giving description of early 19th Century days. Clipping in Cooper Scrapbook, Camden County Historical Society Library.
- 35 William Schermerhorn, *History of Burlington, New Jersey* (Burlington, 1927), pp. 104-105.
- 36 Gordon, *op. cit.*, p. 66.
- 37 *History of Manasquan* (published by the Manasquan National Bank, 1950), p. 13.
- 38 Schermerhorn, *op. cit.*, p. 105.
- 39 *National Standard and Salem County Advertiser*, Dec. 11, 1861, p. 2.

### CHAPTER XIII—FOOTNOTES

- 1 Thomas Gordon, *Gazetteer of the State of New Jersey* (Trenton, 1834), p. 4.
- 2 Historical Records Survey, Federal Writers Project, *Colporteur Records of the American Tract Society, 1841-1846* (Newark, 1940), p. 63. Report of Samuel McCulloch, Sept. 14, 1844, in giving account of his missionary work in the Pines between Toms River and Little Egg Harbor River, later called the Mullica, in summer of 1844.
- 3 Gordon, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-6.
- 4 *12th Census of the United States, 1900, Occupations* (Washington, 1904), p. xxx, quoting 1820 and 1840 figures.
- 5 *National Standard and Salem County Advertiser*, March 5, 1851.
- 6 William Nelson, *The New Jersey Coast in Three Centuries* (New York, 1902), Vol. I, p. 391.
- 7 Recollections of 1845, written by Mrs. Amos Richardson in 1895, and published in *Freehold Transcript*, June 17, 1927, in Monmouth County Historical Society Library, Freehold.

- 8 Hector Orr, *Sketch of Camden, New Jersey* (Camden, 1873), p. 20. Recollections of a scene in 1815.
- 9 E. M. Woodward and J. F. Hageman, *The History of Burlington and Mercer Counties* (Philadelphia, 1883), p. 175.
- 10 Mrs. Richardson, recollections of 1845, written in 1895, published in *Freehold Transcript*, June 17, 1927.
- 11 Alfred Heston, *South Jersey* (New York, 1930), pp. 557-558.
- 12 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 248.
- 13 Stephen Jefferson letter, recalling mid-19th Century, in *Cape May County Times*, Jan. 3, 1902, clipping in Cape May County Historical Society, Cape May Court House.
- 14 Franklin Ellis, *History of Monmouth County* (Philadelphia, 1885), p. 890.
- 15 *Asbury Park Press*, March 25, 1928; Nelson, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 441.
- 16 John Barber and Henry Howe, *Historical Collections of the State of New Jersey* (New Haven, Conn., 1844), pp. 197, 361, 369.
- 17 Heston, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 248, 251.
- 18 Barber and Howe, *op. cit.*, p. 369.
- 19 Edwin Salter, *History of Monmouth and Ocean Counties* (Bayonne, 1899), p. 102.
- 20 *Ibid.*, p. 428.
- 21 Allen Brown, *The Character and Development of the Early Settlers on the Seacoast of New Jersey* (Newark, 1879), p. 17, quoting an observer of 1823.
- 22 Heston, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 763-764.
- 23 *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 765.
- 24 William C. Mulford, *Historical Tales of Cumberland County* (Bridgeton, 1941), p. 138; John Gifford, "The Forest Conditions in the Coastal Plain of New Jersey," *Report of the State Geologist*, 1899, pp. 256-257.
- 25 "The lumber age is nearly at an end, and Little Egg Harbor is slowly rising in the farming scale." Leah Blackman, *History of Little Egg Harbor Township* (Camden, 1880), p. 187. The author wrote the book in 1879. In 1844, the chief occupations there were "fishing, fowling, shipbuilding, manufacturing lumber such as pine and cedar boards, rails, and shingles." (Barber and Howe, *op. cit.*, p. 107.)
- 26 William Fischer, *Biographical Cyclopaedia of Ocean County* (Philadelphia, 1899), p. 66. Wood was still the chief fuel, "whether in the home, the factory, on railway engines, or on steam craft." (*Ibid.*, p. 73.) "Toms River," said the chroniclers of 1844, "is a thriving village on both sides of the river. . . . The chief business is the exportation of cordwood and timber." (Barber and Howe, *op. cit.*, p. 328.)
- 27 Stephen Jefferson letter, *op. cit.*, recalling the latter 1850's.



- 28 Daniel Drayton, *Personal Memoir* (Boston, 1853), p. 83, recalling the 1820's. This book was lent to the present writer by a former student, Miss Fola Zimmerman of Millville, N. J.
- 29 Gordon, *op. cit.*, p. 2. Following mid-century, the cordwood trade gradually declined, although wood was still cut in considerable quantities. According to the 1880 Census, for instance, the amount of cords of wood cut, for the year 1879 approximated 20,681 in Burlington County; 17,498 for Ocean County; 15,561 for Atlantic County, and 11,447 for Cape May County.
- 30 Robert Sim, *Pages from the Past of Rural New Jersey* (State Agricultural Society, Trenton, 1949), p. 112.
- 31 Salter, *op. cit.*, p. 429.
- 32 Fischer, *op. cit.*, p. 67.
- 33 Heston, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 255.
- 34 Fischer, *op. cit.*, p. 67. This William Torrey was instrumental in securing the construction of the first long railroad through Ocean County, built in the latter 1850's and completed in 1861. In 1842, a reporter noted with reference to Manchester (Lakehurst), "A railroad has been built recently from Manchester to Toms River 9 miles in length." (Barber and Howe, *op. cit.*, p. 328. The material for this work was collected in 1842).
- 35 Charles Wray, notes on History of Friendship Church near Landisville, quoted in Laura L. T. Willis, *Early History of Atlantic County* (Kutztown, Pa., 1915), p. 117.
- 36 Laura Williams Colwell, *Sketch of Old Weymouth* (1916), p. 7.
- 37 Solon Robinson, letter in *New York Weekly Tribune*, Feb. 3, 1866.
- 38 Interview with Willard R. Bozarth of Egg Harbor City, summer of 1941. Mr. Bozarth introduced the present writer to another one-time charcoal worker, Jerry Moore of Crowleytown on the Mullica, who said he was 85 years old (in 1941). Moore recalled loading the last boat to go out of the Mullica with charcoal.
- 39 Orr, *op. cit.*, p. 20, quoting commentator of 1815.
- 40 Historical Records Survey, *op. cit.*, p. 63 *et seq.*
- 41 *Valley Ventura* (Vineland) Feb. 6, 1903, description of conditions east of Vineland in 1850's and 1860's; see also Doris Kugler ms., "Millville" (1938), p. 3. Ms. in Social Science Department at Glassboro State Teachers College.
- 42 Alfred Heston, *Jersey Waggon Jaunts* (Camden, 1926) Vol. I, p. 120; see also Henry Beck, *Fare to Midlands*, p. 54 and Laura L. T. Willis, *op. cit.*, p. 117.
- 43 Gabriel Thomas, "West Jersey in the Year 1698" quoted in J. W. Harshberger, *Vegetation of the New Jersey Pine Barrens* (Philadelphia, 1916), p. 23; Wray's notes in Willis, *op. cit.*, p. 117.
- 44 Fischer, *op. cit.*, p. 212.
- 45 Recollections of Marcus Fry, *Vineland Historical Magazine*, Vol. III, (1918), p. 13.

- 46 Recollections of M. E. Blinn, *Vineland Historical Magazine*, Vol. I (1916), pp. 29-30.
- 47 *Ibid.*
- 48 Marcus Fry's recollections of a tar kiln, *ibid.*, Vol. III (1918), p. 13.
- 49 Frank Butler, *History of Southern New Jersey* (Atlantic City Press, 1949), pamphlet, no pp.
- 50 Gifford, *loc. cit.*, p. 255.
- 51 S. B. Kirkbride, *New Jersey Business Directory for 1850* (Trenton, 1850), p. 119.
- 52 Willis, *op. cit.*, p. 161.
- 53 Nelson, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 440; Fischer, *op. cit.*, p. 34.
- 54 Fischer, *op. cit.*, p. 68.
- 55 Woodward and Hageman, *op. cit.*, p. 342.
- 56 Nelson, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 442-443.
- 57 Heston, *South Jersey*, Vol. I, pp. 257.
- 58 Willis, *op. cit.*, p. 161.
- 59 *Compendium of the 1840 Census* (Washington, 1841), p. 141.
- 60 The exact date has been in dispute. See Heston, *Absegami Annals*, footnote on page 255. Heston places it at 1760.
- 61 Heston, *Absegami Annals* (Camden, 1904), Vol. I, p. 255.
- 62 The hulk of one of these ships, "The Weymouth," constructed by Richard S. Colwell about 1870, lay in the Great Egg Harbor River for many years, at Catawba, a few miles below the spot where it was built. Nelson, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 440; see also John Hall, *History of Atlantic County* (Atlantic City, 1900), p. 26.
- 63 Charles Boyer, *Early Forges and Furnaces in New Jersey* (Philadelphia, 1931), p. 66.
- 64 Kirkbride, *op. cit.*, p. 119.
- 65 Lewis Stevens, *History of Cape May County* (Cape May, 1897), p. 298.
- 66 Swain built vessels on the Tuckahoe north of Seaville. The family name was given to Swainton, a few miles south of Seaville.
- 67 The kelson or keelson is a longitudinal structure incorporated in framing a vessel to stiffen it. It was built above and fastened to the keel. *Ibid.*, p. 232. See also, Frank Butler, *op. cit.*, (pamphlet), no pp.
- 68 Nelson, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 440-441.
- 69 *Ibid.*; see also Gustav Kobbé, *The Jersey Coast and Pines* (Short Hills, 1889), p. 42.
- 70 *Ibid.*, pp. 57.
- 71 Nelson, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 441.
- 72 Ellis, *op. cit.*, p. 708.
- 73 Nelson, *op. cit.*, p. 441.
- 74 Alexander Wilson, *Wilson's American Ornithology* (Boston, 1840), quoted in Leonard Lundin, *Cockpit of the Revolution* (Princeton, 1940), pp. 29-30.

- 75 Sim, *op. cit.*, p. 45.
- 76 Woodward and Hageman, *op. cit.*, p. 342.
- 77 Gordon, *op. cit.*, p. 4.
- 78 *Ibid.*, p. 4.
- 79 Recollections of Samuel French of Ewan, Gloucester County, quoted in Edmund Burke and Wilmer Egee, *Swedesboro, Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow* (Philadelphia, 1910), pp. 17-18.
- 80 George Prowell, *History of Camden County* (Philadelphia, 1886), pp. 388-389, description of conditions on farm before 1850.
- 81 *Ibid.*
- 82 Reminiscences of 2nd quarter of 19th Century in Old Gloucester County, in letter from J. A. Oakes, May 11, 1900, in *Woodstown Monitor and Register* of that date.
- 83 Heston, *Jersey Waggon Jaunts*, Vol. II, p. 225.
- 84 Charles Tomlin, *Cape May Spray* (Philadelphia, 1913), pp. 35-36. Two of these white mulberries were still standing in 1913 on the farm of Charles Tomlin at Dias Creek, a few rods south of the Baptist Church. By that time they had grown to a circumference of about eleven feet.
- 85 Letter in *West Jersey Press*, July 31, 1876, in Cooper Scrapbook in Camden County Historical Society Library, Camden. See also F. B. Lee, *New Jersey as a Colony and as a State* (New York, 1902), Vol. III, p. 247.
- 86 K. Braddock-Rogers, "Fragments of Early Industries in South Jersey," *Journal of Chemical Education* (October and November, 1931), p. 1,928.
- 87 Journal of Charles K. Landis, entry for Sept. 21, 1878, in *Vine-land Historical Magazine*, Vol. XI, (Jan., 1930), p. 196.

## CHAPTER XIV—FOOTNOTES

- 1 John Barber and Henry Howe, *Historical Collections of the State of New Jersey* (New Haven, Conn., 1844), p. 102.
- 2 Alfred Heston, *South Jersey* (New York, 1924), Vol. I, p. 244.
- 3 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 246.
- 4 John Payne, *New and Complete System of Universal Geography* (New York, 1799), Vol. IV, p. 321.
- 5 William Nelson, *The New Jersey Coast in Three Centuries* (New York, 1902), Vol. I, p. 410.
- 6 K. Braddock-Rogers, "The Bog Iron Ore Industry in South Jersey Prior to 1845," *Journal of Chemical Education*, Vol. VII (July, 1930), p. 1,495.
- 7 Charles Boyer, *Early Forges and Furnaces in New Jersey* (Philadelphia, 1931), p. 2.
- 8 *Ibid.*, p. 1.
- 9 Braddock-Rogers, *loc. cit.*, p. 1,499; Boyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 3-6.



- 10 Boyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 3-6.
- 11 John Hall, *History of Atlantic City and Atlantic County* (Atlantic City, 1900), p. 27.
- 12 Boyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 3-6.
- 13 Franklin Ellis, *History of Monmouth County* (Philadelphia, 1885), pp. 586-587.
- 14 Edwin Salter, *History of Monmouth and Ocean Counties* (Bayonne, 1889), pp. 273, 277.
- 15 William Fischer, *Biographical Cyclopaedia of Ocean County* (Philadelphia, 1899), p. 64.
- 16 Heston, *South Jersey*, Vol. I, p. 245; Boyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 3-6.
- 17 Nelson, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 410.
- 18 Frank Butler, *History of Southern New Jersey* (pamphlet, no pages, Atlantic City Press, 1949); Heston, *South Jersey*, Vol. I, p. 245.
- 19 Heston, *Absegami Annals* (Camden, 1904), Vol. I, p. 163.
- 20 Barber and Howe, *op. cit.*, p. 121.
- 21 K. Braddock-Rogers, *loc. cit.*, p. 1,504; Edward Post, (Librarian of Cape May County Historical Society) description in *Cape May County Gazette*, Nov. 15, 1940. See good picture of forge in that issue of the paper.
- 22 K. Braddock-Rogers, *loc. cit.*, pp. 1,507-1,508; John Hall, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-26; Nelson, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 411.
- 23 Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 26. In 1866, a stone paper mill, the ruins which can still be seen, was built on the site for the manufacture of manila paper from old ropes and from abandoned rigging of vessels. This was continued until 1887. *Ibid.*, p. 26.
- 24 *Ibid.*, p. 26.
- 25 A gudgeon was an iron pivot or journal.
- 26 *Pennsylvania Journal*, May, 8, 1776, quoted in Heston, *Jersey Waggon Jaunts* (Camden, 1926), Vol. II, p. 172.
- 27 *Pennsylvania Evening Post*, June 23, 1777, quoted in Heston, *Absegami Annals*, Vol. I, p. 159.
- 28 Heston, *Absegam Annals*, Vol. I, p. 159.
- 29 Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 87; *Atlantic City Press*, August 8, 1949 gives a picture of the remodeled mansion.
- 30 Letter of N. R. Ewan, Moorestown, N. J., in *Camden Courier Post*, March 8, 1940. The present writer visited the location under the guidance of Mr. Willard Bozarth, Egg Harbor City. The last owner of the furnace was Jesse Evans. The Isaac Potts mentioned in the paragraph owned the house used by George Washington at Valley Forge. Pott's brothers, John and Joseph, owned Mount Joy Forge, or as it was later known, Valley Forge.
- 31 K. Braddock-Rogers, *loc. cit.*, pp. 1,915-1,937.
- 32 *Compendium of Censuses, 1726-1905* (Trenton, 1905), p. 16.
- 33 *History of Manasquan* (pamphlet, Manasquan National Bank, 1950), p. 38.

- 34 *Asbury Park Sunday Press*, March 25, 1928.
- 35 *Ibid.*, Nelson, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 441.
- 36 Ellis, *op. cit.*, p. 890.
- 37 *History of Manasquan*, p. 38.
- 38 *Asbury Park Press*, March 25, 1928.
- 39 Ellis, *op. cit.*, p. 811.
- 40 *History of Manasquan*, p. 38.
- 41 Barber and Howe, *op. cit.*, p. 350.
- 42 *Asbury Park Press*, March 25, 1928.
- 43 *Compendium of Censuses*, p. 30.
- 44 Report of G. W. Newell, in Historical Records Survey, *Colporteur Records of the American Tract Society, 1841-1846* (Federal Writers Project, Newark, 1940), p. 79. Mr. Newell was then doing missionary work in Burlington and Atlantic counties.
- 45 *Asbury Park Press*, March 25, 1928.
- 46 Boyer, *op. cit.*, p. 188. The owner's name (Weymouth) was Samuel Richards. See picture of manor house in Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 27. This house was the site of George Agnew Chamberlin's novel, *Midnight Boy*.
- 47 *Atlantic City Press*, August 8, 1949.
- 48 Halstead Wainwright, *The Howell Iron Works and the Romance of Allaire* (Freehold, 1925), p. 21.
- 49 *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23; *Asbury Park Press*, March 25, 1928.
- 50 Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 31, quoting recollections of M. V. B. Moore, the son of William Moore, manager of the Weymouth works for more than 20 years.
- 51 Elias Longstreet in *Asbury Park Press*, May 14, 1933, clipping in the Monmouth County Historical Society Library, Freehold.
- 52 Boyer, *op. cit.*, p. 7.
- 53 "Diary of Bookkeeper of Martha Furnace," typed manuscript at Camden County Historical Society Library, Camden. In 1849, a Methodist itinerant preacher stated that the proprietors of the iron and glass manufactories were favorably disposed toward Methodism, fully aware of the advantages derived from having working people controlled by religious principles, "as sobriety, honesty, and fidelity are more profitable than their opposite virtues." G. W. Raybold, *Reminiscences of Methodism in West Jersey* (New York, 1849), p. 99.
- 54 Heston, *Absegami Annals*, Vol. I, p. 268.
- 55 K. Braddock-Rogers, *loc. cit.*, p. 1,494.
- 56 For instance, at the time, Atsion Furnace employed about 100 men and "between 600 and 700 persons depended for subsistence upon the works; Batsto employed 65 men, maintaining 400 persons; Weymouth, 100, and maintaining 600. Thomas Gordon, *Gazetteer of the State of New Jersey* (Trenton, 1834), pp. 108, 263.
- 57 *Compendium of the Sixth Census* (Washington, 1841), p. 130.

The furnaces produced cast iron, 2,000 tons a year in Atlantic County; 2,100 a year in Burlington County. The forges and rolling mills produced, in bar iron, 80 tons a year in Atlantic County and 35 in Burlington County. *Ibid.*

- 58 Letter to *National Standard and Salem County Advertiser* (Salem), Sept. 19, 1849, p. 2.
- 59 Bertram Lippincott, *Historical Sketch of Batsto* (1931), p. 12.
- 60 Braddock-Rogers, *loc. cit.*, p. 1,494.
- 61 George H. Cook, State Geologist, ms. papers at Rutgers University Library, "Journal for April-July, 1856," p. 46.
- 62 *National Standard and Salem County Advertiser*, Sept. 19, 1849. See also, Alden T. Cottrell, "New Jersey's Wilderness," *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society*, Vol. LVIII (1940) p. 20.
- 63 Boyer, *op. cit.*, p. 2; Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 26.
- 64 John Gifford, "The Forestal Conditions of the Coastal Plain of New Jersey," *Report of the State Geologist*, 1899, p. 255.
- 65 Barber and Howe, *op. cit.*, p. 71.
- 66 Steven Van Rensselaer and Charles Boyer, "History of the South Jersey Glass Works," *Annals of Camden*, No. 5 (Camden, 1926), *passim*.
- 67 Butler, *op. cit.*, (no pp.)
- 68 The glassworks at Minotola, 13 miles northwest of Estellville, were not started until 1895. The capacity of the works at that time was about \$25,000 worth of goods a year; in 1903, it had mounted to \$250,000, when the George Jonas Glass Company made flint, green, and amber bottles there. Heston, *Absegami Annals*, Vol. I, p. 286.
- 69 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 286.
- 70 Van Rensselaer and Boyer, *loc. cit.*, p. 7.
- 71 Heston, *Absegami Annals*, Vol. I, pp. 283-284.
- 72 G. A. Raybold, *Reminiscences of Methodism in West Jersey* (New York, 1849), p. 99.
- 73 Van Rensselaer and Boyer, *loc. cit.*, p. 17.
- 74 *Ibid.*, p. 12.
- 75 *Woodbury Constitution*, August 10, 1881.
- 76 *Ibid.*, issue for Dec. 17, 1873, giving description of the work at the Warrick and Stanger plant, Glassboro, Gloucester County.
- 77 *Ibid.*, issue for Jan. 2, 1875, report of a visit to the Bodine, Thomas and Company plant in Williamstown.
- 78 Clarence Morgan ms., "Williamstown" (1937) in Social Studies Department Library, State Teachers College, Glassboro, N. J.
- 79 William Stainsby, *Disease and Disease Tendencies in the Glass Industry* (New Jersey Bureau of Statistics, Trenton, 1901), pp. 13-14.



## CHAPTER XV—FOOTNOTES

- 1 Recollections of 1845, written by Mrs. Amos Richardson in 1895 and published in the *Freehold Transcript*, June 17, 1927, clipping in the Monmouth County Historical Society Library.
- 2 *Summer Days in New Jersey*, pamphlet published in 1885, p. 17. Pamphlet in Pennsylvania Historical Society Library, Philadelphia.
- 3 Edwin Salter, *The History of Monmouth and Ocean Counties* (Bayonne, 1890), p. 304. "What a contrast," wrote this author in 1890, "between an oyster wagon and a palace railroad car of to day"!
- 4 John F. Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1857), Vol. II, p. 465.
- 5 *Summer Days in New Jersey*, p. 17. See p. 19 for picture of an old Jersey Wagon.
- 6 Alfred Heston, *Absegami Annals* (Camden, 1904), Vol. II, pp. 333-337, copy, of a ms. "Journal of a Route to Absecon Beach and the Passing Events" (August, 1843).
- 7 Charles Nash, *The Lure of Long Beach* (Long Beach, 1936), p. 74.
- 8 Watson, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 465.
- 9 Nash, *op. cit.*, p. 79.
- 10 Alfred Heston, *South Jersey* (New York, 1924), Vol. II, p. 719.
- 11 Julius Way, ed., *An Historical Tour of Cape May County, N. J.* (Sea Isle City, N. J., 1930), p. 43.
- 12 William Nelson, *The New Jersey Coast in Three Centuries* (New York, 1902), Vol. II, p. 131. Until about 1875, Cape May was known as Cape Island. In earlier times, it was an island. *Ibid.*
- 13 Watson, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 538 *et seq.*, quotation from manuscript journal, 1822-1823.
- 14 Lewis T. Stevens, *History of Cape May County* (Cape May, 1897), p. 255. Frenchtown was on the Susquehanna near Havre de Grace.
- 15 Heston, *South Jersey*, Vol. II, p. 719.
- 16 *Philadelphia Record*, Sunday, August 8, 1915.
- 17 Jacob Hiltzheimer Diary, 1792, reprinted in *Asbury Park Press*, Sept. 1, 1929. Clipping in Monmouth Historical Society. Hiltzheimer died in 1798 during the yellow fever epidemic in Philadelphia. Earlier, he stayed at Shafto's (Long Branch), "which is three-quarters of a mile from the seashore."
- 18 Allentown (N. J.) *Messenger*, August 10, 1939, clipping in Monmouth County Historical Society Library. During the season, many private carriages stopped at the Tavern for dinner, on their way to the shore. Some stayed a day or two to "breathe the pine laden breezes." Later, one of the important visitors was Joseph Bonaparte, brother of Napoleon, from Bordentown.
- 19 *Entertaining a Nation, the Story of Long Branch* (Long Branch, 1940), pp. 37-38.

- 20 Gustav Kobbé, *The Jersey Coast and Pines* (Short Hills, 1889), p. 18.
- 21 *Entertaining a Nation*, pp. 24-29.
- 22 Watson, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 463.
- 23 *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 538.
- 24 Heston, *Absegami Annals*, Vol. II, p. 43.
- 25 *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 333-337, quoting excerpt from ms. "Journal of a Route to Absecon Beach," August, 1843. The party then went to "Bakersville, on Great Egg Harbor." Later, after dinner, "we took a ride out to a Millerite Camp Meeting, (where). . .we listened to a confounded ignorant preacher." (The Millerites were then preaching the imminent end of the world and urging people to prepare for the second coming of Christ.)
- 26 Watson, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 545-546, quoting ms. journal written in 1823.
- 27 A. L. English, *History of Atlantic City* (Philadelphia, 1884), p. 41. See also Heston, *Jersey Waggon Jaunts* (Camden, 1926), Vol. II, for an account of similar episodes in the 1850's, when a crowd of "Schuylkill Rangers" came to the resort from Philadelphia.
- 28 *Mt. Holly Herald*, February 16, 1940, article describing Long Beach, written by Mr. N. R. Ewan. For description of differences of opinion between the "gay-lifers" and the Quakers at Tuckers Beach, see Leah Blackman, *History of Little Egg Harbor Township* (Camden, 1888), p. 189.
- 29 Thomas Gordon, *Gazetteer of the State of New Jersey* (Trenton, 1834), p. 118.
- 30 Census of 1840, quoted in Stevens, *op. cit.*, p. 263.
- 31 *Philadelphia Record*, August 3, 1915.
- 32 Nash, *op. cit.*, p. 91.
- 33 Letter signed "Amicus," in *New York Herald*, dated 1809, recalling a trip to Long Branch "four years ago." Letter quoted in *Entertaining a Nation*, p. 22.
- 34 Gordon, *op. cit.*, quoted in *Entertaining a Nation*, pp. 28-29.
- 35 Diary of William Maps, quoted in *Entertaining a Nation*, p. 30.
- 36 *Ibid.*, p. 31.
- 37 Watson, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 463.
- 38 Charles Boyer, "Stage Routes in West Jersey," Camden County Historical Society *Publications*, Vol. I (1935), pp. 8-10.
- 39 Carnesworthe (pseudonym), *Atlantic City* (Philadelphia, 1868), p. 93.
- 40 Advertisement in *Daily Aurora* (Philadelphia), June 30, 1801. quoted in Albert Hand, ed., *A Book of Cape May, New Jersey* (Cape May, 1937), p. 44.
- 41 Watson, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 545, quoting visitor of 1823.
- 42 Excerpt from sign, 1839, on "Mansion House," Cape May. The house burned in 1856, but the sign was saved and is now in the

Cape May County Historical Society Museum at Cape May Court House.

- 43 Carmita Jones, "Famous Old Cape May," *Americana Magazine*, Vol. XVII (1923), p. 78.
- 44 Watson, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 545.
- 45 William Nelson, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 136; Albert Hand, ed., *op. cit.*, pp. 71-72.
- 46 *United States Gazette*, July 1, 1801, reprinted in *West Jersey Press* (Camden), 1875. Clipping in Camden County Historical Society Library, Camden.
- 47 John Barber and Henry Howe, *Historical Collections of the State of New Jersey* (New Haven, Conn., 1844), p. 127.
- 48 Nelson, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 131; Heston, *South Jersey*, Vol. II, p. 547.
- 49 Watson, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 463-464. See also Nash, *op. cit.*, p. 74.
- 50 Nash, *op. cit.*, p. 74.
- 51 Waston, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 545-546. See also T. R. Rose and H. G. Woolman, *Historical Atlas of the New Jersey Coast* (Philadelphia, 1878), p. 45.
- 52 Watson, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 546.
- 53 *Paulsons Advertiser*, August 10, 1833, quoted in Nash, *op. cit.*, p. 79.
- 54 Nash, *op. cit.*, p. 82.
- 55 Rose and Woolman, *op. cit.*, p. 45.
- 56 Nash, *op. cit.*, p. 84.
- 57 "Amicus" letter, *New York Herald*, 1809, recalling trip to Long Branch in 1805, in *Entertaining a Nation*, pp. 22-23.
- 58 *Schenck's Guide to Long Branch* (1868), quoted in *Entertaining a Nation*, p. 24.
- 59 *Niles Register*, quoted in *Entertaining a Nation*, p. 25.
- 60 Jefferson Williams, *The American Hotel* (1930), quoted in *Entertaining a Nation*, p. 25.
- 61 *Ibid.*, p. 26.
- 62 Watson, *op. cit.*, quoted in *Entertaining a Nation*, p. 27.
- 63 Mrs. Trollope, quoted in *Entertaining a Nation*, p. 28.

## CHAPTER XVI—FOOTNOTES

- 1 A. J. MacDonald report of second visit to the Phalanx, July, 1852, quoted in Noyes, *American Socialisms* (New York, 1876), p. 484.
- 2 Arthur E. Bestor, *Backwoods Utopias* (Philadelphia, 1950), p. 3.
- 3 Quotation in *Asbury Park Press*, August 25, 1929.
- 4 Ernest Sutherland Bates, *American Faith* (New York, 1940), p. 385.
- 5 Norma L. Swan, "The North American Phalanx," Monmouth



- County Historical Association, *Bulletin* No. 1 (May, 1935), p. 41 *et seq.*
- 6 Noyes, *op. cit.*, p. 449.
  - 7 *Monmouth Democrat*, Freehold, August 23, 1855, printing of original bill of sale, as noted in Swan, *loc. cit.*, p. 49.
  - 8 Noyes, *op. cit.*, p. 449.
  - 9 Swan, *loc. cit.*, p. 49; Noyes, *op. cit.*, p. 449.
  - 10 Noyes, *op. cit.*, p. 449.
  - 11 *Red Bank Register*, January 24, 1935.
  - 12 Description in *New York Sun*, Sept. 30, 1883, quoted in Franklin Ellis, *History of Monmouth County* (Philadelphia, 1885), p. 669.
  - 13 *Asbury Park Press*, August 25, 1929; Swan, *loc. cit.*, p. 49.
  - 14 Swan, *loc. cit.*, p. 49.
  - 15 *Asbury Park Press*, August 25, 1929.
  - 16 "They were 70 years ahead of their times," remarked A. P. Coleman of Red Bank in 1929. He was a son of one of the founders. *Asbury Park Press*, August 25, 1929.
  - 17 Swan, *loc. cit.*, p. 54.
  - 18 *Red Bank Register*, January 24, 1935.
  - 19 Swan, *loc. cit.*, p. 49 *et seq.*
  - 20 Description of life at the Phalanx, *New York Tribune*, Nov. 3, 1866.
  - 21 Horace Greeley, quoted in Noyes, *op. cit.*, p. 653.
  - 22 A. J. MacDonald, report of July, 1852 visit to Phalanx, quoted in Noyes, *op. cit.*, p. 483.
  - 23 Swan, *loc. cit.*, p. 51.
  - 24 Noyes, *op. cit.*, p. 458.
  - 25 Swan, *loc. cit.*, p. 51; *New York Tribune*, Nov. 3, 1866.
  - 26 *Red Bank Register*, January 25, 1935.
  - 27 Description in *New York Sun*, Sept. 30, 1883, quoted in Ellis, *op. cit.*, p. 670.
  - 28 Swan, *loc. cit.*, p. 49 *et seq.*
  - 29 *Ibid.*, p. 56; *Red Bank Register*, January 24, 1935.
  - 30 Noyes, *op. cit.*, p. 481.
  - 31 Swan, *loc. cit.*, p. 57; *Red Bank Register*, January 25, 1935.
  - 32 *Asbury Park Press*, August 25, 1929; Noyes, *op. cit.*, p. 484.
  - 33 *New York Tribune*, November 3, 1866.
  - 34 Swan, *loc. cit.*, pp. 59-60.
  - 35 *New York Tribune*, September, 1853, quoted in Noyes, *op. cit.*, p. 494.
  - 36 William A. Hinds, *American Communities* (Chicago, 1902), p. 246.
  - 37 Alexander Woolcott, *While Rome Burns* (New York, 1935), p. 63; see also, *Asbury Park Press*, August 25, 1929.
  - 38 *Asbury Park Press*, August 25, 1929.

- 39 Swan, *loc. cit.*, p. 62.
- 40 *Ibid.*, pp. 58-59; see also, *Red Bank Register*, January 24, 1935.
- 41 Swan, *loc. cit.*, p. 56.
- 42 Description of MacDonald's first visit to Phalanx, Oct., 1851, quoted in Noyes, *op. cit.*, p. 475.
- 43 Description in *Life, Illustrated*, issue for August, 1855, quoted in Noyes, *op. cit.*, p. 496.
- 44 *Red Bank Register*, January 24, 1935; Swan, *loc. cit.*, p. 58.
- 45 Fourier quotations in Bates, *op. cit.*, p. 385.
- 46 *New York Tribune*, September 13, 1854.
- 47 *Ibid.*
- 48 Swan, *loc. cit.*, p. 63.
- 49 E. H. Hamilton letter, dated Mar. 31, 1868, appearing in the *Circular*, April 13, 1868, and quoted in Noyes, *op. cit.*, p. 510. Hamilton was a member of the New York State Oneida Community in 1868.
- 50 Correspondent to the *New York Herald*, June, 1853, quoted in Noyes, *op. cit.*, pp. 487-488. "Will they drag the drones out?" queried the contemporary.
- 51 Noyes, *op. cit.*, p. 489. Not all those seceding left for Perth Amboy. Some, according to an account written in 1856, preferred to "establish themselves in a more genial latitude to working hard . . . to regain the loss by fire." These left for a colony in Texas. (See statement in the *Social Revolutionist*, issue for January, 1856, quoted in Noyes, *op. cit.*, p. 499.) The colony in Texas had been established by Victor Considerant.
- 52 Letter of E. H. Hamilton, written Mar. 31, 1868, appearing in the *Circular*, April 13, 1868, and quoted in Noyes, *op. cit.*, pp. 508-509. Hamilton had gone to the colony to talk to onetime members of the Phalanx to find out the causes for its collapse. He said a member told him, "The great mistake of the Associationists everywhere made all through these movements was to locate in obscure places which were unsuitable for becoming business centers. Fourier's system is based on a township. An Association to be successful must embrace a township." Hamilton then asked the member, "If you get a number sufficient to form a township, will there not still remain this liability: to be broken by diversity of judgments arising as you had just related to me?" "No," came the answer. "Let the movement be organized aright and it might break up every day and not fail." Hamilton then commented, "The story taught me so clearly that the success of Communism (communal living) depends upon something else besides moneymaking."
- 53 *New York Tribune*, September, 1853, quoted in Noyes, *op. cit.*, p. 493.
- 54 Hinds, *op. cit.*, p. 248.

- 55 MacDonald, description of first visit to Phalanx, Oct., 1851, quoted in Noyes, *op. cit.*, p. 478; Swan, *loc. cit.*, p. 64.
- 56 Swan, *loc. cit.*, p. 61.
- 57 *Monmouth Inquirer* (Freehold), July 26, 1851.
- 58 *New York Tribune*, September, 1853, quoted in Noyes, *op. cit.*, pp. 489-490.
- 59 Correspondence in the *Social Revolutionist*, issue for January, 1856, quoted in Noyes, *op. cit.*, p. 498.
- 60 *Ibid.*, quoted in Noyes, *op. cit.*, p. 499.
- 61 Report in *Life, Illustrated*, August, 1855, quoted in Noyes, *op. cit.*, p. 496; also quoted in Hinds, *op. cit.*, p. 242.
- 62 The *Social Revolutionist*, January, 1856, stated, "The North American Phalanx has decided to dissolve. . . . When I visited it two years since (1854), it . . . was in many respects thriving." Quoted in Noyes, *op. cit.*, pp. 497-498.
- 63 Swan, *loc. cit.*, p. 65.
- 64 N. C. Meeder, 1866 visitor, quoted in Hinds, *op. cit.*, p. 244.
- 65 *New York Times*, May 5, 1949.
- 66 See Bestor, *op. cit.*, pp. 2-3.
- 67 *National Standard and Salem County Advertiser*, Dec. 25, 1850, p. 1.
- 68 Latter 19th Century rhyme, quoted in Charles Boyer, "Stage Routes in West Jersey," Camden County Historical Society *Publications*, Vol. I, No. 10 (1935), p. 9.

## CHAPTER XVII—FOOTNOTES

- 1 *Woodbury Constitution*, August 5, 1874.
- 2 *West Jersey Press* (Camden), Nov. 8, 1878.
- 3 William Nelson, *The New Jersey Coast in Three Centuries* (New York, 1902), Vol. I, pp. 232-233.
- 4 *Compendium of the Censuses, 1726-1905* (Trenton, 1905), *passim*.
- 5 *National Standard and Salem County Advertiser*, Dec. 2, 1860, p. 2.
- 6 Wheaton J. Lane, *From Indian Trail to Iron Horse* (Princeton, 1939), pp. 279-321.
- 7 Nelson, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 402.
- 8 Carnesworth (pseudonym), *Atlantic City* (Philadelphia, 1868), p. 34.
- 9 *Woodbury Constitution*, August 13, 1884.
- 10 Alfred Heston, *South Jersey* (New York, 1924), Vol. II, p. 47.
- 11 John Clement, "Atlantic County, Then and Now," *Proceedings of the Surveyors Association of West New Jersey* (Camden, 1885), p. 420. Mr. Clement also recalled: "Solid men, living and



owning property between the two points. . . called it a visionary scheme that never would be accomplished." *Ibid.*

- 12 Carnesworth, *op. cit.*, p. 34.
- 13 *Ibid.*, p. 34.
- 14 *Ibid.*, p. 30.
- 15 See Chapter VI, Section 3.
- 16 John Hall, *Daily Union History of Atlantic County and Atlantic City* (Atlantic City, 1900), p. 177.
- 17 *Philadelphia Ledger and Transcript*, Monday, July 3, 1854. The correspondent added that the railroad company had bought 10 locomotives, 20 first-class passenger cars, and 60 freight cars.
- 18 *National Standard and Salem County Advertiser*, Wednesday, July 12, 1854. Written by the editor who was invited to attend the opening.
- 19 Lane, *op. cit.*, p. 399.
- 20 Hall, *op. cit.*, pp. 193-195.
- 21 *Ibid.*, p. 195.
- 22 The Pennsylvania Railroad had secured control of the Camden and Amboy, which in turn controlled the West Jersey, south of Camden. Lane, *op. cit.*, p. 399.
- 23 A. L. English, *History of Atlantic City* (Philadelphia, 1884), p. 155.
- 24 *Camden Daily Post*, June 17, 1880, p. 1. The first special was comprised of four red cars, of the West Jersey. In 1896, this branch, and all others of the Pennsylvania system in South Jersey, were organized as the West Jersey and Seashore Railroad. (Lane, *op. cit.*, p. 199.) The rival railroads in 1880 took the following distances from Camden to Atlantic City: the West Jersey, via Newfield, 63 miles; the Camden and Atlantic, 59 miles; the "Narrow-Gauge," 55 miles. (Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 20.)
- 25 Lane, *op. cit.*, p. 399.
- 26 Contemporary account, quoted in *Daily Sentinel-Ledger* (Ocean City), July 1, 1939.
- 27 Carnesworthe, *op. cit.*, p. 40.
- 28 George H. Cook ms. Journal (at Rutgers University Library), entry at Somers Point, for July 20, "1867.
- 29 Susan Swain Terry ms., in Cape May County Historical Society Library, Cape May Court House.
- 30 Woolman and Rose, *Atlas of the Jersey Coast* (New York, 1876), p. 370.
- 31 *National Standard* (Salem), July 1, 1868.
- 32 Edward S. Wheeler, *Sheyichbi and the Strand* (Philadelphia, 1876), p. 80.
- 33 Albert Hand, *A Book of Cape May*, p. 64.
- 34 *Ibid.*, p. 126.
- 35 Lewis Stevens, *History of Cape May County* (Cape May, 1897), p. 112.

- 36 Alfred Cooper, *My Traditions and Memories, 1859-1938* (Cape May Court House, 1938), pp. 159-161. The author at that time (1893) reported local news for the *Philadelphia Ledger*.
- 37 One example of this was the raising of the length of track from 14th Street to 2nd Street, in 1901, in order that a more durable foundation could be put underneath. (Recollections of Thomas H. McClure in the *Sentinel-Ledger* (Ocean City), July 1, 1939, p. 5).
- 38 Franklin Ellis, *History of Monmouth County* (Philadelphia, 1885), p. 890.
- 39 *Ibid.*, pp. 378-380.
- 40 *Ibid.*, p. 382; Nelson, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 404.
- 41 Lane, *op. cit.*, pp. 402-403.
- 42 *Entertaining a Nation, the Career of Long Branch* (Long Branch, 1940), p. 38.
- 43 Lane, *op. cit.*, pp. 402-403.
- 44 Ellis, *op. cit.*, pp. 382-383.
- 45 *Ibid.*, pp. 796-797.
- 46 *Ibid.*, p. 384.
- 47 Nelson, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 404.
- 48 Edwin Salter and George Beekman, *Old Times in Old Monmouth* (Freehold, 1887), p. 194.
- 49 Nelson, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 404.
- 50 Salter and Beekman, *op. cit.*, p. 196.
- 51 Thomas H. Leonard, *From Indian Trail to Electric Rail* (Atlantic Highlands, N. J., 1923), p. 173.
- 52 Nelson, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 405; William Fischer, *Biographical Cyclopaedia of Ocean County* (Philadelphia, 1899), p. 74.
- 53 Fischer, *op. cit.*, p. 77.
- 54 Charles Nash, *The Lure of Long Beach* (Long Beach, 1936), pp. 84-85.
- 55 Lane, *op. cit.*, p. 395.
- 56 Nash, *op. cit.*, p. 58; Fischer, *op. cit.*, p. 14.
- 57 *Woodbury Constitution*, Jan. 7, 1874.
- 58 Anna Brakeley, "The First Railroad in New Jersey," *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society*, Vol. X (July, 1925), pp. 274-280.
- 59 Recollections of James M. Pettit, first conductor on the Camden and Atlantic Railroad, in Alfred Heston, *Absegami Annals* (Camden, 1904), Vol. II, p. 47. Mr. Pettit was 85 years old when the *Annals* were published. See original interview with Mr. Pettit in *Atlantic Review*, Atlantic City, March 2, 1909, in clipping in Cooper Scrapbook in Camden County Historical Society Library.
- 60 Pettit recollections, in Alfred Heston, *South Jersey* (New York, 1924), Vol. II, p. 722.
- 61 William C. Mulford, *Historical Tales of Cumberland County*

(Bridgeton, 1941), pp. 160-162. Mr. Mulford was 83 years old when this book was published.

- 62 Francis B. Lee, *New Jersey As a Colony and As a State* (New York, 1902), Vol. III, p. 146; Brakeley, *loc. cit.*
- 63 *National Standard*, Salem, July 29, 1863, p. 2.
- 64 *Ibid.*, September 9, 1863.
- 65 *Ibid.*
- 66 *Ibid.*, June 12, 1865.
- 67 *Woodbury Constitution*, January 7, 1874, "Hints to Railroad Travellers."
- 68 Carnesworthe, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

## CHAPTER XVIII—FOOTNOTES

- 1 William Nelson, *The New Jersey Coast in Three Centuries* (New York, 1902), Vol. II, p. 40.
- 2 *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 40.
- 3 *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 98.
- 4 See pamphlet by that title, issued in 1930's (no date) by Freeholders of Monmouth County. Pamphlet in Monmouth County Historical Society Library.
- 5 Gustav Kobbé, *The New Jersey Coast and Pines* (Short Hills, 1889), p. 6; Franklin Ellis, *History of Monmouth County* (Freehold, 1885), p. 548.
- 6 Kobbé, *op. cit.*, p. 9.
- 7 *Ibid.*, p. 20.
- 8 *Ibid.*, p. 32.
- 9 Recollections of Senator John P. Stockton, written in 1880, describing situation in 1840, quoted in Nelson, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 50-51.
- 10 Comment of writer to *Harper's Magazine*, 1876, quoted in *Entertaining a Nation, the Career of Long Branch* (Long Branch, 1940), p. 42.
- 11 *Entertaining a Nation*, p. 44.
- 12 *Ibid.*, p. 45.
- 13 Nelson, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 50-51.
- 14 *Entertaining a Nation*, p. 60.
- 15 *Ibid.*, p. 58.
- 16 *Ibid.*, p. 115.
- 17 Charlotte Greenwood, *Colliers*, Jan. 15, 1938.
- 18 *Entertaining a Nation*, p. 116.
- 19 *Ibid.*, pp. 116-117.
- 20 *Ibid.*, p. 123.
- 21 Nelson, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 55.
- 22 Gordon, *Gazetteer of the State of New Jersey* (Trenton, 1834), quoted in *Asbury Park Press*, July 7, 1929.



- 23 *Compendium of Censuses* (Trenton, 1905), p. 30.
- 24 Excerpt from speech of Rev. E. H. Stokes, President of the Ocean Grove Camp Meeting Association, given July 31, 1875, and quoted in Ellis, *op. cit.*, pp. 853-855.
- 25 Morris Daniels, *The Story of Ocean Grove* (New York, 1919), p. 53.
- 26 Ellis, *op. cit.*, p. 859.
- 27 Nelson, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 86.
- 28 Daniels, *op. cit.*, p. 136.
- 29 *Ibid.*, p. 43.
- 30 James Bradley monograph, "History of Asbury Park," quoted in Nelson, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 63.
- 31 *Asbury Park Journal*, Sept. 10, 1880.
- 32 Nelson, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 65.
- 33 *Asbury Park Press*, Jan. 21, 1934, article by Elias Longstreet.
- 34 *Ibid.*, interview with Miles French.
- 35 Nelson, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 65.
- 36 *Ibid.*, p. 66; Ellis, *op. cit.*, pp. 868-870.
- 37 Railroad statistics in Ellis, *op. cit.*, p. 867.
- 38 Kobbé, *op. cit.*, p. 46.
- 39 *Compendium of Censuses*, p. 30.
- 40 Nelson, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 96.
- 41 Sarah Errickson, "Manasquan," in *Asbury Park Press*, Apr. 15, 1928.
- 42 F. Cecil Butler ms., "History of Sea Girt" (Freehold, 1926), ms. in Monmouth County Historical Society Library; see also, Nelson, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 97.
- 43 Kobbé, *op. cit.*, p. 56.
- 44 *Asbury Park Press*, Apr. 15, 1928.
- 45 Kobbé, *op. cit.*, p. 57.
- 46 Edwin Salter, *History of Monmouth and Ocean Counties* (Baltimore, 1889), p. 288.
- 47 William Fischer, *Biographical Cyclopaedia of Ocean County* (Philadelphia, 1899), p. 78.
- 48 Salter, *op. cit.*, p. 286.
- 49 *Compendium of Censuses*, p. 33.
- 50 Charles Nash, *The Lure of Long Beach* (Long Beach, 1936), p. 87; p. 115.
- 51 John Barber and Henry Howe, *Historical Collections of the State of New Jersey* (New Haven, Conn., 1844), p. 122.
- 52 Julius Way, *An Historical Tour of Cape May County, N. J.* (Sea Isle City, 1930), p. 43.
- 53 *National Standard and Salem County Advertiser*, June 27, 1866, p. 2.
- 54 *Daily Sentinel-Ledger* (Ocean City), July 1, 1939, p. 1; Nelson, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 128.
- 55 Eddie Baner ms. Journal, lent to present writer by a former stu-

- dent, James Ireland of Steelmanville, Atlantic County.
- 56 *Woodbury Constitution*, July 16, 1884.
- 57 *Daily Sentinel-Ledger* (Ocean City), July 1, 1939, p. 1.
- 58 Eddie Baner ms., *op. cit.*; *Woodbury Constitution*, Feb. 28, 1884.
- 59 Lewis Stevens, *History of Cape May County* (Cape May City, 1897), p. 445; Nelson, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 128.
- 60 Nelson, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 124.
- 61 Eddie Baner ms., *op. cit.*
- 62 Stevens, *op. cit.*, p. 445.
- 63 Charles Macauley, "The Genesis of the United States Life-Saving Service," *New Jersey Historical Society Proceedings*, Vol. 55, (1937), p. 125.
- 64 Nelson, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 128; Alfred Cooper, *My Traditions and Memories, 1859-1938* (Cape May Court House, 1938), p. 110.
- 65 *Compendium of Censuses*, p. 18.
- 66 Stevens, *op. cit.*, p. 448.
- 67 *West Jersey Press* (Camden), August 8, 1883, p. 3.
- 68 George H. Cook, ms. Journal, No. 56, p. 21, entry for July 22, 1885. (In Rutgers University Library, New Brunswick.)
- 69 Nelson, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 129.
- 70 *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 136.
- 71 *Compendium of Censuses*, p. 181; Nelson, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 138.
- 72 New Jersey Southern Railroad Line, *Homes on the Seashore for New York Business Men* (New York, 1873), p. 62. Pamphlet in the Pennsylvania Historical Society Library, Philadelphia.
- 73 Samuel Mickle diary, June 26, 1810, reprinted in New Jersey Society of Pennsylvania, *Yearbook for 1923*, p. 68.
- 74 Alfred Heston, *South Jersey* (New York, 1924), Vol. II, pp. 754-755.
- 75 Carnesworthe (pseudonym), *Atlantic City* (Philadelphia, 1868), p. 40.
- 76 *National Standard and Salem County Advertiser*, May 10, 1854, p. 2.
- 77 Atlantic City Chamber of Commerce, "Atlantic City," no pp., no date.
- 78 Woolman and Rose, *Atlas of the New Jersey Coast* (New York, 1876).
- 80 John Hall, *History of Atlantic City and County* (Philadelphia, 1900), p. 195.
- 81 Camden and Atlantic Railroad, *To the Sea-Shore* (Philadelphia, 1873), pamphlet in the Pennsylvania Historical Society Library, Philadelphia.
- 82 *Camden Daily Post*, May 8, 1879, p. 1.
- 83 Allen H. Brown, *Fifty Years of Progress on the Coast of New Jersey* (Newark, 1886), p. 11.
- 84 *Atlantic City for the Season 1883*, p. 25. Pamphlet in the Penn-

sylvania Historical Society Library.

- 85 A. L. English, *History of Atlantic City* (Philadelphia, 1884), p. 72.
- 86 *Compendium of Censuses*.
- 87 Atlantic County Historical Society, *Yearbook, October, 1951*, p. 144.
- 88 *Compendium of Censuses*, p. 11.
- 89 Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 351.
- 90 Atlantic County Historical Society, *Yearbook, October, 1951*, p. 144.
- 91 Hall, *op. cit.*, pp. 347-349.
- 92 *Compendium of Censuses*, p. 11.
- 93 Hall, *op. cit.*, pp. 347-349.

#### CHAPTER XIX—FOOTNOTES

- 1 William C. Ulyat, *Life at the Sea-Shore* (Princeton, N. J., 1880), pp. 25-26. Pamphlet in Pennsylvania Historical Society Library, Philadelphia. The author also wrote a section on "cottage renting" and on "tenting on the beach." The pamphlet contains interesting pictures.
- 2 E. H. Stokes, *Ocean Grove, Its Origins and Progress* (Philadelphia, 1874), p. 59. This pamphlet also is in the Pennsylvania Historical Society Library.
- 3 *Summer Days in New Jersey* (1885), p. 69. Another pamphlet in the Pennsylvania Historical Society Library.
- 4 Morris Daniels, *The Story of Ocean Grove* (New York, 1919), p. 149.
- 5 A. L. English, *History of Atlantic City* (Philadelphia, 1884), p. 152.
- 6 *National Standard and Salem County Advertiser*, July 26, 1854, p. 2, quoting impressions of young lady correspondent to *The Union*, Washington, D. C. Later, in the 1860's, the Stockton Baths offered an opportunity to have tintypes taken of bathing parties. (Alfred Heston, *South Jersey* (New York, 1922), Vol. II, p. 26.)
- 7 William Nelson, *The New Jersey Coast in Three Centuries* (New York, 1902), Vol. II, pp. 80-81.
- 8 *Philadelphia Public Ledger*, August, 1845, dispatch from Cape Island, August 7, 1845, clipping in Francis B. Lee Scrapbook in Cape May County Historical Society, Cape May Court House.
- 9 Item from Cape May, in *National Standard* (Salem), Sept. 15, 1869.
- 10 English, *op. cit.*, p. 119.
- 11 Ulyat, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-40. The pamphlet also notes "When a bath



- has not been taken for some time, soap should be used. . . . It can only be done when the bath is private." (p. 42.)
- 12 N. R. Ewan in *Mt. Holly Herald*, Feb. 16, 1940; see also Heston, *South Jersey*, Vol. II, p. 526; Carmita Jones, "Famous Old Cape May," *Americana Magazine*, Vol. 17 (1923), p. 78.
  - 13 *Camden Daily Post*, Sept. 4, 1879, p. 1.
  - 14 *Achievements by the Sea* (Ocean Grove, 1881), p. 27. Pamphlet in Pennsylvania Historical Society Library.
  - 15 *Ibid.*
  - 16 Stokes, *op. cit.*, p. 59; p. 61.
  - 17 *Summer Days in New Jersey* (1885), p. 72.
  - 18 Olive Logan, "Life at Long Branch," *Harpers Magazine*, Vol. 53 (September, 1876), p. 489.
  - 19 Anderson Bourgeois, Weymouth Township, quoted in *Ocean City Daily Reporter*, August 5, 1897, and requested in *The Daily Sentinel-Ledger*, July 1, 1939, p. 4.
  - 20 Alfred Heston, *Absegami Annals* (Camden, 1904), Vol. I, pp. 21-22.
  - 21 Alfred Heston, *Jersey Waggon Jaunts* (Camden, 1926), Vol. I, p. 181.
  - 22 Daniels, *op. cit.*, pp. 94-96.
  - 23 John Hall, *History of Atlantic County and Atlantic City* (Atlantic City, 1900), p. 252.
  - 24 Heston, *South Jersey*, Vol. I, p. 725; English, *op. cit.*, p. 87.
  - 25 Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 254.
  - 26 Heston, *Jersey Waggon Jaunts*, Vol. I, p. 181.
  - 27 Heston, *South Jersey*, Vol. II, p. 726; *Philadelphia Record*, Sunday, August 8, 1915.
  - 28 Frank Butler, *History of Southern New Jersey* (Atlantic City Press pamphlet, 1949, no pp.), quoting contemporary newspaper.
  - 29 *Ibid.*
  - 30 Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 254.
  - 31 Atlantic City Chamber of Commerce, *History of the Atlantic City Boardwalk* (mimeographed pamphlet, 1947), no pp.
  - 32 Butler, *op. cit.*, no pp.
  - 33 Silas Morse Scrapbook No. 1, in Atlantic County Historical Society Library, Somers Point. Contains picture of Epicycloidal Wheel, taken in 1875.
  - 34 Butler, *op. cit.*, no pp.
  - 35 *Ibid.*
  - 36 Heston, *Absegami Annals*, Vol. II, p. 377; English, *op. cit.*, p. 162.
  - 37 See "New Jersey Songs and Music, 1849-1926," in portfolio in Princeton University Library.
  - 38 Heston, *Absegami Annals*, Vol. II, p. 377; English, *op. cit.*, p. 162.
  - 39 Carnesworth (pseudonym), *Atlantic City* (Philadelphia, 1868), p. 5.

- 40 Lewis Evans ms., "Then and Now" (1932), no pp. Ms. in Atlantic County Historical Society Library, Somers Point.
- 41 James' Salt Water Taffy Co., 1519 Boardwalk, Atlantic City, pamphlet "Mr. Bradley Had an Accident."
- 42 Butler, *op. cit.*, no pp.
- 43 Interview with Mr. John Visceglia, Psychology Department, Glassboro State Teachers College; see also Atlantic City Chamber of Commerce, *History of the Elephant House* (mimeographed pamphlet) no date, no pp.
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- 45 Recollections of Captain Lew Risley in *Ocean City Daily Sentinel-Ledger*, July 1, 1939, p. 2.
- 46 *Ocean City Daily Sentinel-Ledger*, July 1, 1939, p. 5, quoting *Ocean City Daily Reporter*, July 3, 1896.
- 47 Albert Hand, ed., *A Book of Cape May* (Cape May, 1937), p. 87, quoting *New York Herald*, 1850's.
- 48 *National Standard and Salem County Advertiser*, Salem, Oct. 16, 1850, p. 2.
- 49 Hand, *op. cit.*, p. 87.
- 50 *Ibid.*, pp. 69-70.
- 51 "New Jersey Songs and Music, 1849-1926," portfolio in Princeton University Library.
- 52 *Summer Days in New Jersey* (Philadelphia, 1885), p. 19. Pamphlet.
- 53 Hand, *op. cit.*, p. 97.
- 54 *Ibid.*, p. 115.
- 55 *Ibid.*
- 56 Carmita Jones, "Famous Old Cape May," *Americana Magazine*, Vol. XVII, (1923), p. 70.
- 57 Hand, *op. cit.*, p. 115.
- 58 *Ibid.*, p. 72.
- 59 *Chicago Record*, June 26, 1900 (Clipping in Cape May County Historical Society Library, Cape May Court House), interview with Mr. Lewis Stevens, written by Wm. E. Curtis, staff correspondent of the *Chicago Record*, 1900.
- 60 Hand, *op. cit.*, p. 96.
- 61 Heston, *South Jersey*, Vol. II, p. 546.
- 62 Nelson, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 137. The summer of 1892, following the death of Mrs. Harrison, the President did not come to the cottage, although he spent portions of the next two seasons there. He sold the cottage in 1896.
- 63 *New York Herald*, July 12, 1891, clipping in Francis B. Lee Scrapbook at Cape May County Historical Society Library, Cape May Court House.

- 64 Nelson, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 131; Heston, *South Jersey*, Vol. II, p. 549.
- 65 *Philadelphia Record*, Sunday, Aug. 3, 1915.
- 66 *Chicago Record*, June 26, 1900, p. 1, clipping in Cooper Scrapbook at Camden County Historical Society Library, Camden.
- 67 Hand, *op. cit.*, p. 174.
- 68 *Entertaining a Nation, the Career of Long Branch* (Long Branch, 1940), pp. 39-98.
- 69 *Compendium of Censuses* (Trenton, 1905), p. 30.
- 70 Gustav Kobbé, *The New Jersey Coast and Pines* (Short Hills, 1889), p. 51.
- 71 *Ocean City Sentinel-Ledger*, July 1, 1939, p. 1.
- 72 Kobbé, *op. cit.*, p. 52.
- 73 Daniels, *op. cit.*, p. 73.
- 74 *Ibid.*, p. 179.
- 75 *Ibid.*, p. 155 *et seq.*
- 76 Franklin Ellis, *History of Monmouth County* (Philadelphia, 1885), pp. 862-863.
- 77 Daniels, *op. cit.*, p. 201.
- 78 Ellis, *op. cit.*, p. 862.
- 79 Nelson, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 88-89.
- 80 *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 91-92.









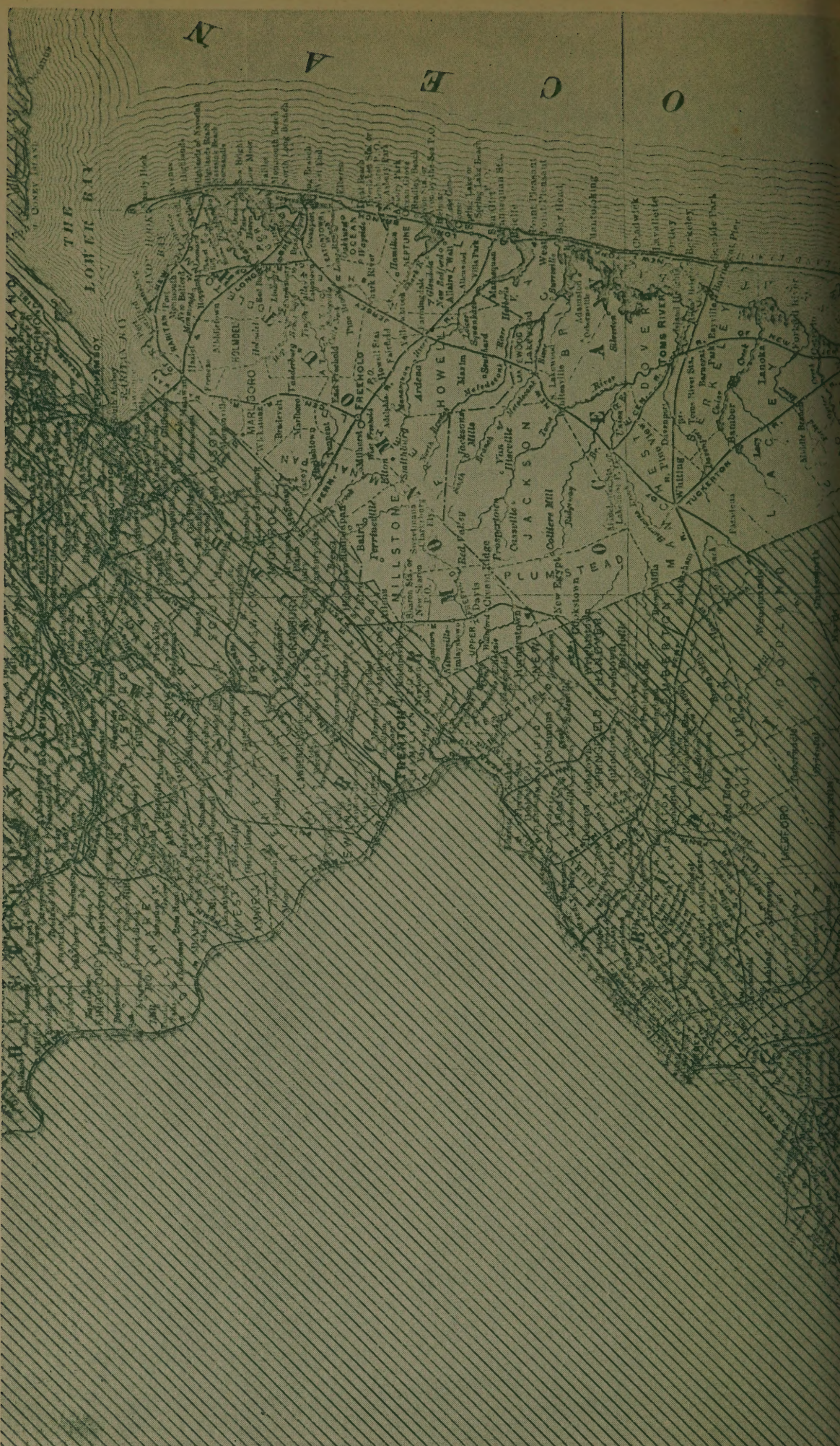




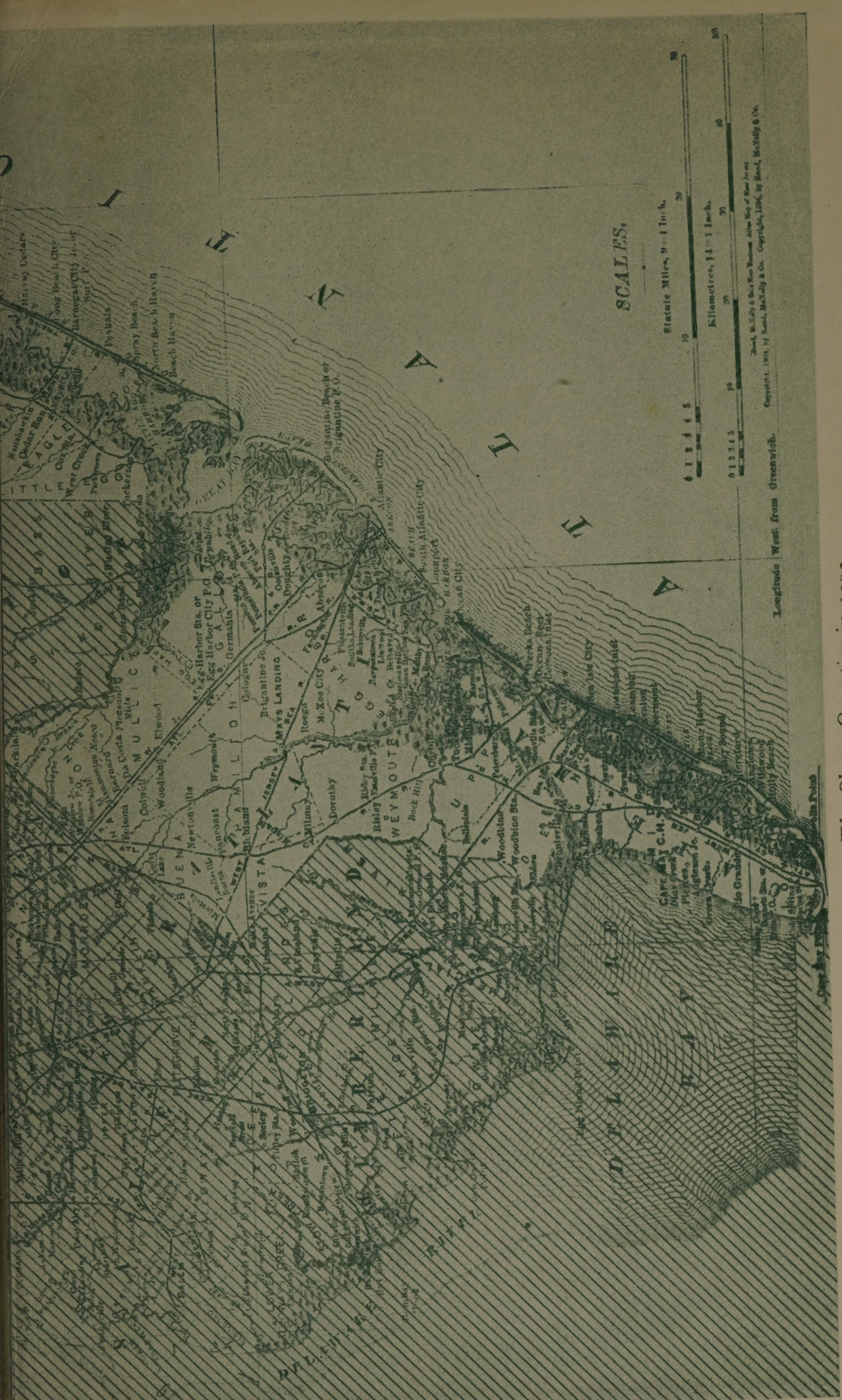












# SCALES.

Statute Miles, 0 to 10.

Kilometres, 0 to 16.

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Longitude West from Greenwich.



